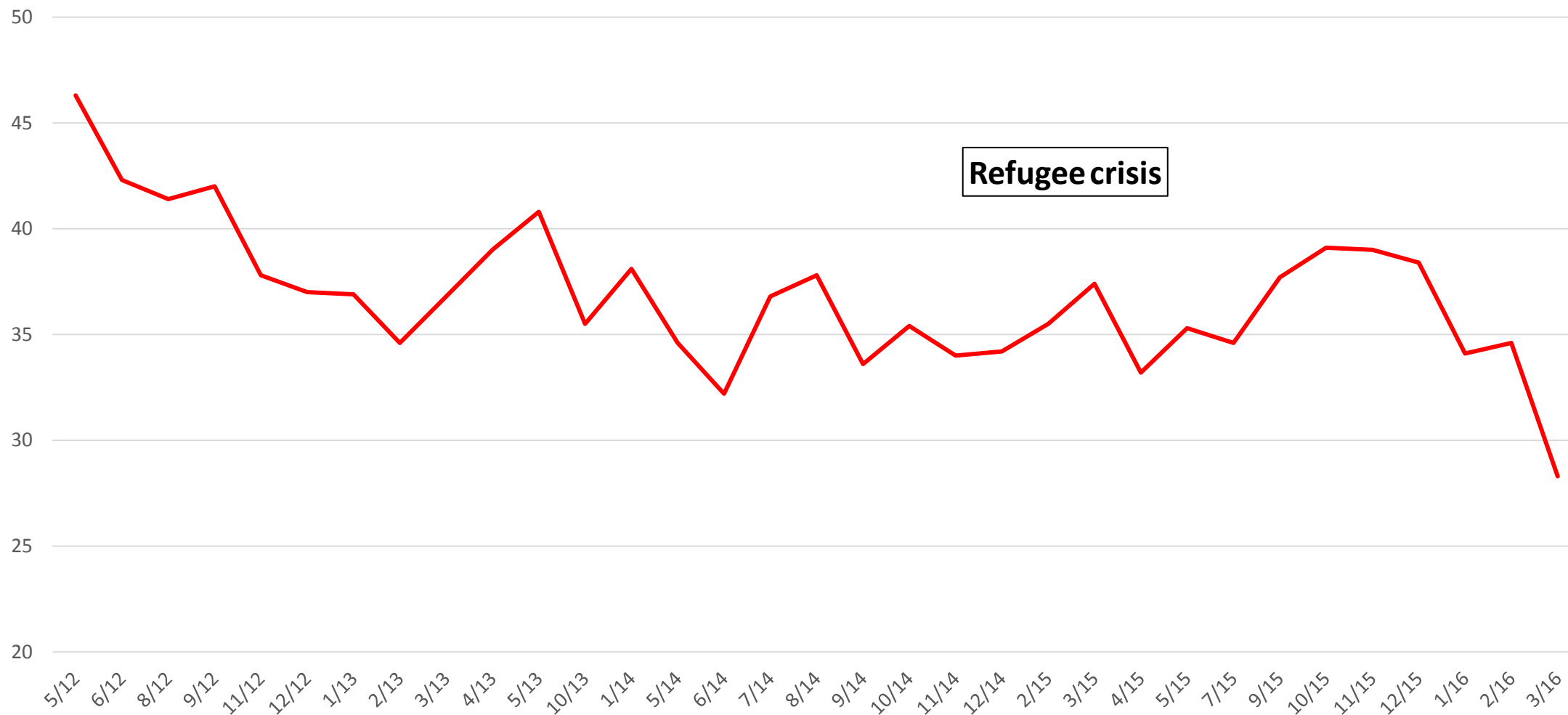


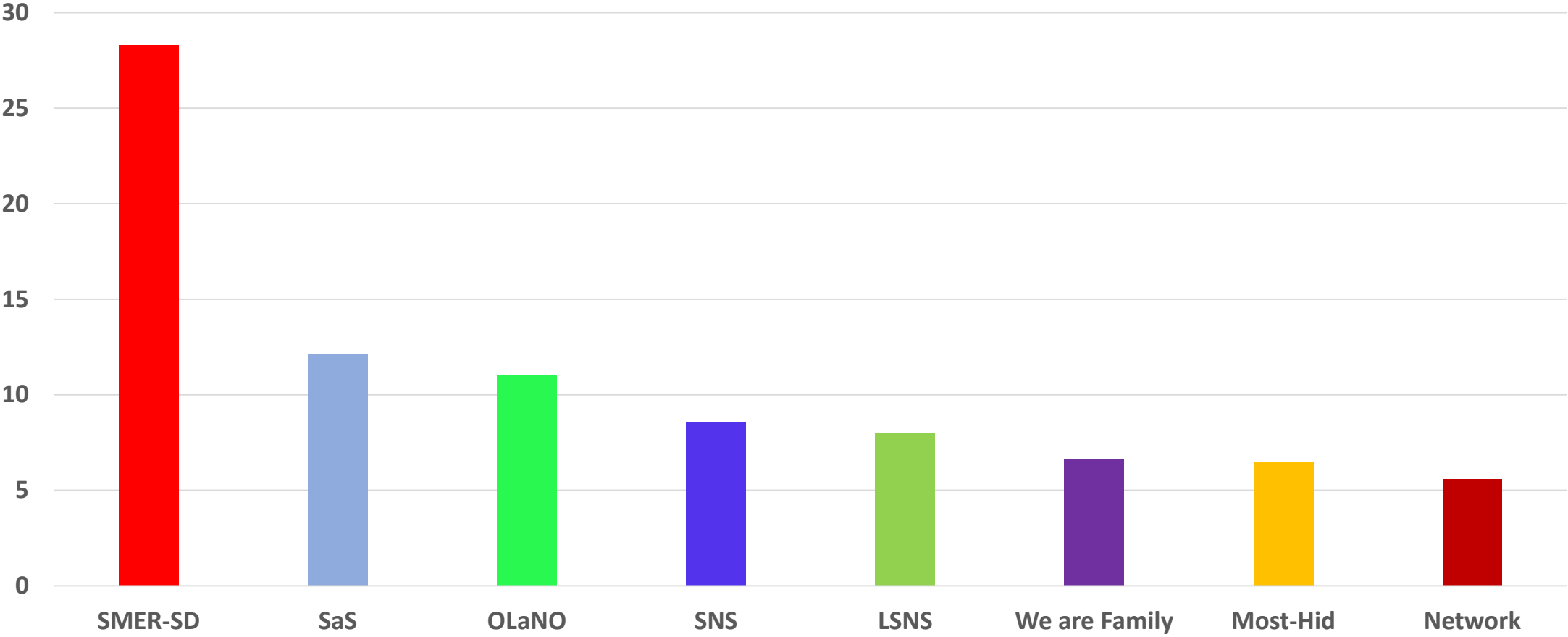
2020 General Election

Peter Spáč

Support of SMER-SD (2012-2016)



2016 General Election



New Government

- Drop of SMER-SD excluded a one-party government
- Two scenarios:
 - SMER-SD + several partners
 - Grand coalition without SMER-SD
- Final outcome:
 - SMER-SD, SNS, Most-Hid, Network
 - Fico as the PM for the third time
 - Network collapsed shortly after that and part of its MPs went to Most
- *“The barrier against extremism”*

Acceptance of the government SMER-SD, SNS, Most-Hid, Network

	Acceptable	Not acceptable	Do not know
SMER-SD	85	11	3
SNS	60	29	12
Most-Hid	39	47	13
Network	36	45	18
KDH	31	53	16
We are Family	23	62	15
LSNS	19	71	10
SaS	19	77	4
SMK	16	84	0
OLaNO	13	84	3
Non voters	30	45	25
All	39	47	14



