

A CHAPTER IN THE NATIONALIST REACTION AGAINST INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGES: THE GOGA GOVERNEMENT(1937-1938)

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Abstract: In an age long gone, when the concept of western liberal democracy slowly came in disrepute in most of the European countries, a new form of globalization was spreading fast: nationalism. In Romania, the government of Octavian Goga promoted its future nationalist activity as a work of reparations towards the majoritarian nation from which the state receives its power and as an organic protest against invading foreign culture. Hence, the anti-Semitism of his government is presented as a reaction to the intercultural exchanges between Romanians and Jews. The purpose of this paper is to reanalyse the activity of the last cabinet which activated under the 1923 Constitution, in a framework, formally speaking, still liberal-democratic. Using primary sources from the National Historical Central Archives Service in Bucharest, press of the time, memoirs literature and secondary sources, this study tries to capture how the "protectionist" reaction of the Goga Governemnt materialized, by reviewing the measures taken and laws issued, in a background lacking the approval of Parliament, which had been recently dissolved, according to the procedure which follows the naming of a new Prime-Minister.

Keywords: Goga government, nationalist laws, government legitimacy, downfall of democracy, reaction to interculturalism

Introduction

On February 11 1938, one of the last remaining democratic countries of Europe,switched to a royal authoritarian regime led by King Carol II. After 44 days of a government originating in a freely elected Parliament, Democracy officially ended in Romania,returning only after 52 years¹. Romania's transition to authoritarianism has been explained by historiography (Al. Gh. Savu, FloreaNedelcu, M. Mușat and I. Ardealeanu and IoanScurtu) mainly through the failure of the democratic system and King Carol II's dictatorial tendencies. Andrew C. Janos and Dylan J. Riley (in more detail) have also contributed with a theoretical-conceptual approachto this debate. However, what actually happened during this short, but eventful period in Romania's interwar history, in the field of concepts such as nationalism and interculturalism which stood behind the actions and their execution? Firstly let us rebuild the specific historical context.

In an age long gone, when the concept of western liberal democracy slowly came in disrepute in most of the European countries, a new form of globalization was spreading fast: nationalism. In Romania, the government of Octavian Goga promoted its future nationalist activity as a work of reparations towards the majoritarian nation from which the state receives its power and as an organic protest against invading foreign culture. Hence, the anti-Semitism of his government is presented as a reaction to the intercultural exchanges between

¹ When using the term "Democracy", we refer to Western European-style liberal democracy, which involves concepts like a constitutional separation of powers in a state, a multiparty system with free elections and press, coupled with alternation in power. With the Red Army there, the 1946 elections in Romania were far from democratic, violence, fraud and abuse dominating a largely falsified electoral process which gave birth to the communist single-party system.

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The activity of the Goga Government.

When trying to understand some of the roots of nationalism and anti-Semitism³, statistics show that after having received full political rights, Jews (3.7% of the total population in 1938⁴) became an important factor in trade, industry, liberal professions, owning at least 31.14% of all industrial and commercial companies in Romania⁵, other minority groups 20%, hence in total, all minorities had a majority of 51.14% of the companies. Romanians (73.8% of the population in 1938⁶) had a 48.49% share. In terms of economic geography, Romanians held the advantage in the Old Kingdom⁷ while in Bessarabia, Bucovina and Transylvania, minorities were in the lead⁸.

Goga characterized his government’s nationalism as an organic protest coming from a reservoir of ethnic energy against invading foreign culture, through a spiritual Christian

² Before becoming prime-minister, Octavian Goga had achieved notoriety as one of Romania’s national poets and also as a political rights militant for Romanians in Austro-Hungarian Transylvania. He served as a soldier during World War One and afterwards was involved in the events which led to the Great Union of 1918. After taking part in the first governments of Greater Romania, in 1932 he left general Averescu’s “People’s Party” to found the far-right “The National Agrarian Party” which did not have any political success. In 1935, he partners with A.C. Cuza’s anti-Semitic far-right “National Christian Defense League” to form and co-lead the “National Christian Party”, an organisation which received support from Hitler’s N.S.D.A.P.. The Goga government was not only made up of national-Christians since most of the important ministries such as the Home and Foreign Affairs, Justice and Defense being led by politicians who defected from PNT or PNL (such as Armand Călinescu and Istrate Micescu) and by general Ion Antonescu – a figure for whom the Iron Guard had the utmost respect. The non-national-Christians (infiltrated by the King) had to keep Romania on its traditional external orientation and hold back Goga from allying with the legionnaires. A.C. Cuza – P.N.C.’s other leader, party ideologist and author of the government’s nationalistic program, was only given a ministry without portfolio and became rather isolated, much like his cabinet supporters – a situation which fomented dissension among party members.

