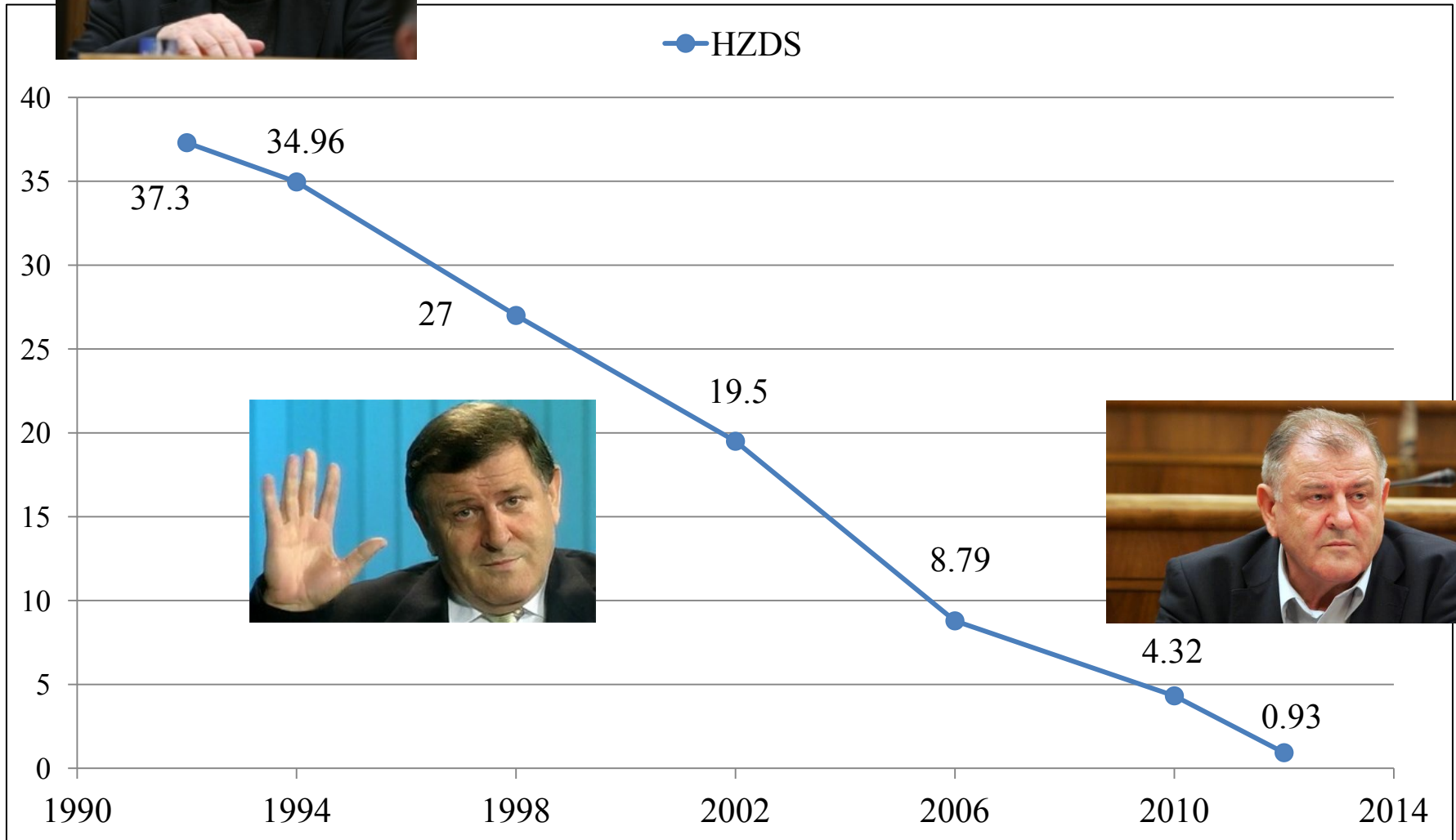


# **Party System of the New Millenium**

Peter Spáč

17.3.2020

# 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 - 2020	Fico III / Pellegrini	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](http://www.strana-smer.sk)

