

## 14. SPEECHES 1934-36

### “THE TWO YEARS THAT HAVE PASSED” BY LUANG PRADITMANUTHAM (NAI PRIDI BANOMYONG)

Broadcast on radio on 27 June 1934

Dear listeners,

Today is an auspicious day, an occasion to recall 27 June of two years ago, the important day for the nation when the king graciously affixed his signature to the provisional constitution. The Thai people advanced onto a new path. Siam entered into the constitutional system. Even though the constitution adopted on that 27 June was only a provisional constitution, it was the first step on a ladder to the permanent constitution, promulgated on 10 December 1932.

In the time that has passed from the day the provisional constitution was announced until now, the government taking care of the constitution has devoted itself single-mindedly to improving the state of the country. The constitutional system has benefited the country. On the evening of the 24th, General Phibunsongkhram gave you the views of the military. Then on the 25th, Momchao Wanwaithayakon relayed to the nation the observations of the king. This evening, the board of directors of the radio has given me the honour of passing on some of my feelings.

The change in the system of government, as Momchao Wanwaithayakon has already recounted, was an all-round change—not just a minor change, or a change in some areas, some departments. It was a change in the method of running the country. Hence the change must deliver results both in theory and practice. But the results of this change will not be achieved quickly. In the West there is a saying: Rome was not built in a day. Siam is the same. To judge the effects of the change in government, you must view things fairly and in all aspects. Some people have found fault with the government for doing nothing but putting out laws. Those who find fault in this way are looking only at the material side. They do not realize that passing laws is very necessary. Under a constitutional system such as this, government can

only do something when there is a law which gives it the power. Neither the government nor any individual can act according to will without a law which grants the power to do so. Acting on the basis of law is acting according to the consent of the people who have their representatives in parliament, in keeping with the rights and freedoms granted by the constitution. Besides, law is the working framework of the government. It is the blueprint for letting the people know what the government will do.

It is vital to think before you act. In Buddhism, there is a teaching always to put thought before action. This teaching tells us not to do anything without thinking thoroughly first, not to do anything without principle or direction, not to set out before knowing for sure where we are going. We Siamese are in a situation like people in a boat together in the middle of the ocean. The boat is trying to find its way through the wind and waves to reach landfall. If there is no compass on the boat, the boatmen do not know which direction to steer. It will be impossible for the boat to reach safety. Our country is in the same situation. If we do not make a definite plan of work, it will be difficult for us to make things better for our country.

During the two years that have passed, what has the government done? Or to put it another way, what have been the beneficial effects produced by the change in government? I will divide my opinions on this issue under the six principles and explain each to you in turn.

Principle 1. The issue of independence. In the area of law in particular, we have speedily completed many new law codes in a very short time. Before the announcement of the permanent constitution, that is, before 10 December 1932, the law-drafting department which at present is the Juridical Council, proposed the draft of section 5 to parliament. Then by 31 March of this year, it proposed to the cabinet section 6 and the codes of civil and criminal procedure. But the very next day, the Assembly was closed. Hence the work is delayed. But consider the time taken on this work before the change of government and after the change. The drafting of the civil code began from 1909. By 1932, only sections 1, 2, 3, and 4 were done, and a start had been made on laying down the principles for section 5, at a cost of around 2 million baht. Then after the change in government, sections 5 and 6 and the codes of civil and criminal procedure, which are important laws, were all four completed in just eight months at a cost of 115,000 baht. Now these completed drafts are under consideration by a commission established by the government, which will hasten to complete the task within December of this year according to the cabinet resolution.

As for economic and political independence, the government has speedily arranged other matters which I will consider under the points below.

Principle 2. The issue of internal peace-keeping. Government has utilized the power of the military, police, and civilians to ensure lasting peace within

the country. This was not done only by strengthening the suppressive authorities, but also by strengthening in other ways within the six principles as a whole, such as through the economy and education. The six principles are all interconnected like a chain. As time has past over the two years, change has begun in the central bureaucracy. The aspiration to maintain the peace internally will be realized when various local governments have been organized in the form of municipalities (*thesaban*) under which the local people have the right to manage the administration of their own locality.

The government has prepared the way to draft a law about maintaining peace and order in the locality to replace the old law on local government. It has prepared ways to prevent wrongdoing occurring through administrative practice. It is also considering organizing a general registration of the people as a regulatory measure once the municipal administration has begun. And it is also considering a system of identity cards for convenience in maintaining the peace and monitoring public order in general. Hence it will be imperative to prepare the funds and the personnel for administering this.