³ Nationalism is a political ideology revolving around the importance of defending (sometimes exacerbated) an individual’s national identity in relation to his rights and national aspirations. Romanian nationalism had always been grounded in the struggle to obtain state independence and territorial unity for all Romanians. Furthermore, before the Great Union of 1918, Romanians living outside Romania were severely discriminated by the other states or empires in the sense that they were refused any political rights or freedoms – thus another source for nationalism. After 1918, even though Romanians were then finally all living in a unified state with full political rights, many branches of society, especially economy, were not “Romanian” but controlled by minorities, particularly Jews. Thus, anti-Semitic propaganda metamorphosed out of an original nationalist message, being delivered by politicians who had little electoral success and less political vocation.

⁴ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Sabin Manuilă*, dosar X153/1939, f. 1

⁵ Lya Benjamin, *Naționalism și antisemitism în legislația regimului autoritar al regelui Carol al II-lea, România, 1938-1940*, in *Studia et Acta Historiae Iudaeorum Romaniae*, vol. IV, Editura Hasefer, București, 1999, p. 209

⁶ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Sabin Manuilă*, dosar X153/1939, f. 1

⁷ The term Old Kingdom refers to the territory of Romania before the additions brought by Great Union of 1918, a territory comprised of the medieval principalities of Moldova and Walachia which united in 1859 and gained independence in 1877-1878.

⁸ *Minoritățile Naționale din România, 1931-1938, Documente*, coord. Ioan Scurtu, Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, 1999, p. 17

rebirth of the Romanian culture. This is seen as a work of reparation towards the nation from which the state derives, so as to create a unique civilization which completes universality, by exteriorizing national specificity. Concerning minorities, Goga mentioned that he wished to introduce natural justice and not persecution. Until the new Parliament elections, Goga mentioned that the measures taken were but a preamble evoking the spirit of their intentions⁹.

Jewish owned newspapers *Adevărul*, *Dimineața*, *Lupta*, *Lumea*, *Noutatea*, *Ziua*¹⁰ and four others¹¹ were suspended while free travel permits for over 120 Jewish journalists were cancelled by the government. Goga claimed that by doing so, he wanted to give back the mass-media in the hands of the Romanians, as the Jewish minority dominated it along with many branches of economy and contributed to the communist propaganda in Romania¹². On a side note, these newspapers traditionally condemned the legionnaires, national-Christians, Nazism, Fascism and fancied the idea of a popular anti-Fascist front, envisioned by the Third Communist International or Comintern¹³. *Curierul Israelit*, *Egalitatea* and *Unser Zeit*, which represented the Jewish community, still circulated¹⁴. On the 3rd of January, the ministry of Justice declared that the measures were dictated by the exceptional Romanian context and the nationalist trend, confirmed at the last elections. He believed that it was better that these were implemented in an orderly fashion by the government, thus avoiding any excesses or risking losing control¹⁵.

On January 5th, the government raised the issue of withdrawing alcohol licenses from Jewish pub owners¹⁶ while city and county hall clerks were given notice by the central authorities that they “were forbidden to go to Jewish pubs and restaurants” or benefit from Jewish goods or services¹⁷. Also, the Ministry of Labour decided to forbid Jews to be able to hire female servants and cooks under the age of 40¹⁸, apparently without Goga’s knowledge or approval. Documents show that the Prime-Minister revoked this decision and sacked the person who had previously signed it¹⁹. Communal and county councils, agricultural, labour, industry and trade chambers were dissolved and interim commissions were installed²⁰. Furthermore, the government proposed an increase in the percentage of Romanian staff in

⁹ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presă Internă*, dosar 379/1937-1938, f. 1-4

¹⁰ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Casa Regală. Oficiale*, dosar 25/1937, f. 102-103 and dosar 33/1938, f. 100

