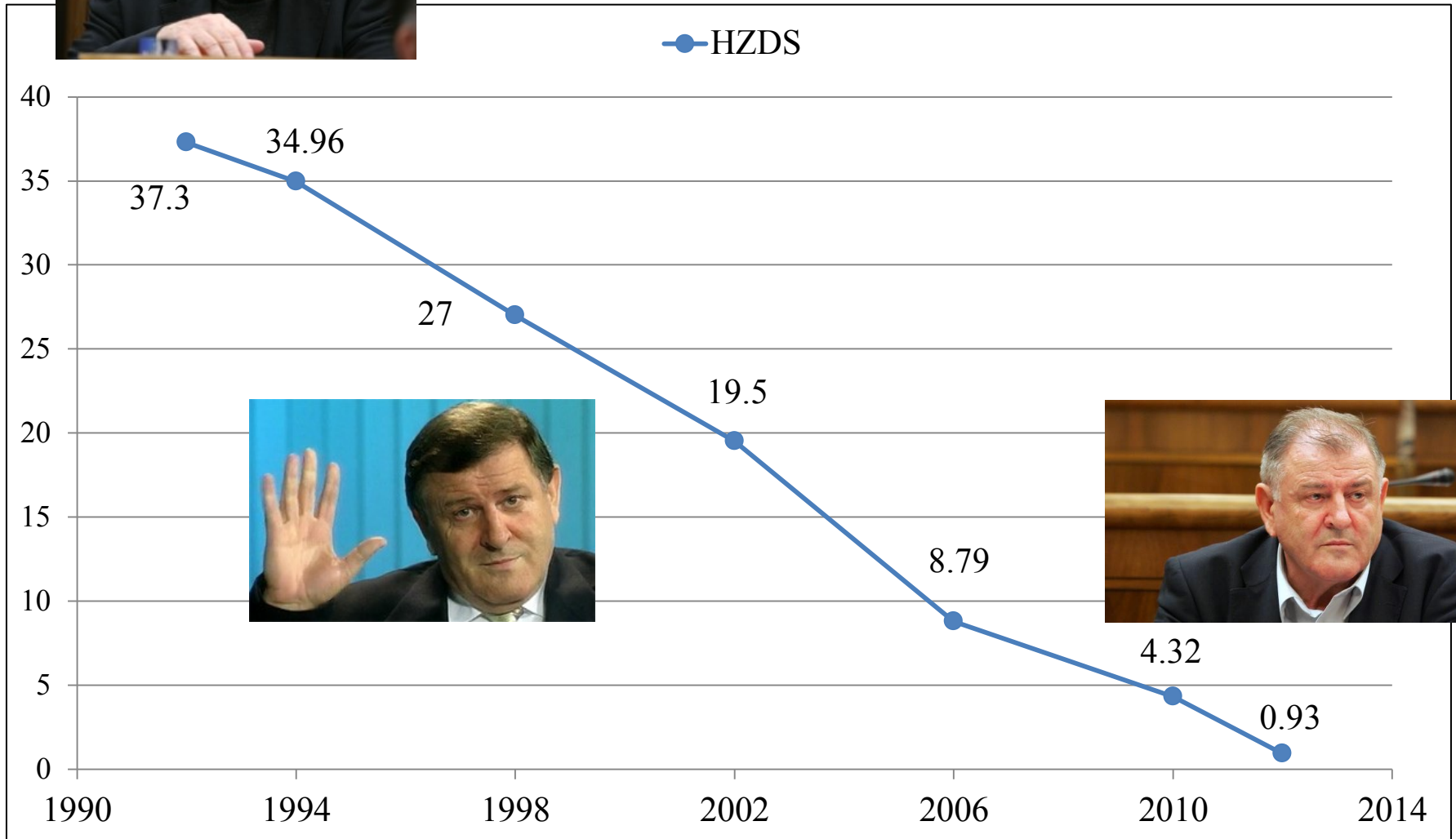


Party System of the New Millenium

Peter Spáč

19.3.2018

The fate of Mečiar



Party system in 1998

- Huge polarization of the party system
- Parties divided into two blocs:
 - Governmental parties (HZDS, SNS, ZRS)
 - Opposition (centre right SDK, leftist SDL, Hungarian SMK, new, leftist and populist SOP)

Elections 1998

Party	Votes (in %)	Seats
HZDS	27	43
SDK	26,33	42
SDL	14,66	23
SMK	9,12	15
SNS	9,07	14
SOP	8,01	13
ZRS	1,3	0
Others	5,81	0
		150

