Arakan State Constitution
The First Proposed Draft of Arakan State Constitution
မြန်မာစာမျက်နာအဖို့ ပြည်ထောင်စုဆိုင်ရာ ဗဟိုစုစုပေါင်း အင်အားသောက်ရေး အာဏာပိုင်ရှင် ပြည်ထောင်စု အာဏာပိုင်ရှင် အသက်ရှင် ဖြစ်စဉ်ပြုလုပ်သည်။

မြန်မာလူမှုရေးရာသို့ လိုအပ်သော မြန်မာလူမှုရေးရာ အလုပ်များ လွှမ်းလျော့သော နေရာများ အထောင်အပွဲအပြင် မောင်စိုက်လေ့ရှိသည်။

ငှားရောက်သော မြန်မာလူမှုရေးရာ အလုပ်များ နေရာများ အထောက်အပံ့ရန် မိုးမိုးသော အလုပ်များ လွှမ်းလျော့သော နေရာများ အထောင်အပွဲအပြင် မောင်စိုက်လေ့ရှိသည်။

မြန်မာလူမှုရေးရာ အလုပ်များ နေရာများ အထောက်အပံ့ရန် မိုးမိုးသော အလုပ်များ လွှမ်းလျော့သော နေရာများ အထောင်အပွဲအပြင် မောင်စိုက်လေ့ရှိသည်။
မြို့တော်ကြီး၏ မြို့အများပြုကျမ်းချက်များအပေါ် ပြောသော ရေးအဖွဲ့၏ ကုန်းတိုက်ဆိုင်ရာ ရေးအဖွဲ့ကို မြို့တော်ကြီး၏ ဖွံ့ဖြိုးမှုနှင့် အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေပါသည်။

a) အကြိုးဆွေးနွေးသော အကြောင်းရင်းသားကိုလိုအပ်သည်။
b) အကြောင်းရင်းသားပြင်သည်ကိုလိုအပ်သည်။

c) ကြည့်ရှံးချင်သော အမျိုးသားကိုလိုအပ်သည်။

d) ကြည့်ရှံးချင်သော အမျိုးသားကိုလိုအပ်သည်။

e) ရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

f) အကြောင်းရင်းသားပြင်သည်ကိုလိုအပ်သည်။

g) ရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

h) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

(i) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

j) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

k) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

l) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

m) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

n) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

o) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

p) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

q) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

r) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

s) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

t) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

u) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

v) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

w) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

x) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

y) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။

z) ဖွံ့ဖြိုးရေးအဖွဲ့ကို အကူအညီချက်များကို စိတ်ဝင်စားစေသည်။
နော်(၁)

အမှုများခွင့်အရာ:

(၁) နိုင်ငံတော်ကောင်စီသည် နိုင်ငံတော်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို လက်ရှိ နိုင်ရောင်းမည်။

(၂) နိုင်ငံတော်ကောင်စီသည် နိုင်ငံတော်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို လက်ရှိ မနေရာများအားဖြင့် ပြန့်ပွားမည်။

(၃) နိုင်ငံတော်ကောင်စီသည် နိုင်ငံတော်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို လက်ရှိ စီစဉ်မည်။

(၄) နိုင်ငံတော်ကောင်စီသည် နိုင်ငံတော်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို လက်ရှိ ပေးမည်။

(၅) နိုင်ငံတော်ကောင်စီသည် နိုင်ငံတော်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို လက်ရှိ ဖျင်ယူမည်။

(၆) နိုင်ငံတော်ကောင်စီသည် နိုင်ငံတော်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို လက်ရှိ ချီကဲ့မည်။

(၇) နိုင်ငံတော်ကောင်စီသည် နိုင်ငံတော်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို လက်ရှိ တိုက်ရိုက်မည်။

(၈) နိုင်ငံတော်ကောင်စီသည် နိုင်ငံတော်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို လက်ရှိ စစ်ဆေးမည်။

(၉) နိုင်ငံတော်ကောင်စီသည် နိုင်ငံတော်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို လက်ရှိ လျော်မည်။

(၁၀) နိုင်ငံတော်ကောင်စီသည် နိုင်ငံတော်အဖွဲ့အစည်းများကို လက်ရှိ မည်သို့ တိုက်ရိုက်မည်။
မြန်မာစာများ

ပထမပိုဒ်

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ပထမပိုဒ်
ရေးထိုး (၅)