¹¹ Jean Ancel, *Contribuțiile la istoria României, problema evreiască, vol. I, partea I, 1933-1944*, Editura Hasefer, București, 2001, p. 75

¹² S.A.N.I.C., fond *Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presă Internă*, dosar 379/1937-1938, f. 5 and dosar 397/1938, f. 55

¹³ *Minoritățile Naționale din România, 1931-1938, Documente...*, p. 14

¹⁴ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Casa Regală. Oficiale*, dosar 6/1938, f. 21-23

¹⁵ Vasile Ciobanu, *Guvernul Goga-Cuza și minoritățile naționale, în Partidele politice și minoritățile naționale din România în secolul XX, vol. II*, coord. Vasile, Ciobanu, Sorin, Radu, Editura Universității “Lucian Blaga” din Sibiu, 2006, p. 126

¹⁶ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presă Internă*, dosar 379/1937-1938, f. 11

¹⁷ Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale Suceava (S.J.A.N.), fond *Pretura Plășii Moldova*, dosar 9/1938, f. 3 and fond *Prefectura județului Câmpulung Moldovenesc* dosar 20/1938, f. 2

¹⁸ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Casa Regală. Oficiale*, dosar 67/1938, f. 14

¹⁹ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Nicolae Caranfil*, dosar 465, f. 21, fond *Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presă Internă*, dosar 397/1938, f. 54, S.A.N.I.C., fond *Casa Regală. Oficiale*, dosar 33/1938, f. 49. Jean Ancel argues this decision was maintained (See Jean Ancel, *op. cit.*, p. 73)

²⁰ C. Hamangiu (fondator), *Codul general al României (codurile, legile și regulamentele în vigoare) 1856-1938, volumul XXVI, Coduri, legi, decrete-legi și regulamente, cuprinzând prima parte din legislațiunea anului 1938, partea I*, „Monitorul oficial și imprimăriile Statului”, Imprimeria centrală, București, 1938, pp. 6-39

companies to 90%²¹, (from the 80% stipulated in law introduced during the Tătărescu government, which did not function in reality²²) – an unsuccessful attempt, like many other Romanization measures²³. Other decrees were issued, which decreased or stabilised prices for lamp oil, peasant cotton and salt, abrogated an agricultural tax²⁴ and reintroduced mandatory religious marriage²⁵.

Also motivated by fake citizenship certificates (some exposed in courthouses), the government intended a fast revision process which would remain within the boundaries of law and international minorities' treaties. It pointed out that only Jews who had obtained citizenship fraudulently during and right after the Great War would be affected while those from the Old Kingdom would have nothing to worry about²⁶. The citizenship revision decree-law from January 22 1938²⁷ required those falling under its incidence to submit several documents which sustained the validity of their citizenship, contrasting with the 1919 laws which gave out Romanian citizenship to Jews without any papers, after only a simple declaration of option. While the terms *foreigners* and *Jews* were confusingly both used in the text of the decree²⁸, this apparently alarmed PNȚ President Iuliu Maniu, who feared that 350.000 Transylvanians and Bessarabians would have their citizenship revised, including his own, threatening to convoke the Alba Iulia ruling council (*Consiliul Dirigent*)²⁹. Though there are documents depicting court citizenship revision during the time of this government³⁰ (some pointed out a great deal of attention towards new registrations in order to prevent fraud³¹), Ioan Scurtu concludes that this ended with Goga's resignation³². On the other hand, Lya Benjamin argues that the decree law was in effect even after Goga stepped down from power and caused the loss of citizenship for 225.222 people (around 30% of the Jewish population)³³. According to the population census of all Romania's citizens, at the end of 1938 there were 735.983 Jews, an increase of 1.1% compared to the Jewish population of 1930 (728.115)³⁴.

The dissolving of Parliament by the King on January 18 1938³⁵, considered an unprecedented event in the democratic history of Romanians, has been looked upon by historiography as unconstitutional, because this was not possible before its inaugural session,

²¹ "Curentul", year XI, 8.01.1938, p. 8

²² Minoritățile Naționale din România, 1931-1938, Documente ..., p. 16

²³ Jean Ancel, *op. cit.*, p. 73

²⁴ "Buna Vestire", year II, no. 263, 16.01.1938, p. 3, C. Hamangiu, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-62 and S.A.N.I.C., fond *Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presă Internă*, dosar 379/1937-1938, f. 23

²⁵ "Curentul", year XI, 17.01.1938, p. 9

²⁶ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presă Internă*, dosar 379/1937-1938, f. 11, 24, 53, 67

²⁷ C. Hamangiu, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-44

²⁸ Lya Benjamin, *op. cit.*, p. 210

²⁹ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Nicolae Caranfil*, dosar 465, f. 41

³⁰ S.J.A.N., fond *Poliția orașului Câmpulung Moldovenesc*, dosar 9/1937, f.1 until the end of the folder, dosar 6/1938 f. 21, f. 34-35 and the entire folder dosar 7/1938.