**VIETE SI PREDSTAVIŤ
VLÁDU BEZ SMERU?
MY ÁNO.**



The Breaking Point in February 2018

- Murder of investigative journalist J. Kuciak and his fiancée M. Kušnírová at their home
- Tremendous consequences:
 - Public impact comparable to November 1989
 - Mass demonstrations around the whole country
 - Shifts in public opinions
 - Personal earthquake in the government
 - Negative effect primarily on SMER-SD



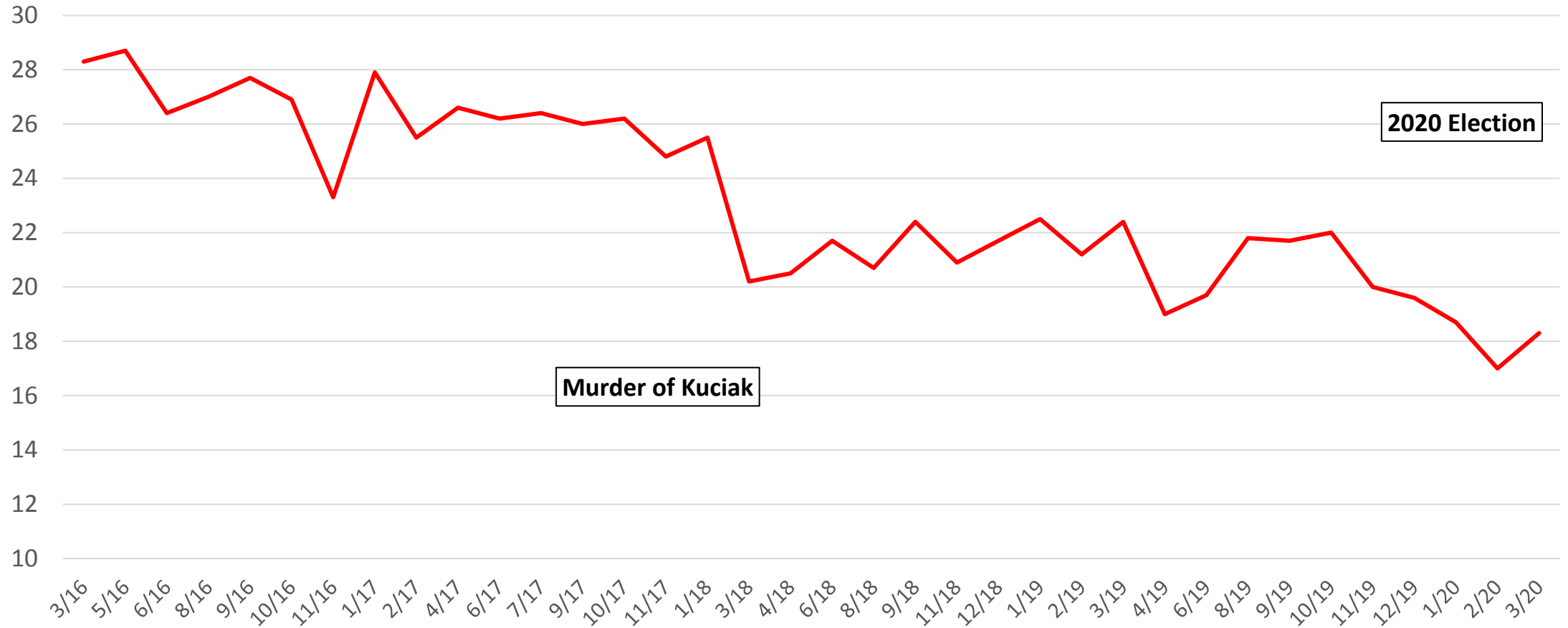


Personal Consequences

- Various prominent officials forced to step down
 - PM Fico
 - Minister of Interior Kaliňák
 - President of the Slovak Police Force Gašpar
- Peter Pellegrini as the new PM (SMER-SD)
 - Fico remained as SMER-SD leader
- The General Attorney promised to unleash “hell”



Support of SMER-SD



Investigation (1)

- The Italian scenario



Investigation (2)

- The Kočner network scenario
- Murder as revenge
- Network of judges granting him protection
- Threema