အယ်လ်စါးတဲ့ မီးကြက် သို့မဟုတ် ကွယ်လည်း ချမ်းမှ သို့မဟုတ် ကွယ်လည်း ချမ်းမှ သို့မဟုတ် ကွယ်လည်း ချမ်းမှ သို့မဟုတ် ကွယ်လည်း ချမ်းမှ သို့မဟုတ် ကွယ်လည်း ချမ်းမှ

ရေးထိုး (၆)

(ကုဒ်ပြံစိုက်ချင်း)

ပြောပြပြော မီးကြက် ကွယ် ချမ်းမှ သို့မဟုတ် ကွယ် ချမ်းမှ သို့မဟုတ် ကွယ် ချမ်းမှ သို့မဟုတ် ကွယ် ချမ်းမှ သို့မဟုတ် ကွယ် ချမ်းမှ သို့မဟုတ် ကွယ် ချမ်းမှ သို့မဟုတ် ကွယ် ချမ်းမှ သို့မဟုတ် ကွယ် ချမ်းမှ သို့မဟုတ် ကွယ် ချမ်းမှ
(c) ဗုဒ္ဓသီး လီးလီးစဉ် လှုပ်ရှားခြင်း
(d) လူသားစကားစားခြင်း လိုလျော်လွှဲခြင်း လူသားစကားစားခြင်း

၁၀.

(e) ဗုဒ္ဓသီး လီးလီးစဉ် လှုပ်ရှားခြင်း
(d) လူသားစကားစားခြင်း လိုလျော်လွှဲခြင်း လူသားစကားစားခြင်း

၁၁.

(f) ဗုဒ္ဓသီး လီးလီးစဉ် လှုပ်ရှားခြင်း
(d) လူသားစကားစားခြင်း လိုလျော်လွှဲခြင်း လူသားစကားစားခြင်း

၁၂.

(g) ဗုဒ္ဓသီး လီးလီးစဉ် လှုပ်ရှားခြင်း
(d) လူသားစကားစားခြင်း လိုလျော်လွှဲခြင်း လူသားစကားစားခြင်း

၁၃.

(h) ဗုဒ္ဓသီး လီးလီးစဉ် လှုပ်ရှားခြင်း
(d) လူသားစကားစားခြင်း လိုလျော်လွှဲခြင်း လူသားစကားစားခြင်း

၁၄.

(i) ဗုဒ္ဓသီး လီးလီးစဉ် လှုပ်ရှားခြင်း
(d) လူသားစကားစားခြင်း လိုလျော်လွှဲခြင်း လူသားစကားစားခြင်း

၁၅.

(j) ဗုဒ္ဓသီး လီးလီးစဉ် လှုပ်ရှားခြင်း
(d) လူသားစကားစားခြင်း လိုလျော်လွှဲခြင်း လူသားစကားစားခြင်း

၁၆.

(k) ဗုဒ္ဓသီး လီးလီးစဉ် လှုပ်ရှားခြင်း
(d) လူသားစကားစားခြင်း လိုလျော်လွှဲခြင်း လူသားစကားစားခြင်း

၁၇.

(l) ဗုဒ္ဓသီး လီးလီးစဉ် လှုပ်ရှားခြင်း
(d) လူသားစကားစားခြင်း လိုလျော်လွှဲခြင်း လူသားစကားစားခြင်း
Preface
For the last several years, the Arakanese people have drafted three Arakan State Constitutions. The drafters were the Arakan League for Democracy (ALD-Exile) and Arakanese students in the United States.

The first two drafts by ALD-Exile were for an "Independent State". The Arakanese students' draft was based on a federated state.

Both the ALD-Exile and students' drafts used the similar top-down approach to the drafting process. In other words, advocates and experts framed and initiated the drafting.

There are many methods of constitution drafting. At least the following three methods have been used in the Arakan State constitution drafting process. They are:
1. the top-down process
2. the bottom-up approach
3. a middle path that bridges between top-down and bottom-up approach

Drafters can use multiple methods at the same time. A step by step approach with a single method is also workable.

This first draft of the Arakan State Constitution by the Arakan State Constitution Drafting Committee uses the middle path approach. The committee bridges between perspectives of experts and the voices of the people at the grassroots level.

In order to make a qualitative constitution, the drafting committee has set the value and standard that the people of Arakan shall have the final decision in whether or not the draft meets with their goals, culture, desires, and hopes. Thus, the drafting committee is fully confident that in the near future the time will come when the people of Arakan, with their pride and dignity, will be able to make the final decisions.