³¹ S.J.A.N., fond *Prefectura județului Câmpulung Moldovenesc*, 2/1937, f. 15

³² Ioan Scurtu, Gheorghe Buzatu, *Istoria românilor în secolul XX (1918-1948)*, Editura Paideia, București, 1999, p. 335

³³ Lya Benjamin, *op. cit.*, p. 211. Carol Iancu and Jean Ancel reaffirm this claim, the first quoting from a study by Joshua Starr from 1941 and the latter a study from 1942. See Carol Iancu, *Evreii din România 1919-1938, de la emancipare la marginalizare*, Editura Hasefer, București, 2000, p. 263 and Jean Ancel, *op. cit.*, p. 81

³⁴ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Sabin Manuilă*, dosar X153/1939, f. 1

³⁵ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presă Internă*, dosar 379/1937-1938, f. 36

shortly after the elections³⁶. However, also unprecedented was that the previously appointed government had lost the last elections³⁷. Taking into account the constitutional norms, once a new government was appointed by the King, it needed to be “recognized” by the people, through new elections for Parliament, thus making the previous dissolved³⁸. The functioning of the system can also be understood by the saying of P.P. Carp: “Your Majesty, give me the government and I will give you Parliament”³⁹. In order to function properly, the government needed to have a wide parliamentary basis and since Goga did not have it, new elections were necessary⁴⁰. However, during a dissolved Parliament, the Goga Government started its activity without the approval of the MPs, by issuing decree-laws and journals of the Council of Ministers (somewhat similar to the previous Tătărescu cabinet)⁴¹.

In spite of Goga’s order to forbid the formation of any paramilitary groups in order to prevent any violence⁴², forceful incidents occurred frequently, mostly at electoral meetings, between the gendarmes and legionnaires, between the legionnaires and lăncieri⁴³ (including gun fire shootings), between the legionnaires, lăncieri and Jews, in some cases resulting in wounded and even killed lăncieri or Iron Guardists⁴⁴.

Despite public comforts from the Ministry of Finance⁴⁵, reports of a financial crisis loomed⁴⁶, which added to the undeclared budgetary deficit of the previous cabinet, as the Ministry of Industry and the governor of the National Bank of Romania (both on the brink of resignation) blamed the nationalist measures⁴⁷. Even a newspaper favorable to the

³⁶ N. Iorga, *Memorii. Sinuciderea partidelor (1932-8)*, vol. VII, Biblioteca Ateneului Român, București, 1939, p. 452 and Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, *România după Marea Unire, vol. II, partea a II-a, noiembrie 1933-septembrie 1940*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1988, p. 763.

³⁷ The previously appointed government (from P.N.L.) who organized the 1937 elections, actually obtained most of the votes, 35.92%, but did not win because it required a minimum of 40% in order to receive an electoral bonus which ensured a 50%+ majority. Until then, all governments appointed by the King to organize the elections received above the 40% minimum votes and won (while acknowledging that the voters were sometimes influenced by pressures from the local administration, we cannot broadly assume that the entire electoral process in interwar Romania was corrupt). See Keith Hitchins, *România 1866-1947*, ediția a II-a, Editura Humanitas, București, 1994 pp. 400-415

³⁸ Ioan Scurtu, Gheorghe Buzatu, *Istoria românilor ...*, p. 107

³⁹ Florea Nedelcu, *Viața politică din România în preajma dictaturii regale*, Editura Dacia, Cluj, 1973, p. 61

⁴⁰ Goga intended, in the end unsuccessfully, to change the electoral law so as the party which obtained a relative majority in elections (and not necessarily the existing 40% minimum) to be given 50% of the MPs. See S.A.N.I.C., fond *Casa Regală. Oficiale*, dosar 33/1938, f. 915 and fond *Diracțiunea generală a Poliției*, dosar 10/1938, f. 22

