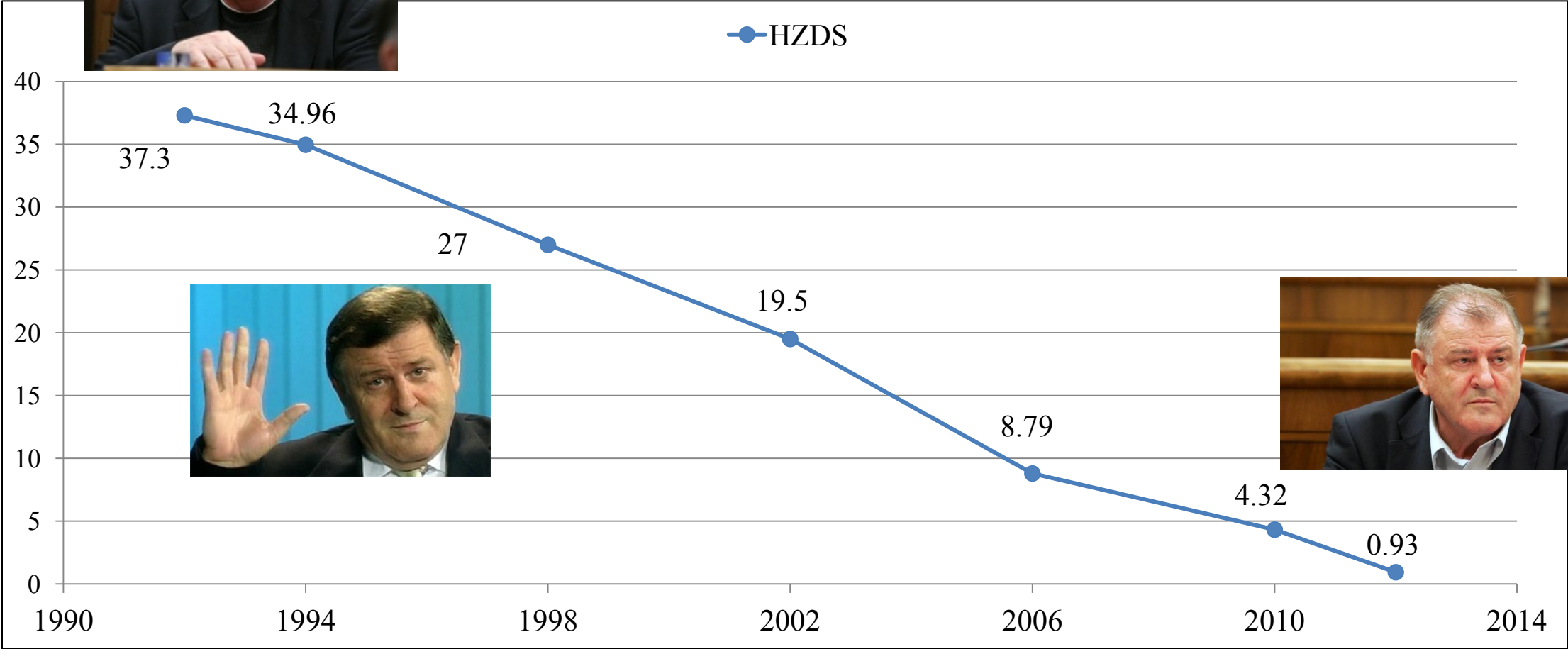


Party System of the New Millennium

POLb1135 Slovak Politics

The fate of Mečiar



1998 Election

Party	Votes (in %)	Seats
HZDS	27,0	43
SDK	26,3	42
SDL	14,7	23
SMK	9,1	15
SNS	9,1	14
SOP	8,0	13
ZRS	1,3	0
Others	5,8	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
HZDS	5,2	88,1	0,0	2,2	4,5
SNS	1,0	57,3	6,3	20,8	14,6
SDKU	4,0	3,0	81,2	3,0	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	0,0	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



2002 Election – Crisis of the Left

Party	Votes (in %)	Seats
HZDS	19,5	36
SDKU	15,1	28
SMER	13,5	25
SMK	11,2	20
KDH	8,3	15
ANO	8,0	15
KSS	6,3	11
SDL + SOP	1,4	0
Others	7,1	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

To the EU! But Not With Bare Asses...