From the extension of a constitutional framework, the people of Arakan will be able to choose their government, election after election, to serve for the people within limited power and limited representation to preserve justice, moral value, dignity, and ethics they deserve to live with. By exercising this kind of rule of law and majority consent within society and elected government in a democratic system, life and liberty in terms of pursuit of happiness can be guaranteed. Thus, peace and tranquility among the Arakan people shall be fulfilled.

Finally, we would like to thank the National Reconciliation Program, experts, political parties, and participants who filled out the survey questions. Without their assistance and cooperation, it would have been impossible to proceed with the drafting.

Arakan State Constitution Drafting Committee
(Arakan National Council)
Introduction:

This first draft of the Arakan State Constitution is just a draft and is not yet ratified. To ratify the draft, many conferences and conventions will have to be held.

Before the conventions are held, this draft will be released to the Arakanese and other interested persons to review the draft in order to correct and amend it.

The background of this constitution draft dates back to 2004 during the Arakan pre-national convention, when the state drafting committee was formed to draft the Arakan State constitution. Since then, the committee has studied the previous drafts. They have conducted a survey in the Arakanese communities in Arakan State, Malaysia, and Thailand. In the survey, essential question topics such as executive branch, legislation, and judicial systems were included. Thousands of people eagerly responded the survey.

In addition, the survey included an extra form in which people stated whether they preferred a federated or state-based constitution, or an independent state constitution. Ninety-five percent of the respondents preferred that the drafting committee write a constitution for an independent state.

Although the respondents preferred the independent constitution, we could not conclude that they were against a federal constitution and federalism. First, many people were so overly propagandized by the previous regime that federalism meant separatism. On the other hand, some national political parties have used political strategy to promote an independent state because being a federated state under the Burman meant being a sub-nation with no dignity. Another reason is that the respondents had a lack of knowledge of federalism and power division between the state and the central government that provides them with the comforts of life.

It is a considerable fact that the will of the people is the ultimatum for the constitution drafters. Thus, the state constitution drafting committee will conduct more surveys and workshops in federalism, democracy, division of power, and electoral systems to find out their true desire. After this process, the survey results can be used to draw a conclusion.

In this draft, the significant principles are also highlighted in basic political guidelines, a bill of rights, and citizen rights.

The political guidelines are essential tools for the drafting process. The bill of rights embodies the innate rights of all citizens and balances the power between the legislative laws and the political body. These rights also give the government the duty to protect and preserve the people.

The draft specifically indicates the basic principles of democratic norms such as the electoral system, the public offices' nomination process, and nominees' criteria.

The constitution, even after ratification, will not be completed but will be continuous and enduring. As long as society exists, the people and legislatures will amend the constitution time after time to fulfill society's needs. With many amendments and new legislations, the constitution will therefore become authentic and allow every citizen to live in a way in which they have the opportunity for comfort, peace, prosperity, and happiness.

Arakan State Constitution Drafting Committee
(Arakan National Council)
The following guidelines are based on the advice of the Arakan National Council (ANC) and were given to the Arakan State Constitution Drafting Committee to be included in the draft.

The Arakan State Constitution should be:
1. based on national interests,
2. based on perfect federal union,
3. based on democratic principles and representative norms,
4. based on comfort life for every citizen,
5. based on universal human rights and basic freedoms,
6. based on principles that will ensure that people are not discriminated against based on gender, religion and faith, and ethnicity. It should guarantee individual rights and equal opportunities,
7. based on human nature and local people's customary laws and traditions, combined with international laws and universal norms,
8. based on justice, peace, prosperity, and the right to a complete political, social, and economic life,
9. based on enhancement of universal education and modern society,
10. based on tri-governance systems (Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Branches).
11. based on set criteria and standards on nomination for governor, vice-governor, and legislators, as well nominations for public office,
12. based on giving freedom to people to form local governments within their customs and traditions,
13. based on principles that guarantee the federal government and state government do not interfere the local governments and their administrations,
14. based on principles that guarantee indigenous peoples' rights and minority rights within the state.

Arakan National Council
(2004)
**Preamble**

The Constitution of Arakan State is instituted for the preservation of a united and durable Arakan Nation; and for every citizen to be fulfilled in justice, life, liberty, prosperity, respect, dignity, kindness, tradition, and faith.

**Part One**

**Bill of Rights**

Article 1: The people shall have the power to alter and abolish the said government.

Article 2: The Legislative body shall make no law to restrict freedom of faith, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, freedom of privacy, and freedom of innate rights.

Article 3: The state (executive and legislative body) shall make no significant law for special treatment based on gender, religion, and ethnicity.