Governments after 1998

Years	Prime Minister	Members	Ideology
1998 – 2002	Dzurinda I	SDK, SDL, SMK, SOP (4)	From left to right
2002 – 2006	Dzurinda II	SDKU, SMK, KDH, ANO (4)	Right
2006 – 2010	Fico I	SMER, SNS, HZDS (3)	From left to right
2010 – 2012	Radičová	SDKU, SaS, Most, KDH (4)	Right
2012 – 2016	Fico II	SMER (1)	Left
2016 -	Fico III	SMER, SNS, Most (3)	From left to right

Government 1998 - 2002



- Prime Minister – Mikuláš Dzurinda
- High number of members – 4 vs. 10
- Main task – to restore the country after Mečiar's era:
 - Return to liberal democratic regime
 - Retrieval of the Slovakia's international image
 - Economic reforms, salvation of banks

Low stability of governmental parties

- Affected all parties except the Hungarians (SMK)
- Centre-right alliance SDK:
 - 2000 – Dzurinda establishes Slovak Democratic and Christian Union (**SDKU**)
 - Only Christian Democrats (KDH) survived
- Collapse of the left (SDL, SOP):
 - Negatively affected by the unpopular economic policy
 - SOP leader Schuster elected for president in 1999
 - SDL leading figure Fico left his party and establishes a new one

Opposition



- Maintained several changes
- HZDS:
 - Hard adaptation on oppositional role
 - Non-constructive opposition work
 - Stabilization after return of Mečiar to active politics
- SNS:
 - Post-electoral destabilization
 - Division into 2 parties and interim marginalization



Opposition – new parties

- **Smer (Direction), 1999:**

- Created by ex-SDL official Robert Fico
- Refused the left-right division
- Project of the third way
- Strong populism, criticism of both eras – Mečiar's and Dzurinda's



- **Alliance of the New Citizen (ANO), 2001:**

- Created by media magnate Pavol Rusko
- The Slovak „Berlusconi“
- Populism, centre-right liberal values



Perception of Prime Ministers (2001)

	Both positive	Mečiar + Dzurinda -	Mečiar - Dzurinda +	Both negative	Do not know (at least one)
HZDS	5,2	88,1	0	2,2	4,5
SNS	1	57,3	6,3	20,8	14,6
KSS	0	44,9	6,1	42,9	6,1
SDKU	4	3	81,2	3	8,9
SMK	1,4	2,1	59,3	20,7	16,4
KDH	7,4	5,6	29,6	29,6	27,8
ANO	0	15,3	20,8	55,6	8,3
SMER	1,9	24,1	17,5	42,9	26,5
non-voters	1,2	14,7	13,5	44,1	13,7
undecided	1,5	14,2	16,1	38,7	29,5

The „map“ of the party system in 2002



Election 2002 – the crisis of the left

Party	Votes (in %)	Seats
HZDS	19,5	36
SDKU	15,09	28
SMER	13,46	25
SMK	11,16	20
KDH	8,25	15
ANO	8,01	15
KSS	6,32	11
SDL + SOP	1,36	0
Others	7,11	0
		150

Government 2002 - 2006

- Dzurinda remained Prime Minister
- **No leftist parties**
- End of the integration process – EU, NATO (2004)
- Unpopular economic reforms – taxes, healthcare, social system
- Since 2003 a minority government





Restoration of the left (SMER)

- Shift from populism to social democracy (SMER-SD)
- 2003-2004 – SMER absorbed smaller leftist parties
- Strong criticism of governmental reforms
- Huge rise of popularity

Into EU! But not with bare asses...