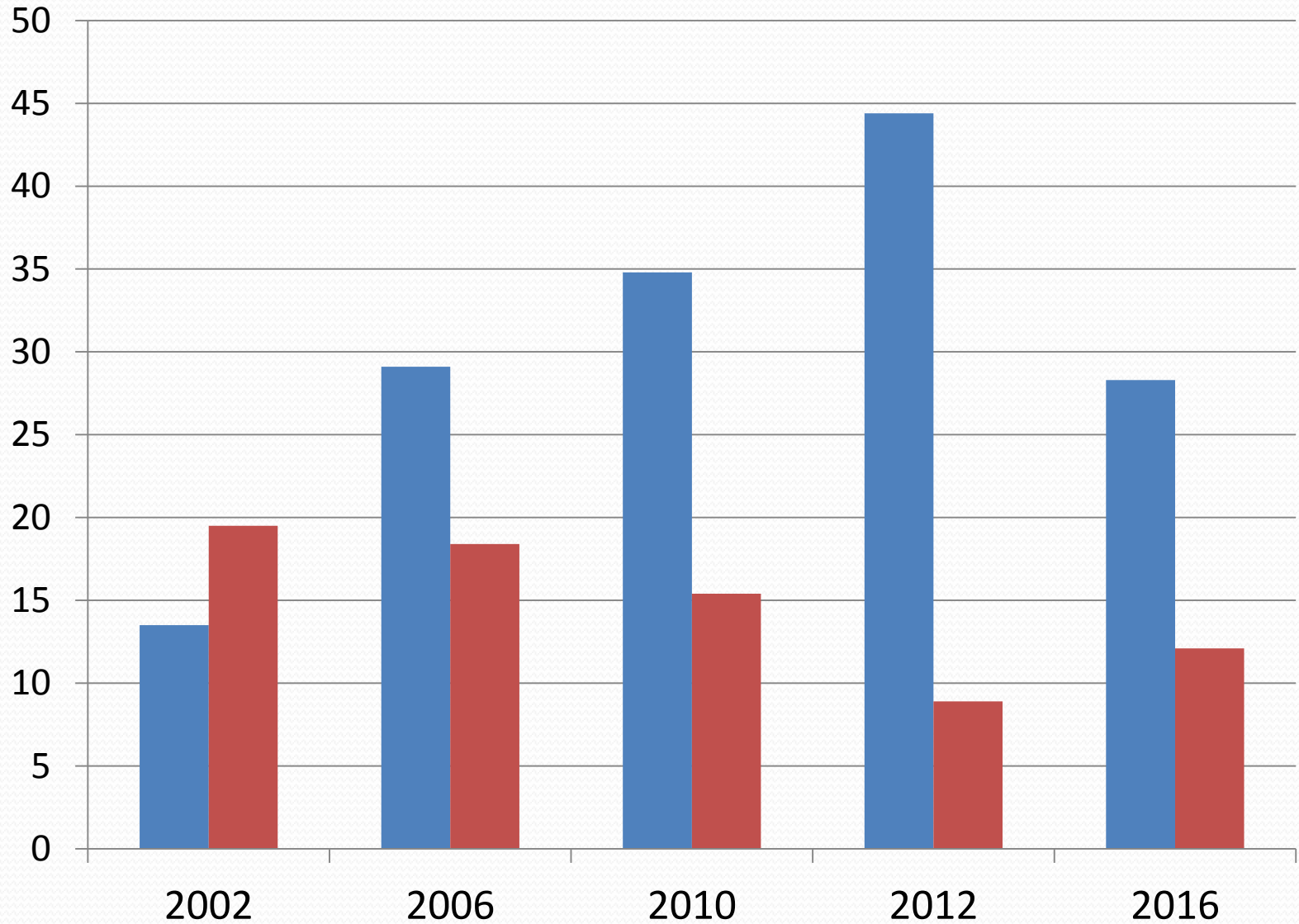


smer  
slovenská demokratická strana

The image is a political advertisement for the Smer party. It features a portrait of Robert Fico on the left. The main text is in large, bold, red capital letters: 'L'UDIA SI ZASLÚŽIA ISTOTY'. Below the text is the website 'www.strana-smer.sk'. In the bottom right corner is the Smer party logo, which consists of a stylized white rose on a red background, with the word 'smer' and 'slovenská demokratická strana' written below it.