⁴¹ Aurelian Chistol, *Cronica unui seacășteptat: Guvernarea Goga-Cuza*, Editura Aius, Craiova, 2011, pp. 166-167

⁴² S.A.N.I.C., fond *Casa Regală. Oficiale*, dosar 33/1938, f. 733

⁴³ The „Lăncieri” were a youth paramilitary group of the National-Christian Party, not part of the Goga Government, but who thought that while their party is in office they were allowed to “express” themselves without any consequences. The conflict with the legionnaires was not new and was mainly caused by the fact that both the Iron Guard and the National-Christian Party were competing on the far right political spectrum and their leaders could not reach an agreement (A.C. Cuza – the other leader of P.N.C. and C.Z. Codreanu – “captain” of the Iron Guard - initially both founded the National-Christian Defense League in 1923, one of the first nationalist organizations – afterwards Codreanu quit the League in 1927 and started his own movement). See also S.A.N.I.C., fond *A.C. Cuza (1933-1937)*, f. 3-50, 93-94

⁴⁴ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Diracțiunea generală a Poliției*, dosar 11/1937 f. 281-282, and dosar 122/1938, f. 1-11 and fond *Casa Regală. Oficiale*, dosar 33/1938, f. 917-918, *Casa Regală. Diverse*, dosar 4/1938, f. 19-21, 39, 41, 43-47 and dosar 7/1938, f. 22, f. 33-67 f. 73-83 and dosar 13/1938, f. 1-7, and fond *Ministerul de Interne. Diverse*, dosar 19/1938, f. 8 and fond *Nicolae Caranfil*, dosar 465, f. 48-49, f. 60

⁴⁵ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presă internă*, dosar 379/1937-1938, f. 149-154

⁴⁶ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Casa Regală. Diverse*, dosar 10/1938, f. 11-12, dosar 13/1938, f. 2

⁴⁷ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Nicolae Caranfil*, dosar 465, f. 19, 43, 45, 53, 55, 56

government, *Porunca Vremii*, recognized that the economy in Romania left a lot to desire⁴⁸. Scandals between cabinet members escalated, as the Armand Călinescu, *gogist* and the *cuzist* branches found their cohabitation impossible⁴⁹. Furthermore, it seemed that the government could not obtain the minimum 40% quota at the next elections, considering the alliances with Hungarian and German parties and the refusal of Vaida – who stressed that his Romanian's Front doctrine, though nationalist, was not anti-Semitic⁵⁰. Though optimistic on a radio speech after a month in power⁵¹, Goga realized that the only option left was to strike a deal with the legionnaires, who were also isolated. The February 9 Goga-Codreanu arrangement meant that the Iron Guard would withdraw from elections and support the government's lists in order for it to put into practice its nationalist program⁵² - some documents also describing attempts from the two Cuza's to make the agreement⁵³. Moreover, historians argue this event originated in the intervention of Polish diplomat Arciszewski through Ion Antonescu (Ministry of Defense), who in turn convinced Codreanu to avoid any civil war between the Iron Guard and PNC⁵⁴. This pact was a dangerous consolidation of the far right which King Carol wanted to avoid all along and may have been one of the reasons for his intervention.

On February 10 1938, during the usual work audience, the King (already knowing about Goga's agreement with Codreanu), after having listened over an hour to his Prime Minister, revealed that elections needed to be postponed as the situation was tense and the people were restless. As a result, a new cabinet of national union was formed. Though Goga was invited to join as a minister, he refused, resigned his office and left the Royal Palace in a state of shock⁵⁵. Miron Cristea accepted the appointment for Prime-Minister, though, according to some rumours, only after having been blackmailed by the King⁵⁶. Soon, a new Constitution was drafted and political parties were outlawed.