People deserve securities



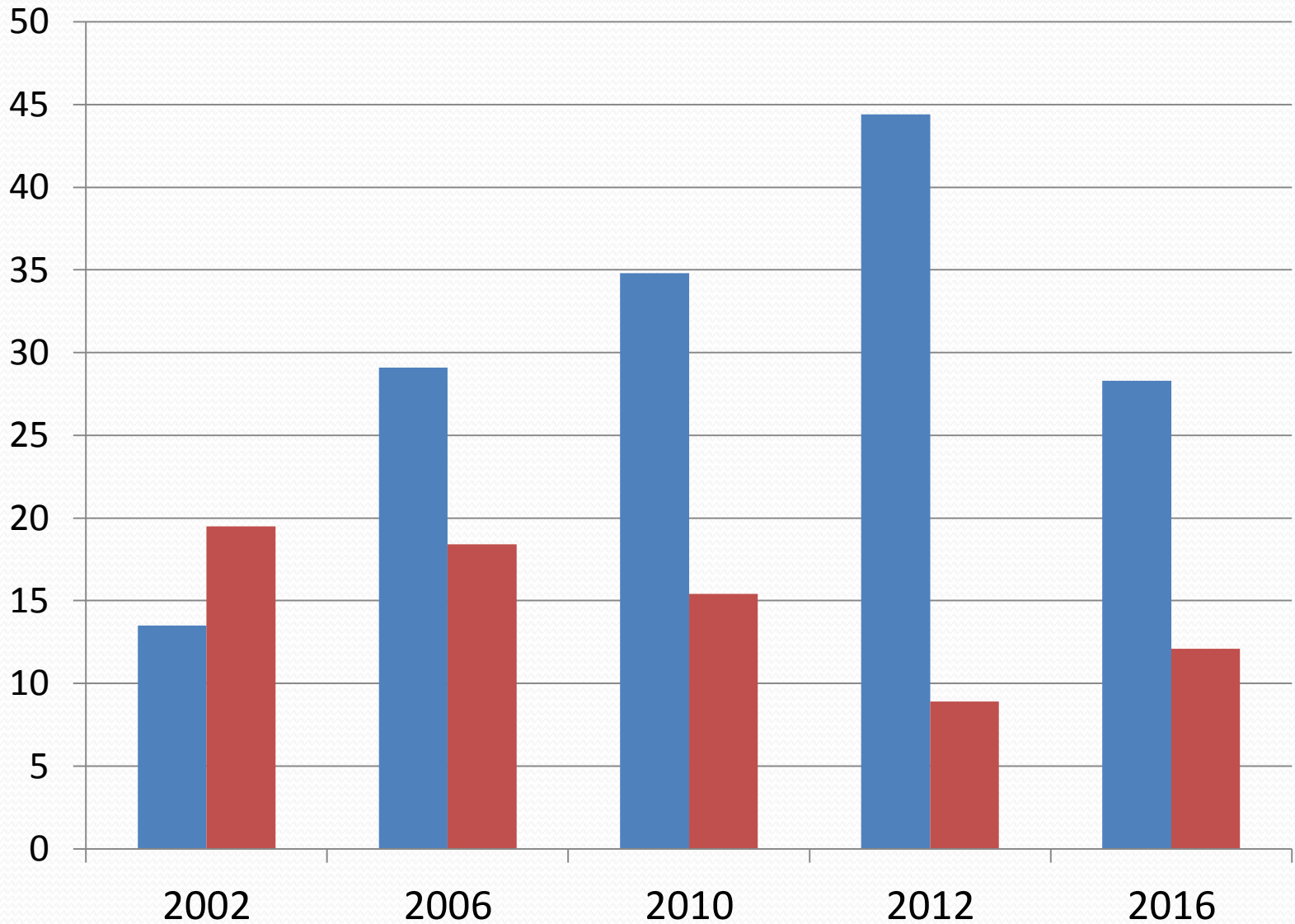
**L'UDIA
SI ZASLÚŽIA
ISTOTY**

www.strana-smer.sk



The image is a political advertisement for the Smer party. It features a portrait of Robert Fico, a man with short brown hair, wearing a dark suit, a light blue jacket, and a red patterned tie. To the right of the portrait, the text "L'UDIA SI ZASLÚŽIA ISTOTY" is written in large, bold, red capital letters. Below this text, the website address "www.strana-smer.sk" is printed in a smaller, grey font. In the bottom right corner, there is a red square containing the Smer party logo, which consists of a stylized white arrow pointing upwards and to the right, with the word "smer" written in white lowercase letters below it. Underneath "smer" is the party's slogan "sme tuhla, kde sme dobre" in a very small font.