People deserve securities



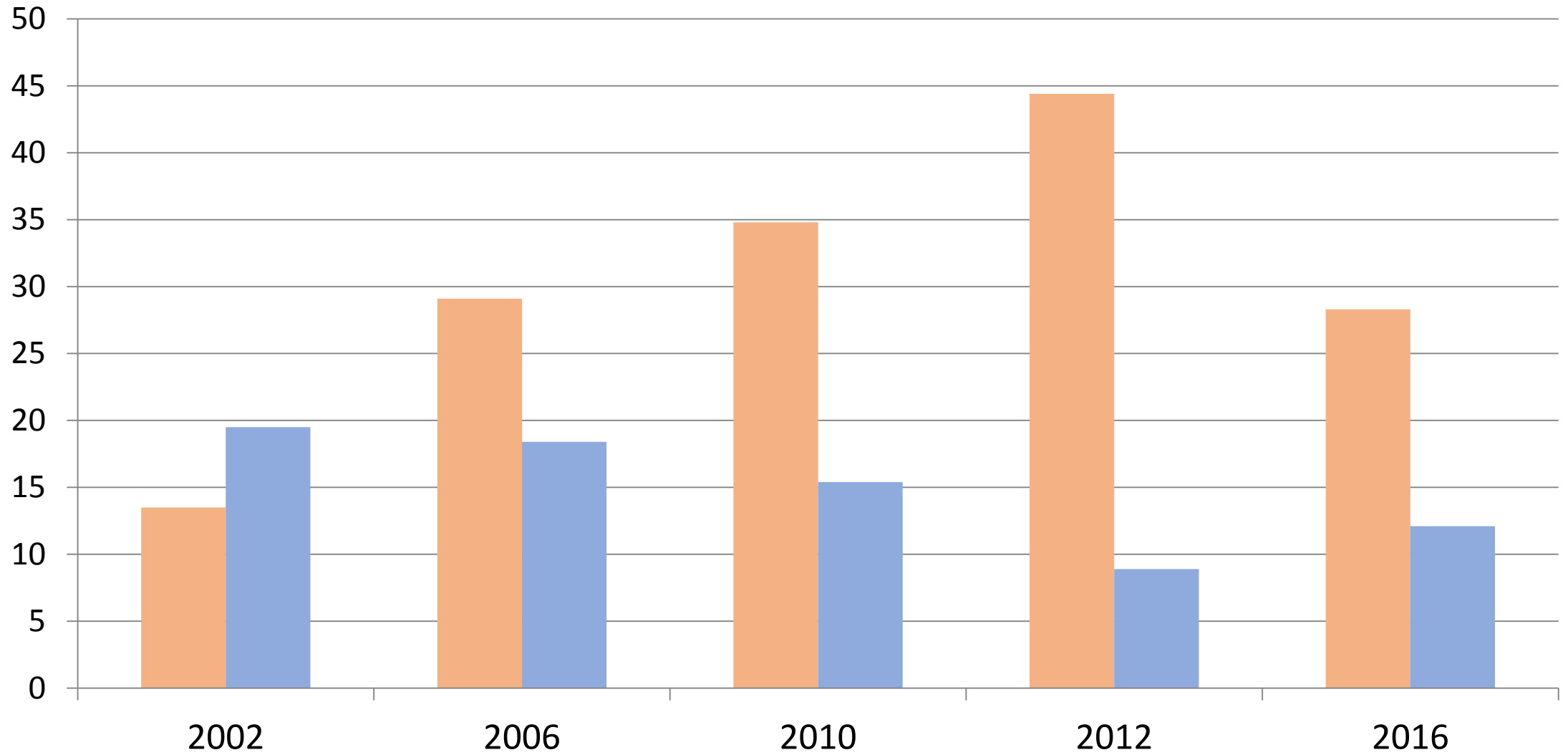
**L'UDIA
SI ZASLUŽIA
ISTOTY**

www.strana-smer.sk

smer
www.citka.sk

The image shows a political advertisement for the Smer party. On the left, there is a portrait of a man in a dark suit, white shirt, and red patterned tie. To the right of the portrait, the text 'L'UDIA SI ZASLUŽIA ISTOTY' is written in large, bold, red capital letters. Below this text, the website address 'www.strana-smer.sk' is visible. In the bottom right corner, there is a red and orange logo for the Smer party, featuring a stylized rose and the word 'smer' in white lowercase letters, with 'www.citka.sk' written below it.