Article 4: The state shall make no law to ban the National Guard from bearing arms to protect self-determination and state sovereignty, and to preserve life, liberty, and property.

Article 5: Due process law shall be guaranteed for any accused person in a criminal or civil case.

Article 6: Accused and accuser (defendant and prosecutor) shall have the right to counsel, the right to a trial by jury, the right to a fair trial, the right to a speedy trial, and the right to a speedy appeal.

Article 7: The state shall not question, arrest, confiscate property, enter onto property (state and private alike), without provable cause or a warrant; and cannot endanger persons and community.

Article 8: The state shall not conduct unusual and cruel punishments.

Article 9: The state shall not deprive life and liberty, and shall not try twice for the same offence.

Article 10: The state shall not present armed guards on private properties without consent unless the state is engaged in war or has declared a state of emergency.

Article 11: The state shall guarantee rights to basic education, pursuit of career, innovation and property rights, rights to family, and rights to freedom of movement.

Article 12: The state and its citizens shall have the right to bring any violator, official or person, who abuses the constitutional power for his/her personal gain to trial according to the law.

Article 13: The Constitution shall guarantee every citizen and institute the freedom of information unless it places the state and person in danger.
Part 2

Formation of the State

Article 1: Since B.C. 5000, Rakhaing, Mro, Mroon, Khami, Thak, (Chakama), Dainet, Chin, Kaman, Maramargri, and other races and religious communities have peacefully coexisted as a political body in the said territory as a sovereign nation that shall be called the Arakan State.

Article 2: In order to function orderly and harmoniously, with a division of power, chain of command, division of labor, and checks and balances, Arakan State’s government shall be formed with three branches: Executive, Legislative, and Judicial. The body shall be called the Arakan National Government (ANG). The national government shall consist of:

a) Departments of Governors and Secretariats.
b) A Bi-cameral Legislative Branch (Nationalities Senate with Ethnic Representatives and House with Constituent Representatives) that shall be called the Congress of Arakan State,
c) A Judicial Branch with a State Supreme Court. District Courts, Circuit Courts, County Courts, and City or Village Courts.

Article 3: The sovereign power of the state shall be vested in Congress, including the power to declare and cease wars.

Article 4: The Congress shall be vested with the power to create and abolish constituencies.

Article 5: Every citizen who is fit with agility and the said requirements for defense, and is between the age of eighteen and twenty-five years old, shall serve in the National Guard for three years.

Article 6: Students who cannot serve in the National Guard because they are in colleges and institutes, or are pursuing an education overseas shall be called on for military training for three months every two years in order to receive state provided benefits.

Article 7: Every citizen under the age of thirty-five years old shall serve in the National Guard when the state is engaged in war.

Part 3

Provision of citizenship

Article 1: The State shall recognize a person as a citizen when 10 per cent of their blood from their parents, either their mothers or fathers side, is of Arakan descent and if the person with their own consent wants to be a citizen of Arakan State.

Article 2: Those who have carried the state burden and cherished the nation for thousands of millennia shall be automatically recognized as citizens by the state. Those who have moved into the Arakan State from other federated states shall register for state citizenship within twelve months of the period when they have lived and worked in Arakan State. The approval of citizenship shall be decided in accordance with the state's land, personal and property-taxation laws. The state shall issue state identification cards for the citizens of Arakan State.
Article 3: The State shall automatically recognize as a citizen every one who is born in Arakan State. The State shall accept the will of a citizen who, with his own consent holds dual citizenship when the citizen is not physically present in the state but pays the state' taxes and votes for the state governments.

Article 4: The state shall grant citizenship for the Arakanese who have been living generation after generation in the territory of the said Bangladesh and India, seeking refuge after Burman occupation of the Arakan Kingdom in ,1784, if the person is willing to be a citizen of Arakan State.

Part 4

Provision of Voting Rights and Creation of Constituency

Article 1: Every citizen at the age of eighteen shall have voting rights.

Article 2: Every citizen of the Arakan State who is overseas shall vote during the elections.

Article 3: Congress shall make a law to create a constituency to elect a representative for the House after the population in a territory meets thirty thousand eligible voters.

Article 4: A Senator shall be elected to the Senate after an ethnic population meets (—) eligible voters in a territory. Amendment of this article shall be approved by both the House and the Senate.

Part 5

Administrative power; procedure for the transfer of power

Article 1: Arakanese people shall elect a governor and a vice-governor with a direct vote every four years on November 1st.