■ SMER ■ Best rival



		2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Gender	Men	54.9	56.5	49.3	35.8	39.3	41.3
	Women	45.1	43.5	50.7	64.2	60.7	58.7
Age	18 - 24	19.9	10	7.3	2.3	4.6	2.8
	25 - 34	25.7	24.3	20.3	8.4	8.2	8.8
	35 - 44	28.8	15	16.5	9.9	6.8	13.4
	45 - 59	19.9	32.1	32	32.4	35.1	30
	60 and more	5.8	18.6	23.8	47	45.3	45
Education	Primary	17.3	12.5	18.6	16.1	17.3	16.6
	Lower secondary	39.1	34	35.3	35.4	31.1	30.6
	Higher secondary	33.8	43.1	36.1	37.2	41.4	41.6
	University	9.8	10.4	10	11.2	10.1	11.2
Left-Right	Left	31.1	42.9	46.6	62.5	64.6	58.4
	Centre	54.4	47.9	44.2	32.6	30.5	30.7
	Right	14.4	9.3	9.2	4.9	4.9	10.9
Income	Low	34.5	31.6	17.8		19.9	35.6
	Middle	59.5	59.2	61.7		47.1	50
	High	5.9	9.2	20.4		33	14.4

Election 2006 – the new leader

Party	Votes (in %)	Seats
Smer	29,14	50
SDKÚ	18,35	31
SNS	11,73	20
SMK	11,68	20
HZDS	8,79	15
KDH	8,31	14
ANO	1,42	0
Others	12	0
		150

Government 2006



- Prime Minister – Robert Fico
- Return to ideological heterogeneity:
 - Smer - social democrats
 - SNS - radical right
 - HZDS – vague
- Analogies with Mečiar’s government 1994-98:
 - Total dominance of the strongest party
 - Numerous scandals, problematic style of politics
 - Prime Minister as a dividing line in the party system

Changes in the centre-right after 2006

- **Most-Híd (The Bridge):**

- Created by former leader of SMK Béla Bugár
- Project of Hungarian and Slovak cooperation
- Replaced the position of SMK



- **Freedom and Solidarity (SaS):**

- Created by entrepreneur Richard Sulík
- Liberal, libertarian and postmaterialistic



- Together with SDKU and KDH these parties declared **not to cooperate** with SMER after elections 2010 → sign of polarization

For future generations!



The „map“ of the party system in 2010



The „map“ of the party system in 2010



Election 2010 – HZDS is out

Party	Votes (in %)	Seats
Smer	34,79	62
SDKÚ	15,42	28
SaS	12,14	22
KDH	8,52	15
Most-Híd	8,12	14
SNS	5,07	9
HZDS	4,32	0
Others	11,62	0
		150



Government 2010-2012



- Prime Minister – Iveta Radičová
- Members – SDKU, SaS, Most-Hid, KDH
- 2011 – the EFSF vote:
 - SaS refusal to vote for the rescue mechanism
 - EFSF vote joined with the vote of confidence → end of the government
- → Collapse of the right

Before elections 2012

- Frustration of centre-right voters
- The Gorilla case:
 - Revealed strong corrupt ties between politics and financial groups
 - Biggest negative impact on SDKU
- Ordinary People and Independent Personalities (OLaNO):
 - Populist „party“, four members
 - Forum for independent candidates
 - Vast criticism of existing parties and corruption



Election 2012 – A one man show

Party	Votes (in %)	Seats
Smer	44,41	83
KDH	8,82	16
OLaNO	8,55	16
Most-Híd	6,89	13
SDKU	6,09	11
SaS	5,88	11
Others	19,36	0
		150

Government 2012-16



- A one party government
- Prime Minister – Robert Fico
- No coalition partners → full responsibility
- Social democracy with far right appeals