But keeping the peace internally is a very heavy task. When the change was achieved, there were dissatisfied people who generated jealousy, and who tried by various ways to generate disorder to the point there arose a rebellion which caused the destruction of lives and property of the country. Attempts to stir up disorder like this still remain. This creates delay in arranging other matters. Work that is going well and smoothly gets disrupted. Nevertheless, the government will boldly persevere to overcome all obstacles. I myself believe strongly in my heart in the fairness of the majority of the people to help maintain peace and order within this nation of ours.

Principle 3. The economy is an important problem talked about constantly. It is often asked when the government will make the economy improve. It is fitting to pay such attention to the economy. If we change only the way of governing without changing the economy, the change in government will have no effect. Some people believe that up to the present point the government has done nothing to strengthen the economy. This statement is slander and without truth, because the government has already done many things to help the economy. For example, it has established an office to find employment to help farmers; passed a law to prevent seizure of certain property; reduced various taxes; placed a legal ceiling on the charging of interest rates; reduced the poll tax; expanded cooperatives; and passed a law stipulating that a certain proportion of workers must be Thai. In addition, as General Phibunsongkhram has said already on the 24th, the government has also expanded communications by making roads and has been building irrigation works ceaselessly. But the economic problem is more difficult than any other problem. The various obstacles and obstructions which arise over the economic problem are no fewer than over

other problems. There are many reasons for this. For instance, some understand that the government must ensure that money pours in so that lazy people can have money without working. This is beyond the bounds of possibility. There is no government that can do that. There is no honest person that can get money without working. A second obstacle arises from not knowing how the economy must be strengthened. For instance, when the government invests in building a long road, there is talk about why ever is the government building a road? How come it's not strengthening the economy? People who speak like this don't know that the economy will not improve unless we have roads. They say the government is always looking into things, not doing things. This is because they do not ponder that looking into something amounts to doing something. If you do not look into something first, what can you do? But no obstacle is as great as seeking personal benefit above the benefit of the majority. Anything that government does is for the common benefit, not to grab money for individuals. So every time the government tries to help the poor, such as the farmers, the government will face difficulty, criticism, and dissent. All these laws such as the law forbidding the seizure of certain property from farmers, or the law controlling the charging of interest beyond a certain rate, were passed with difficulty. The difficulty in the economic problem lies here. I hope the people will sympathize. We cannot accomplish matters faster than this because the government faces many obstacles as I have stated. But the government is ever more committed to the effort. The country's finances are one issue on which the enemies of the constitution have tried to stir up concern that since the change in government the country's finances have declined, to the point of having almost no budget reserves left in the treasury. Fomenting lies such as this is shameful. In truth, the financial situation is something which you cannot be deceitful about. Whatever the truth is, the government has to make that public, because our finances are connected with those of other countries.

Before the change, the budget prepared for 1932 was almost out of balance, causing difficulty in financial matters. After the overthrow, the People's Party government studied the budget again and at the end of the year produced more revenue than expenditure.

About the financial reserves, you should know that:

on 1 April 1932, the treasury reserve was over 34 million baht  
on 1 April 1933, the treasury reserve was over 47 million baht  
on 1 April 1934, the treasury reserve was over 54 million baht  
on 1 May 1934, the treasury reserve was over 58 million baht.

This means that in two years since the change of government, the treasury

reserve has increased by over 23 million baht. Besides this, on March 1932, Siam repaid a loan of over 20 million baht borrowed at 7 percent. The money came from funds accumulated for repaying debt. This lifted the burden of the country by no small amount.

Principle 4. The issue of equal rights. The people have acquired these rights already under the constitution. In addition, the government has done many things to foster the equal rights of the people. The government has arranged to pass the civilian bureaucracy law so that all people will be treated equally in entering government service. Government has established the University of Moral and Political Sciences [Thammasat]. Previously, education on politics was a matter of heavy concern. Ordinary people had no opportunity to study. But now everyone has equality in learning about politics and has a part in their country's affairs.