New parties in the opposition

- Progressive Slovakia (centre-left and liberal)
- Together – Civic Democracy (centre-right)
- Successful cooperation in 2018 local and 2019 presidential election
- For the People:
 - Established by Andrej Kiska after finishing his mandate
 - More conservative leaning

Four Months Before Election

Party	Votes in %	Votes - Threshold	Projected Seats
SMER-SD	20.0	15.0	36
PS – Together	11.7	4.7	21
For the People	10.6	5.6	19
LSNS	10.3	5.3	19
We are Family	7.0	2.0	13
SNS	6.8	1.8	13
KDH	5.7	0.7	10
OLaNO	5.7	0.7	10
SaS	5.0	0.0	9
Most-Hid	4.1		

Survey by Focus Agency, October 30 – November 6, N = 1,020

Integration Attempts

- “Democratic” opposition:
 - PS-Together, For the People, OLaNO, SaS, KDH
 - Separate line of KDH
 - For the People only accepted a cooperation of all parties or nothing
 - as a result, all parties continued alone (and PS-Together as a coalition)
- *„If there are too many parties just above the threshold, it is naive to expect that voters will coordinate their behavior to save all of them”*

Peter Spáč, 11.11.2020

(<https://dennikn.sk/1647669/volby-2020-nerozhodnu-vitazi-ale-porazeni/>)

Further Integration Attempts

- Hungarian parties:
 - Both Most-Hid and SMK (now as MKO-MKS) below the threshold
 - Too many Hungarian parties for the single Hungarian minority
 - Initial hope ended without any result
- Far right and protest parties:
 - LSNS and the newly emerged Homeland
 - Kotleba and Harabin scored 530,000 votes in 2019 presidential election (roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ of all votes)
 - Discussions on integration failed

Main Topics in the Campaign

- The 2018 murder
 - Second anniversary only a few days before the election
- Corruption, scandals of SMER-SD, linkages to Kočner
- Rise of LSNS and extremism in general
- Unsuccessful attempt to bring back “old” topics, e.g. immigrants



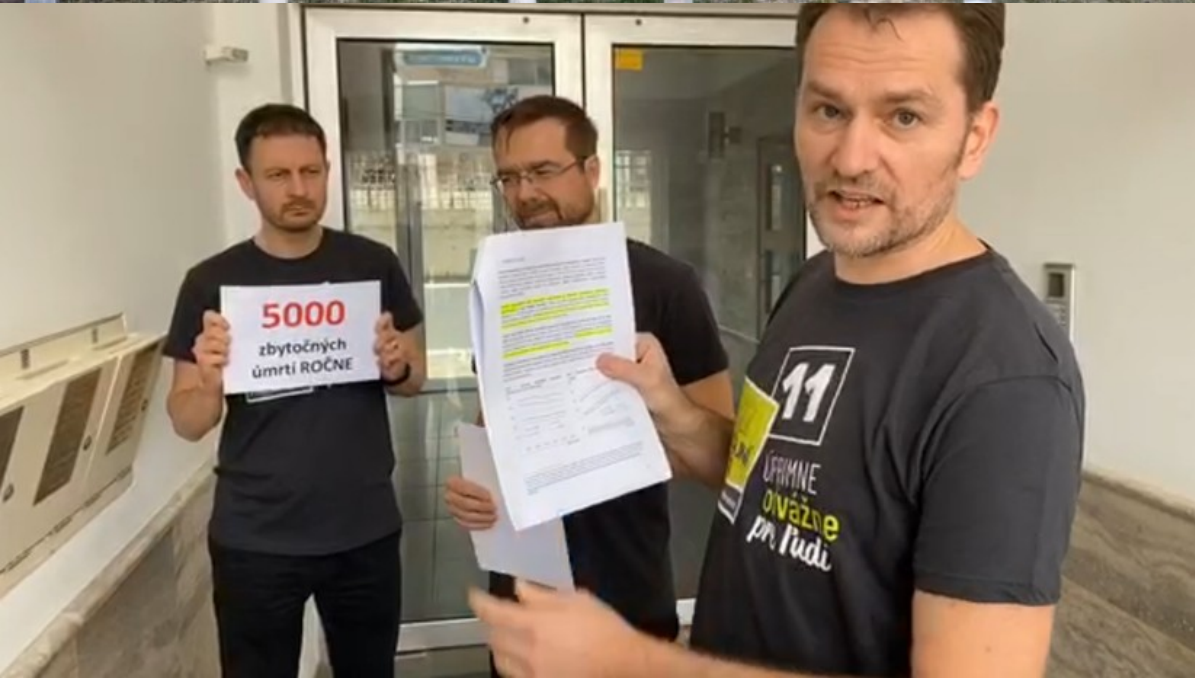
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2020 