Conclusions

It is hard to believe that the interwar Romanian democratic system, though stronger than others in the region, could have remained intact much longer, given the general unfavourable surrounding territorial situation and the wider European trajectory⁵⁷. Though with only 9% of the votes, but with the purpose of representing the whole nationalist trend, the Goga Government issued decree-laws in the absence of a Parliament which remained dissolved for new elections, thus deepening the crisis of democratic legitimacy⁵⁸. Its partially

⁴⁸ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Casa Regală. Oficiale*, dosar 33/1938, f. 915

⁴⁹ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Nicolae Caranfil*, dosar 465, f. 16, 17, 18, 21 and fond *Casa Regală. Oficiale*, dosar 33/1938, f. 45, 105, 117, 120, 169 and fond *Ministerul de Interne. Diverse*, dosar 10/1937, f. 103-105

⁵⁰ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Nicolae Caranfil*, dosar 465, f. 38, and fond *Casa Regală. Oficiale*, dosar 30/1938, f. 128, and dosar 33/1938, f. 61, 184, 498, 602, 789 and fond *Casa Regală. Diverse*, dosar 12/1938, f. 12, and fond *Direcția generală a Poliției*, dosar 10/1938, f. 6-14, 29

⁵¹ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presă internă*, dosar 379/1937-1938, f. 100

⁵² S.A.N.I.C., fond *Casa Regală. Oficiale*, dosar 33/1938, f. 1082, 1092, 1095-1096, 1119-1120 and Mihail Sturdza, *România și sfârșitul Europei. Amintiri din țara pierdută*, Editura Fronde, Alba Iulia, 1994, p. 104

⁵³ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Nicolae Caranfil*, dosar 465, f. 63 and fond *Ministerul de Interne. Diverse*, dosar 1/1938, f. 11-12

⁵⁴ Armin Heinen, *op.cit.*, p. 338 and Mircea Mușat, Ion Ardeleanu, *op. cit.*, p. 775

⁵⁵ Al. Gh. Savu, *Dictatură regală, 1938-1940*, Editura politică, București, 1970, pp. 149-150

⁵⁶ S.A.N.I.C., fond *Nicolae Caranfil*, dosar 465, f. 76

⁵⁷ Romania's inauspicious regional context and the failure of its major parties are some of the arguments generally used and already discussed by historiography to explain the collapse of democracy.

⁵⁸ Given the authoritarian behavior of the Goga cabinet, one could speculate that democracy had already collapsed prior to the royal intervention. This was not the case since until February 10 1938, the democratic 1923

applied nationalist programme was mostly anti-Semitic and unfortunately contributed to an atmosphere of turmoil. The fragile governmental union seemed to come apart in a context where a financial crisis loomed, pushing it into a dangerous agreement with the Iron Guard.

Unfortunately, Romania, as a part of Europe and the wider geopolitical games in play, partially came under the influence of the nationalist concepts, also contributing with a few locally rooted ideologies. Nationalism was the new face of globalization back then, born as a reaction to several factors, some specific, others quite general to the region. Romania's Great Union, a national historical objective, brought along new issues which paved the way for some of the right-wing conservatives' views. The new minorities, and one in particular, were viewed by some (in this case, the Goga Government) to "be in the way" of creating an integrated, strong, centralised and culturally unified state – a recipe borrowed from France and other western democracies (which also had important percentages of minorities, but were not constrained by any Minorities Treaties, like Romania). The activity of the Goga Government shows that all that remains after carefully constructed ideals, coming from the mind of a poet and contributor to the Great Union, are unrealistic failed attempts of institutional/administrative cultural homogenization. Interculturalism was a reality in the day-to-day Romanian society, amid ethnicities. For instance, let us look at the case of democratically elected highly popular Hitler in a country with a much smaller number of minorities/Jews and the size of cultural conflict which arose there. Fortunately, extremism, in a country with a larger number and diversity of minorities/Jews than Germany, did not become a majoritarian trait of the Romanian electorate. Even though problems and discontent existed, they were naturally occurring phenomena – on the one side taken as a sociological argument and on the other, taking into account the historical and political context of the time. The Goga Government was, conceptually speaking, a failed nationalist-conservative reaction to the developing intercultural relationships within the citizens of interwar Romania.

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Constitution was still in effect and a plurality of active political parties existed. Out of these parties, PNC was chosen to organise the next elections – after which Goga hoped to obtain the democratic majority and legitimacy required to govern. Issuing decree-laws without the Parliament in session was a concept sometimes familiar to the previous cabinet (Tătărescu) and even to French statesmen during interwar Europe. After the royal intervention in February 1938, the Constitution was changed with an authoritarian one, political parties and their press were dissolved and elections for Parliament were suspended indefinitely.

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