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

2006 Election – The New Leader

Party	Votes (in %)	Seats
Smer	29,1	50
SDKÚ	18,4	31
SNS	11,7	20
SMK	11,7	20
HZDS	8,8	15
KDH	8,3	14
ANO	1,4	0
Others	12,0	0
		150

Government 2006-10

- 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



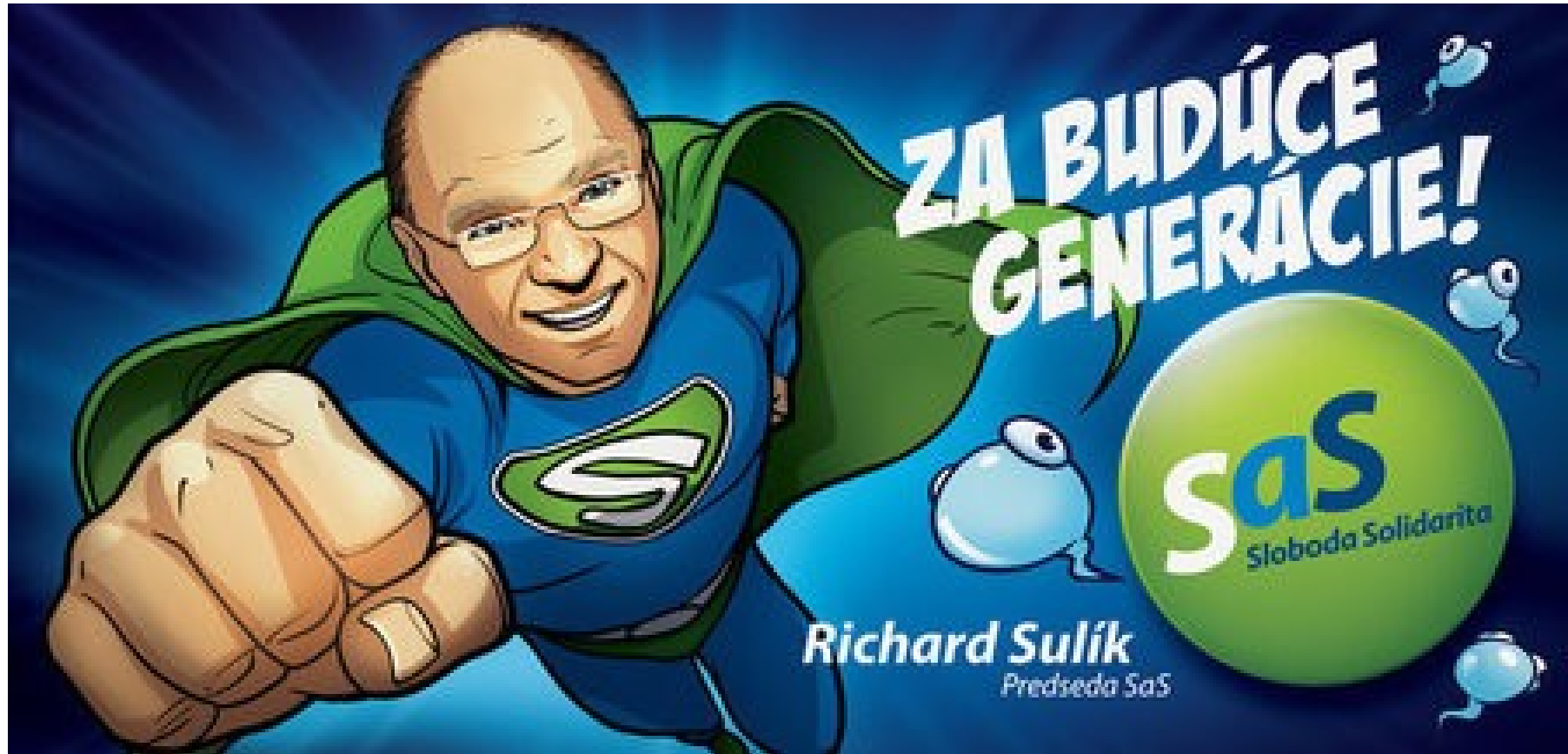
- **Freedom and Solidarity (SaS):**

- Created by entrepreneur Richard Sulík
- Liberal, libertarian and post-materialistic



- 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



2010 Election – HZDS is Out

Party	Votes (in %)	Seats
Smer	34,8	62
SDKÚ	15,4	28
SaS	12,1	22
KDH	8,5	15
Most-Híd	8,1	14
SNS	5,1	9
HZDS	4,3	0
Others	11,6	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 2012 Elections

- 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 only
 - Forum for independent candidates
 - Vast criticism of existing parties and corruption



2012 Election – A one man show

Party	Votes (in %)	Seats
Smer	44,4	83
KDH	8,8	16
OLaNO	8,6	16
Most-Híd	6,9	13
SDKU	6,1 (- 9,3)	11
SaS	5,9 (- 6,2)	11
Others	19,4	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



2016 Election – 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

2016 Election

- 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	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