Principle 5. The freedom of the people. This is an outcome of the constitution. Over the issue of freedom, there are many people who misunderstand or pretend to misunderstand. Freedom does not mean that human beings can do anything they like. That would become anarchy, the lack of any government. Freedom must have rules. Freedom must exist within the scope of law and morality. We humans have freedom to do anything but we must not cause harm to others, and must not cause turmoil in the country. The government which looks after our constitution has granted more freedom than in other countries which changed to a new government. The government has patiently allowed the expression of many hostile opinions. There is no country which has changed to a new government which is as tolerant as the constitutional government of ours. Hence I dare say that the government has granted freedom correctly according to the constitutional system.

Principle 6. How far has education advanced after the change of government? You may know that education in public elementary schools has progressed a lot. Apart from the help from government, the monkhood has generously helped national education. At present there are more than five hundred monks in various provinces who are happy to be trained to help as teachers in public elementary schools, and another almost eight hundred monks who have pledged to help by teaching for nothing. And apart from this, the Sangha is thinking of setting up *wat* schools to help public elementary education even further. This all shows clearly that the constitutional system has coordinated work between the government and the Sangha very well.

On education in general, compare the number of schools before and after the change of government. There are thirty-six more elementary schools, twenty-two more lower secondary, and forty-three more middle secondary. In 1934, higher secondary has expanded to the provinces.

Vocational education, which means schools teaching occupations, has expanded greatly through various technical and agricultural schools. After the change in government, seven new technical schools have been opened, five new agricultural schools, and ten new commercial schools both in Bangkok and the provinces. Apart from these, there is a vocational school for housekeeping, one for secretarial, and one for languages which have been newly established in Bangkok and Phuket.

These advances in education are clearly a result of the change of government. The important item is the University of Moral and Political Sciences which was opened today, and which has enrolled 7,094 students. The subject of politics, which previously was only for a limited circle, is now the opposite. The government is glad to extend its teaching as widely as possible.

In addition, with respect to the arts of the nation, the government has promoted schools for various crafts, and a newly established school of music and dance which has been operating very smoothly.

In conclusion, from everything I have said, you listeners who truly have fair minds, will see that within two years, the work has progressed considerably. The people who made the change of government aspire only for progress in these matters. If any matter has not been able to progress easily, it is because enemies of the constitution oppose and create trouble. But if the people in general have love, and if the constitution is everywhere appreciated, the constitution itself will be what fuses all of us together as one unity. When each person does his own duty, and helps others to think and create without envy and without being destructive, the path of the constitution will be smooth, and we will move together towards contentment and prosperity, which is the goal at the end of our road. I do not appeal to you to favour the government or anyone personally, but I appeal to you to have concern for the nation, have concern for the people in general, and help to raise up the constitution of ours to endure permanently. The permanence of the constitution is the foundation for securing the contentment and prosperity of the people, while the extinction of the constitution would be the end of the country and the nation. May all of us Thais help to maintain the constitution of the kingdom of Siam to endure forever.

May I wish happiness to all you listeners.

SPEECH BY LUANG PRADITMANUTHAM  
(NAI PRIDI BANOMYONG),  
MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

Broadcast on radio on 27 June 1935

Dear listeners,

Today marks the third anniversary of 27 June, the auspicious day on which the Thai nation entered the constitutional system. In the one year that has passed since I had the occasion to talk about the two previous years, the government has striven constantly to raise the country to further progress.

The life of the country will prosper when the various organs of the nation are sound. Unity is something which will make the nation have the strength to attain prosperity. The prime minister has already spoken on the 24th and our nation must face any obstacle that there is. On the evening of the 26th, Luang Thamrongnawasawat, secretary-general of the cabinet, informed you that our country is deficient in financial resources and in people—that is, deficient in people with scientific knowledge and expertise. On entering the constitutional system, Siam has to start anew not only in the matter of government. Siam has to cultivate people, cultivate more people with knowledge and expertise, to strengthen the organs of the nation even further. A saying of Western people, which I referred to a year ago, is that Rome was not built in a day. I must refer to it again today in respect of Siam, our beloved nation.

Let me explain to you briefly what have been the results from the change of government over this past year under the headings of the six principles, with special emphasis on the duty of the Interior Ministry.

Principle 1. On independence. I shall talk especially about the various law codes of ours which were still pending. They have all been speedily revised, proposed to the Assembly, and enacted. This includes section 65 of the civil and commercial code concerning the family; section 6 concerning inheritance; the code of criminal procedure code; the code of civil procedure; and the constitution of the courts of justice, which will come into

force from 1 October 1935. Next we shall start to negotiate the foreign treaties.

Concerning economic and political independence, the government has speedily arranged other measures to promote greater independence and security.