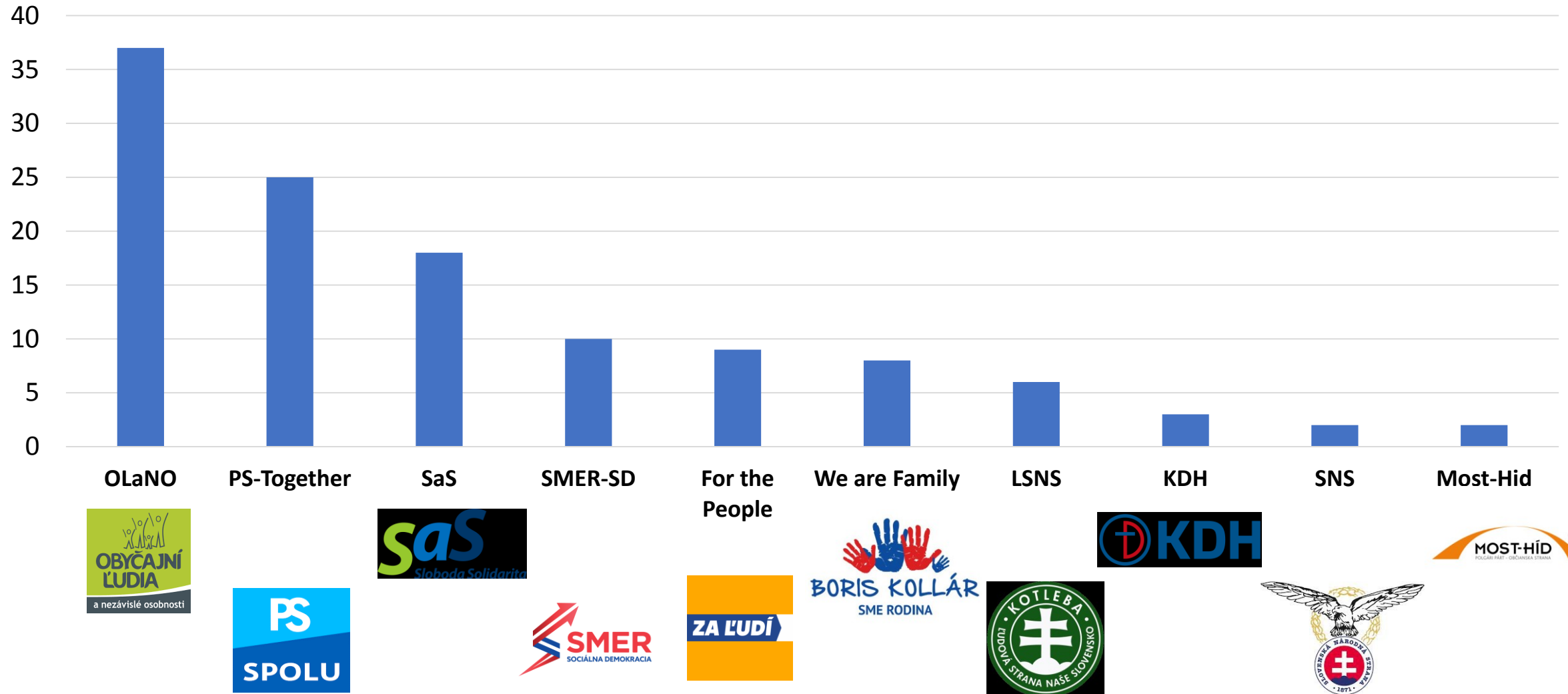
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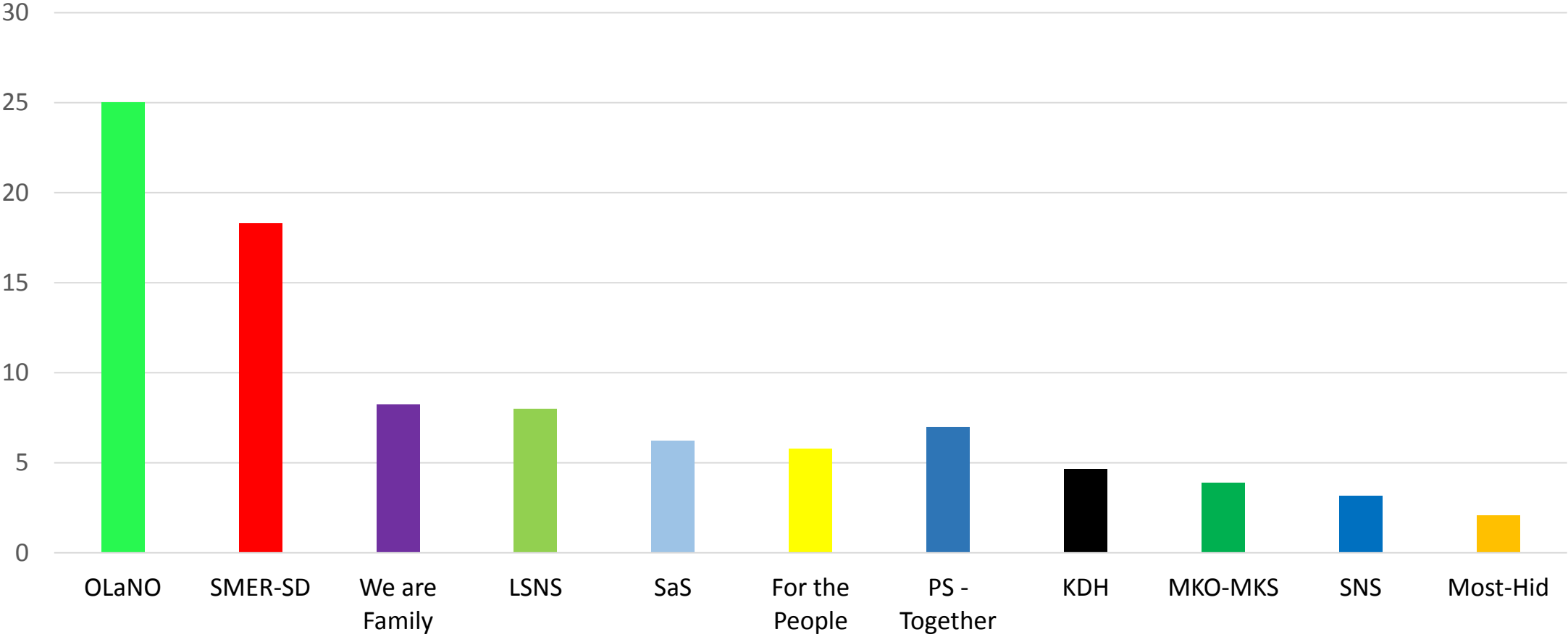
Expert Evaluation of the Campaign (N = 56)



Few Days Before the Election

- SMER and SNS announced vast social benefits before the election
 - 13th pension
 - Doubling of child allowances
 - Abolishment of highway tolls
- Only the pensions were passed in parliament
 - SMER-SD, SNS, LSNS, We are Family

2020 general election



New Government

- OLaNO, We are Family, SaS, For the People
- PM Matovič
- 95 MPs (90 required to amend the Constitution)
- Question of stability and survival