Article 2:

a) The term of office for a governor and a vice-governor shall be set for four years and only for two terms (eight consecutive years).

b) The oath of the governor and vice-governor to take office and form the administration shall take place on December 31st.

Article 3:

a) The vice governor shall replace the governor wherein the governor cannot function in his work or is removed from office, either by law or by his/her own consent.

b) The speaker of the House shall take over the duty of vice governor wherein the vice governor cannot function in his work or is removed from office, either by law or by his/her own consent, but shall hold direct election within six month from the date the Speaker takes the duty.

Article 4: The governor shall serve as the commander in chief of Arakan National Guard (infantry, air force, and Navy).

Article 5: Candidates for governor and vice governor shall meet the following set criteria:

a) born in the Arakan State from an ethnic Arakanese family.
b) has not committed crimes and is of good character,
c) age of thirty-five or over,
d) educator; or has sacrificed for his/her national interests.

**Part 6.**

**Legislative Power**

**Article 1:** The legislative body shall be formed from the Senate and the House and it shall be called the Congress of Arakan State.

**Article 2:**

a) Upon taking an oath, representatives for Senate and House shall not have any other responsible jobs.
b) Seats of representatives shall be vacant until another election takes place wherein the representative cannot function in his work or is removed from office, either by law or by their own consent.
c) The vice governor of the state shall be the speaker of the Senate.

**Article 3:**

a) Congress shall be vested with the power to call executive department's nominees for hearing and to approve the nominees for office.
b) The State shall not arrest, detain, question, prosecute, or use evidence against any person who testifies or presents evidence in the Congress during the hearing.
c) Congress shall have its own security unit in the Congress compound to provide security and to protect persons.

**Article 4:** Congress shall have impeachment power against the governor and vice governor wherein and whenever he or she is found to be in violation of the constitution and substantial laws. Further punishments shall be served by the offendtr(s) according to all applicable laws within the court's jurisdiction and at appropriate venue(s).

**Article 5:** Representatives for Senate shall be elected from the ethnic people and their said constituencies. The Senator elect shall serve in Congress for five years.

**Article 6:** Representatives for House shall be elected from people's constituencies. The representatives elect shall serve in the Congress for two years.

**Article 7:** Candidates for Senate shall meet the following set criteria:

a) born in the Arakan State from an ethnic Arakanese family,
b) has not committed crimes and is of good character,
c) age of twenty-seven or over,
d) educator or has sacrificed his/her own interests for those of the state.

**Article 8:** Candidates for House shall meet the following set criteria:

a) born in the Arakan State from an ethnic Arakanese family (or) citizen of the Arakan State,
b) has not committed crimes and is of good character,
c) age of twenty-seven or over,
d) educator or has sacrificed his/her own interests for those of the state.
Article 9: Congress shall remove any representative who is found to have committed a crime from office by secret vote in the Congress. Further punishments shall be served by the offender(s) according to all applicable laws within the court's jurisdiction and at appropriate venue(s).

Article 10: Congress shall release any legislation and decision passed in the session within twenty four hours.

Part 7

Judicial

Article 1: Judicial power shall be independently vested in the Supreme Court judges. The supreme court shall be formed with (—) judges. The said judges shall be selected by the governor. The nominees shall be called by the Senate for hearing, and upon approval from the Senate, the governor shall hire the judge(s).

Article 2: a) District courts, circuit courts, county courts, city courts and village courts shall be formed independently with the local government's jurisdiction.
b) The state's general attorney and a chief of state-police shall be appointed by the governor and shall have approval from the Senate.
c) The Senate shall have the power to disqualify the nominees for general attorney, chief of state-police and judges.
d) Upon disqualification of a nominee for general attorney, chief of state-police or judges, the governor shall have authority to replace said nominee.

Article 3: a) The service of the judge shall be for a lifetime term.
b) Whereas the judges are found in violation of laws, the judicial committee of Senate shall investigate and have power to remove the judges from office. Further punishments shall be served by the offender(s) according to all applicable laws within the court's jurisdiction and at appropriate venue(s).
c) The replacement of the removed judge shall be nominated by the governor for Supreme Court, and by the appropriate local authority for local courts.

Part 8

State Government Administration

Article 1: The formation of state administration and departments shall be put in the hands of the governor and shall form the following departments:
1) Secretary of State
2) Secretary of Education and Health
3) General Attorney
4) Secretary of Economics and Environment
5) Secretary of Transportation, Communication, and Housing
6) Secretary of Energy and Industry
7) Secretary of Forestry, Fishery, and Agriculture
8) Secretary of Treasury and Custom
9) Secretary of National Guard