Principle 2. On internal peace-keeping, I shall talk especially about the robbers who were widespread in 1933 and the beginning of 1934. Now they have decreased. You can see that in March 1934 there were seventy-five fewer cases of serious crime than in March 1933; in April 1935 there were forty fewer cases than in April 1934; and in May 1935 there were seventy-three fewer cases than in May 1934. In the first three weeks of this June compared to last June, the number of cases of serious crime has reduced a lot.

Regarding imprisonment, we have tried to train criminals to earn a living and change their character for the better. We have tried to find occupations for those who have completed their sentence; have begun to establish a prison with a new design as a reform colony in Nakhon Ratchasima province; and have prepared to extend this project to Yala province. The revenue from the penitentiary department in 1934 was 289,702 baht, more than planned by 189,702 baht. The difference has partly been subtracted from the investment for 1934, partly from 1935, and the remainder remitted to the treasury as revenue. In addition, more new reform schools will be established.

Administration, health, and public works, which are important supports for maintaining internal peace, have advanced from the previous year.

The regulations for municipal administration will come into force shortly with the inauguration of provincial councils in various provinces, and with the conversion of thirty-four existing sanitary districts (*sukhaphiban*) into municipalities. The Chiang Mai sanitary district which has a dense population will be raised to the status of a city (*nakhon*). Similarly, cities will be established in Phranakhon and Thonburi provinces. Apart from this, there will be a budget for setting up urban (*muang*) and rural (*tambon*) municipalities in many other important locations. The people will thus have even more of a role and a voice in the management of their local government.

As for health measures and medicine for the good health of the people, health institutions have been built in many places using some money from the government, some from the lottery, some from those of you with the goodwill to make donations, and some labour power from those ready to make a sacrifice. For instance, in Thonburi the Chaokhun Phra Prayurawong health centre received donations from those with the surname after which the centre is named. Singburi province has built a health centre with money from the sanitation district and from donations. Udon Thani



province has built additional accommodation for patients in the grounds of the health centre. In addition, new hospitals are being built in many places such as the Phranakhon central hospital, Nong Khai hospital, and Ubon Ratchathani hospital. Nakhon Phanom province will begin shortly. Phrae province will arrange to have a health centre, and the Phrapadaeng charitable hospital will build additional accommodation for women with tuberculosis. People on the banks of the Mekong river will have better access to medical care as the government has created a regular motorized floating hospital. The boat will sail up and down the Mekong in Loei, Nong Khai, and Nakhon Phanom provinces and the Kam river in Sakon Nakhon. Apart from this, any place which has not yet been able to build a hospital or health centre, will have to open a treatment centre at a doctor's residence, for instance at amphoe Ban Sao in Lopburi province and amphoe Tha Bo in Nong Khai.

People who have mental disease were previously kept in the jails in the provinces. From now on they will be sent to the mental hospitals which will be built, one in the southern region and one in the north.

As for the important problem of medical staff, we have trained thirty people as doctor's assistants for Isan already, and this year will begin training another twenty at Chiang Mai. Two laws concerning medicine have already been promulgated—the Health and Sanitation Act, and the Infectious Diseases Act. Apart from this, the health and medical committee established by the government has helped to draw up a plan for the improvement of health and medicine.

Municipal public works, which are one of the important supports of administration, have progressed in many ways, especially roads. Let me say that the Phrae-Nan route has the budget for earthworks which are hoped to be finished this year. On the Sawankhalok-Tak route, the gravel foundation will be finished. The rural Roi-et-Ubon route, Ubon-Mukdahan-Nakhon Phanom, Taphan Hin-Phetchabun, Paetriu-Sattahip, Prachin-Aranyaprathet, Chumphon-Kraburi, Huai Yot-Krabi, Yala-Betong, Tha Nun-Takua Pa—these main roads have a total length of 1,301 kilometres. The forest has been cleared on 655 kilometres, the earthworks finished on 477 kilometres, the gravel foundation completed on 99 kilometres, concrete bridges built at 46 places, and water drainage pipes laid in 262 places.

In addition, the Paetriu-Chonburi-Sattahip route will be expedited because the earthworks are finished, the gravel foundation finished in places, and the navy has helped on the section from Sattahip back to Chonburi.

On both the Bangkok-Don Muang and Bangkok-Samut Prakan roads, the earthworks are complete, currently the bridges and water drainage pipes are being built, and preparations are being made for the gravel work.