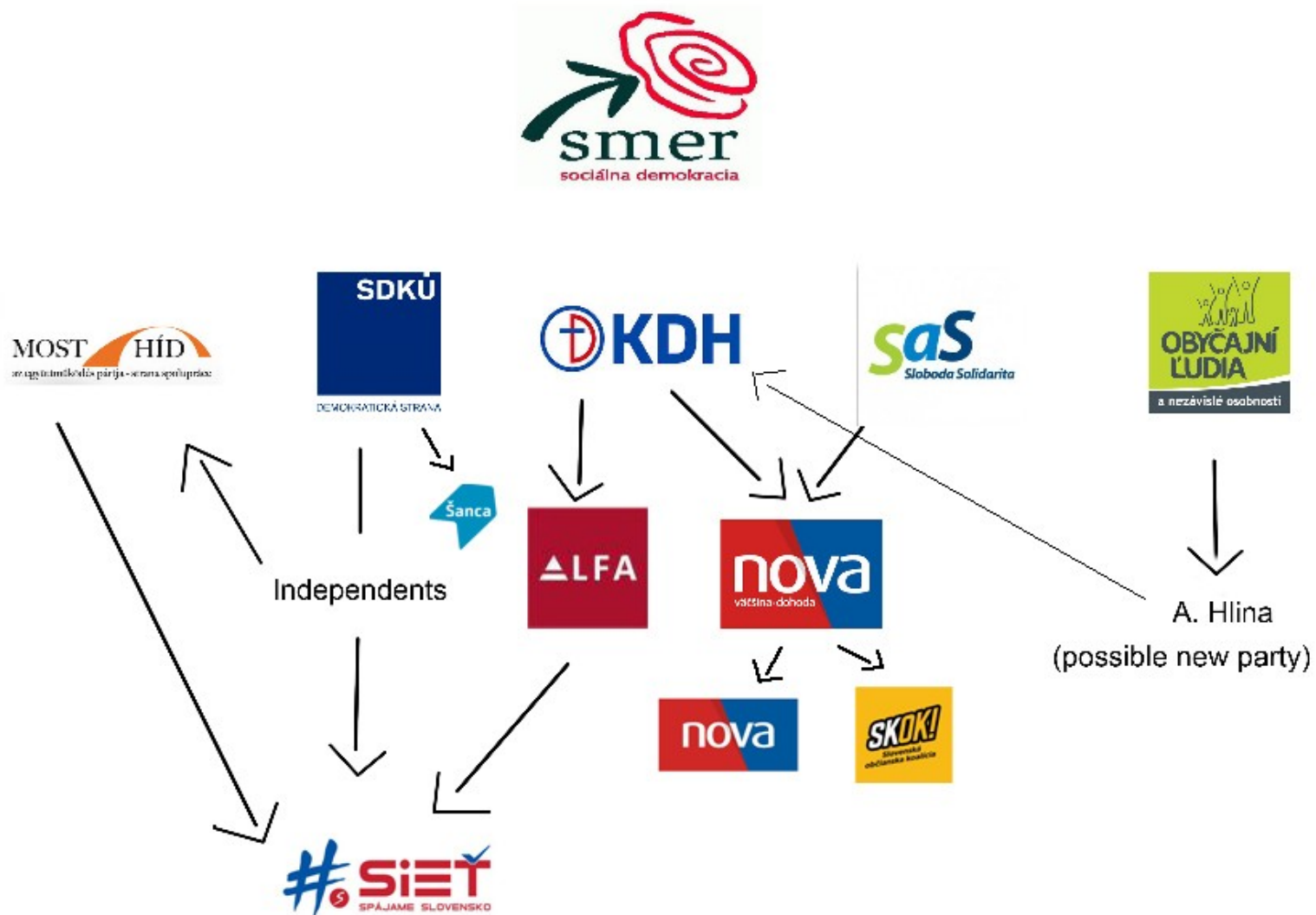
CHRÁNIME SLOVENSKO

VOLTE

16



Not enough chaos? (2015)



Election 2016 – Earthquake

Party	Votes (in %)	Votes vs. 2012	Seats
Smer	28,3	- 16,1	49
SaS	12,1	+ 6,2	21
OLaNO	11,0	+ 2,5	19
SNS	8,6	+ 4,1	15
LSNS	8,0	+ 6,5	14
We are Family	6,6		11
Most-Hid	6,5	- 0,4	11
#SIET	5,6		10
			150

Election 2016

- Huge decline of SMER
- Disappointment for #SIET
- New protest parties in parliament:
 - We are Family – populist
 - LSNS – extreme right
- New government – SMER, nationalist SNS and Hungarian Most





Governments after 1998

Years	Prime Minister	Members	Ideology
1998 – 2002	Dzurinda I	SDK, SDL, SMK, SOP (4)	From left to right
2002 – 2006	Dzurinda II	SDKU, SMK, KDH, ANO (4)	Right
2006 – 2010	Fico I	SMER, SNS, HZDS (3)	From left to right
2010 – 2012	Radičová	SDKU, SaS, Most, KDH (4)	Right
2012 – 2016	Fico II	SMER (1)	Left
2016 -	Fico III	SMER, SNS, Most (3)	From left to right

Governments after 1998

Years	Prime Minister	Consequences
1998 – 2002	Dzurinda I	Collapse of the left
2002 – 2006	Dzurinda II	Restoration of the left
2006 – 2010	Fico I	New dividing line in party system
2010 – 2012	Radičová	Crisis of the right
2012 – 2016	Fico II	Political earthquake
2016 -	Fico III	?