■ SMER ■ Best rival



		<b>2002</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2012</b>
<b>Gender</b>	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
<b>Age</b>	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
<b>Education</b>	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
<b>Left-Right</b>	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
<b>Income</b>	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



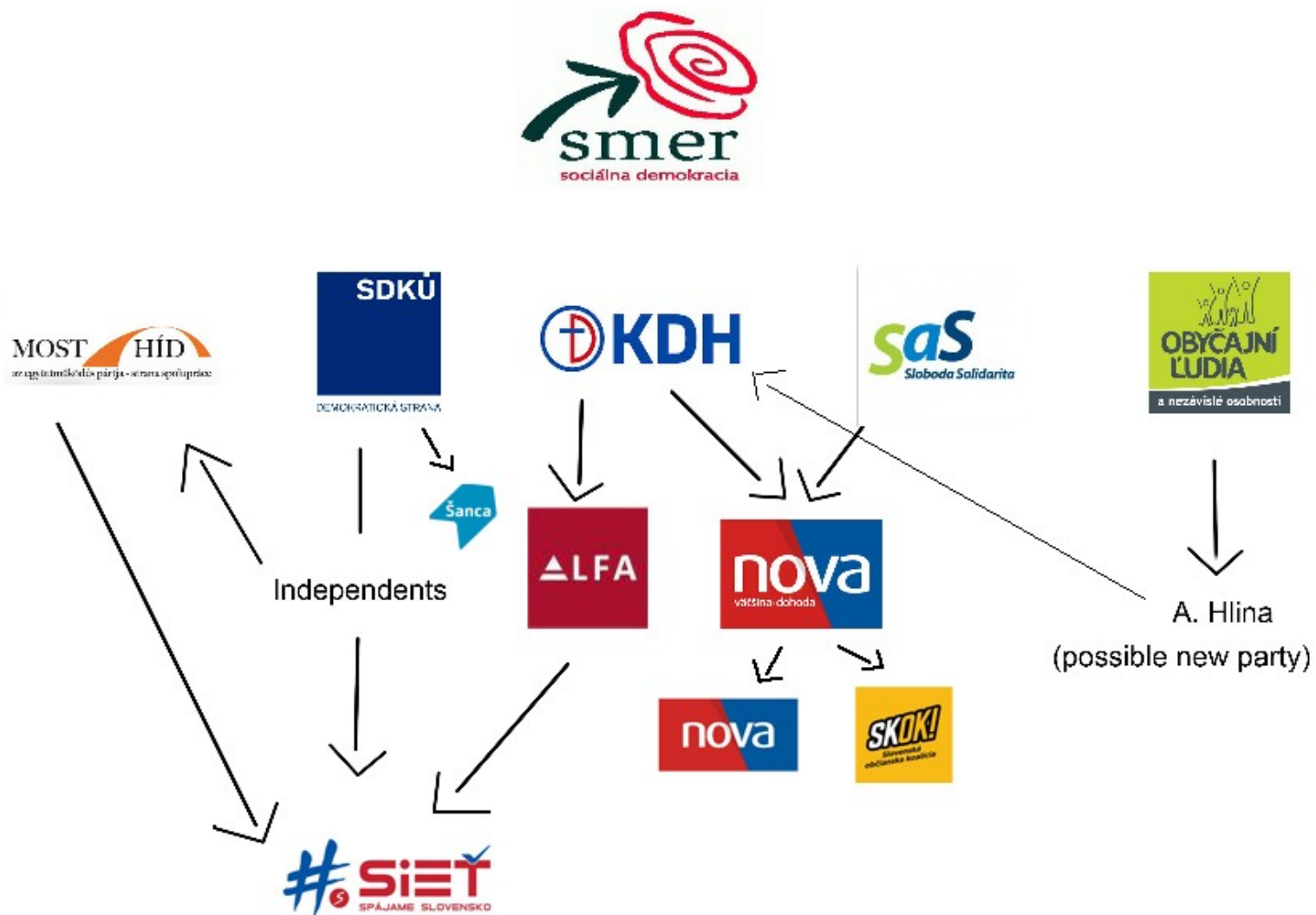
# CHRÁNIME SLOVENSKO

**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 - 2020	Fico III / Pellegrini	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 - 2020	Fico III / Pellegrini	See lecture on 2020 election