The important highways on which construction will proceed as soon as survey work is complete are Sattahip-Rayong, Ratchaburi-Ban Pong,

Phetchabun–Lomsak, Bua Yai–Chaiyaphum, Chakkarat–Phimai, Khon Kaen–Loei, and Udon–Loei–Chiang Khan.

Phranakhon–Thonburi has received budget to build improved roads. On the Phranakhon side, the roads which will have asphalt surface are Songwat, Songsawat, Dinso, Ban Tanao, Chakphet, Phrasumen, Ti-thong, and Triphet. Also, the area in front of the main railway station has already been concreted. On the Thonburi side, Lat Ya road will have gravel work and bridges built from Wongwian Yai to the Bangkok Yai canal; and some gravel work, earthwork, and bridging will be done from Lat Ya road to Talat Phlu, where the road around the market will also have gravel fill.

Electricity and piped water supply in the main urban centres will be expedited for the convenience of the population. A law has been passed to enable the government to lend 500,000 baht to sanitary districts or municipalities to set up electricity plants at Chachoengsao, Uttaradit, Uthai Thani, and in the localities of Chumsaeng and Bangmunnak. Water supply pipes will be built in Ayutthaya, Lopburi, Nakhon Sawan, and Phitsanulok.

As for Phranakhon and Thonburi, there is some important news which I am very pleased to let you all know today. The electricity rate and equipment rental charges which are expensive will be reduced in future. The Ministry of the Interior has agreed with Siam Electricity Corporation, Limited to reduce the electricity supply rate from the current level. Beginning from 1 July 1935, the upper rate for the supply of electricity for lighting, power appliances, and heating will come down by two *satang* per unit, and on 1 July 1936 it will come down by three *satang*. This means that within this year we have reduced the rate by two *satang* and by next year by a total of five *satang*. The rental charge for electricity metering equipment of ten amperes and below will come down as follows:

from 1 July 1935, charged at 80 *satang*, a reduction of 20 *satang*  
 from 1 July 1936, charged at 50 *satang*, a reduction of 50 *satang*.

As noted, these are matters which are related specifically to the Ministry of the Interior.

In addition, internal peace-keeping has depended on the army, police, and civilians to help the country to survive.

Principle 3. The economy. This is an important problem. I have already talked about this in detail a year ago and I will leave it for those responsible to inform you.

Principle 4, the right to equality, and principle 5, the liberty of the people. I spoke on these a year ago. Matters have taken place in accordance with the permanent constitution. The government has established a committee to revise laws which conflict with the constitution. This indicates

the good intention of the government to ensure greater equality and freedom.

Principle 6. Education. This has progressed further. Public elementary schools will be established in every tambon. An indication of the honesty of the government is that it has set a policy to return back to the provinces that portion of education funds which the previous government borrowed from the provinces. It is hoped that when each province has prepared a plan under this policy and has received back this money, it will help the public school education for our youth even further, and will successfully strengthen municipal administration.

The results of the constitution over the past one year are as I have outlined. Those of you who have a fair state of mind will probably wish to see these results progress further. I must appeal to you listeners in the same way I appealed last year. May I beg all of us Thais to have love in our hearts, to appreciate the constitution with honesty, to help one another to solve things, to think, to create, without being destructive. If things can be thus, our constitution will endure permanently. I do not ask you to favour the government or anyone personally, but I appeal to you to have concern for the nation, for the people in general. Let us Thai people help one another to maintain the constitution of the kingdom of Siam to endure forever.

May I wish happiness to all you listeners.

SPEECH BY LUANG PRADITMANUTHAM  
(NAI PRIDI BANOMYONG)

Broadcast on radio on 27 June 1936, the fourth anniversary of the constitutional system

Dear listeners,

Before I say anything, let me invite all of you to think back to 27 June 1932. On that day, the hearts of us Siamese, the whole country, were nervous and unsure. We did not know what the future of the nation would be. Those who could listen to the radio were determined to wait to hear whether Siam would have a constitution or not. When the radio announced that the king had fixed his signature to the provisional constitution, the anxiety was reduced.

The constitutional system has been established as a democratic system which respects a human being as a human being, which respects the Thai-ness (*khwam pen Thai*) of the Siamese people as free (*thai*) people and not as slaves, which accepts that sovereignty comes from the Siamese people, and which has the king as the head of state whom we respect and revere. Siam with the king as head of state in accordance with the constitution has progressed and prospered further day by day to the point that today is the fourth anniversary of the constitutional system.

I spoke on the radio on 27 June in 1934 and in 1935. In the speeches on those occasions, I explained the progress which the constitutional government had made over the three years. Let me say that whatever progress was made in those three years has been extended even further over the following year up to today. On the 25th, Luang Thamrongnawasawat informed you about matters connected with the Ministry of the Interior, and I hope that you will learn about matters concerning other ministries from those ministries at an appropriate time.

The constitutional government has worked with effort and care to progress gradually and steadfastly on all fronts. The constitutional system is not a system which leaps ahead, but is a system which needs security and permanence, and which proceeds by calm and meticulous detail. Some things have to be done slowly. But anything we have done, you can be sure

we have thought it through thoroughly. Each step ahead we must proceed steadfastly. We must choose the footholds which are not muddy lest we slip carelessly. Any path we walk along, we have first cleared and made into a permanent path so that the whole nation can walk along after without hindrance. The nation belongs to the whole Siamese people, not just to the people in the government. When the provisional clauses specified in the constitution expire, those of you who will be entrusted with the task, will be able to use this permanent path conveniently.

The characteristics of the constitutional system have found favour inside the country. In addition, Siam as a constitutional state has gained high favour and credibility from foreign countries. This credibility has conspicuous value which cannot be gained by exchange for assets. We have not exchanged anything with foreign countries to gain this credibility. They find us credible because the constitutional system is a system which brings peace and contentment to humanity. We listen to the voice of the people rather than acting arbitrarily, and we can see that humanity desires peace and comfort. This is the height of happiness, namely peace and contentment. Hence the credibility of foreign countries has conspicuous value as one of the important instruments to protect the kingdom and sustain the independence of the nation. If this credibility should somehow be lost, the future of the nation may be destroyed.

Please study a map of the world. You will see clearly that Siam is one of the small countries among the many, many countries in the world. We cannot exist on our own. We must have trade and friendly relations with other countries. We can plant rice, mine tin, plant rubber, raise animals. We must ask foreign countries to help us by buying the surplus beyond what is used inside the country, in return for money or exchange of goods which we still cannot make, to build our nation to greater prosperity. At the present time, we are always saying that Siam has a very extensive territory. We have land which could be used to expand rice cultivation or animal raising. We have valuable forests. We have mines. And so on. To put it briefly, there are assets in the fields, wealth in the water. But we have not yet made full use of our assets. We live in Siam, but the territory of Siam is left to the ownership of nature. We the people of the Siam cannot yet become owners of these assets in total.

This is because we know we lack people with expertise, and we lack one other important thing—capital for investment. If we are to save up the capital ourselves, it will take a long time. If we wanted to move more quickly, we would have to raise taxes very high, beyond the capacity of the people. But with the credibility of foreign countries, we can solve this problem by hoping for help over capital. We have this credibility already. We have evidence of this. For instance last year, instead of repaying 3

million pounds of loans borrowed overseas and paying interest at 6 percent interest, because of our credibility we could keep that money to invest inside the country and managed to reduce the rate of interest from 6 to 4 percent a year. This gave us benefits both through investment to strengthen the country, and through reduction of the amount of interest due.

We still need to make use of capital, markets, and assistance from abroad to strengthen our country. Shortly we will begin to negotiate new treaties so that our country has equality with others. This matter requires the credibility which we already have because of the constitutional system. The more secure the constitutional system, the more prosperous the people. Siam will have rights on a par with foreign countries. The benefits which we get from the constitutional system are real benefits in reality, not imaginary benefits, benefits in dreams. We can see benefits that are very close at hand. Please help us to clear our path ahead to other destinations and new directions. We may not be sure where we are going. If we suffer a setback, the nation will be lost.

The constitution is the highest dhamma to enable the Siamese people to survive as an independent nation. For those of you who abide by the constitution, who abide by the dhamma, good things will result.

*Dhammo ha veragati dhammacāriṃ*

Dhamma always protects those who practise dhamma.

May you all be resolute to sustain the constitutional system for ever. May I request the power of the three jewels—that is, the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha—and all the sacred things in the world to protect you all to have happiness and prosperity under the constitutional system at all times. Any wish that you have which is legitimate within the scope of the constitution, may that wish be fulfilled in all respects.

[Translators' Note: The original text of this speech had almost no paragraphing. We have inserted paragraph breaks to improve readability.]