

Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale / Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations / Молдавский журнал международного права и международных отношений

2024, Issue 2, Volume 19, Pages 95-107. ISSN 1857-1999 EISSN 2345-1963 Submitted: 02.02.2024 | Reviewed 12.03.2024 | Accepted: 20.05.2024 | Published: 15.07.2024 https://doi.org/10.61753/1857-1999/2345-1963/2023.19-2.07

TRIBUNA DISCUȚIONALĂ THE TRIBUNE OF DISCUSSION ДИСКУССИОННАЯ ТРИБУНА

ANALYSIS OF EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS HELD IN SLOVAKIA ON SEPTEMBER 30, 2023

ANALIZA ALEGERILOR PARLAMENTARE ANTICIPATE ȚINUTE ÎN SLOVACIA LA 30 SEPTEMBRIE 2023

АНАЛИЗ ДОСРОЧНЫХ ПАРЛАМЕНТСКИХ ВЫБОРОВ ПРОШЕДШИХ В СЛОВАКИИ 30 СЕНТЯБРЯ 2023 ГОДА

HRDLIČKA Jozef* / HRDLIČKA Jozef / ГРДЛИЧКА Йозеф

ABSTRACT: ANALYSIS OF EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS HELD IN SLOVAKIA ON SEPTEMBER 30, 2023

Early parliamentary elections were held in the Slovak Republic on September 30, 2023. The results of these elections, which brought a change in the ruling political set in Slovakia, are the subject of our analysis. The work briefly defines the socio-political development in Slovakia in the past period as a determinant of election results. It gives the basic value characteristics of dominant political entities. The research also includes a comparison of the election results achieved by the dominant political entities in the parliamentary elections in 2020 and 2023. Based on this comparison, it analyzes movements in the political consciousness and behavior of Slovak voters. The results of the parliamentary elections in September 2023 mean the return of social democrats and national-conservative political forces to positions of power in Slovakia after more than three years.

Keywords: *elections, political party, Slovak Republic, parliament, government, social democracy, conservatism.*

JEL Classification: K33 Universal Decimal Classification: 342.8; 342.84; 324 https://doi.org/10.61753/1857-1999/2345-1963/2023.19-2.07

REZUMAT:

ANALIZA ALEGERILOR PARLAMENTARE ANTICIPATE ȚINUTE ÎN SLOVACIA LA 30 SEPTEMBRIE 2023

Alegerile parlamentare anticipate au avut loc în Republica Slovacă la 30 septembrie 2023. Rezultatele acestor alegeri, care au adus o schimbare în setul politic de guvernământ din Slovacia, fac

^{*} HRDLIČKA Jozef - Doctor of Political Sciences, Department of Political Science of the Alexander Dubček University of Trenčín Trenčín, Slovak Republic. / HRDLIČKA Jozef - Doctor habilitat în științe politice, Departamentul de Științe Politice a Universității Alexander Dubček din Trenčín, Trenčín, Republica Slovacă. / ГРДЛИЧКА Йозеф - Доктор политических наук, Кафедра политологии Тренчанского университета им. Александра Дубчека в Тренчине, Тренчин, Словацкая Республика. E-mail: jozefhrdlicka77@gmail.com ; https://orcid.org/0009-0009-3426-0146

Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale Nr. 2 (Vol. 19), 2024

obiectul analizei noastre. Lucrarea definește pe scurt dezvoltarea socio-politică din Slovacia în perioada trecută ca un factor determinant al rezultatelor alegerilor. Ea oferă caracteristicile valorice de bază ale entităților politice dominante. Cercetarea include și o comparație a rezultatelor alegerilor obținute de entitățile politice dominante la alegerile parlamentare din 2020 și 2023. Pe baza acestei comparații, analizează mișcările în conștiința politică și comportamentul alegătorilor slovaci. Rezultatele alegerilor parlamentare din septembrie 2023 înseamnă revenirea social-democraților și a forțelor politice național-conservatoare la poziții de putere în Slovacia după mai bine de trei ani.

Cuvinte cheie: alegeri, partid politic, Republica Slovacă, parlament, guvern, social-democrație, conservatorism.

JEL Classification: K33 CZU: 342.8; 342.84; 324 https://doi.org/10.61753/1857-1999/2345-1963/2023.19-2.07

PE3HOME:

АНАЛИЗ ДОСРОЧНЫХ ПАРЛАМЕНТСКИХ ВЫБОРОВ ПРОШЕДШИХ В СЛОВАКИИ 30 СЕНТЯБРЯ 2023 ГОДА

30 сентября 2023 года в Словацкой Республике прошли досрочные парламентские выборы. Результаты этих выборов, которые привели к смене правящей политической системы в Словакии, являются предметом нашего анализа. В работе кратко определяется социальнополитическое развитие Словакии в прошедший период как определяющее значение результатов выборов. В нем даны основные ценностные характеристики доминирующих политических образований. Исследование также включает сравнение результатов выборов, достигнутых доминирующими политическими образованиями на парламентских выборах 2020 и 2023 годов. На основе этого сравнения анализируются изменения в политическом сознании и поведении словацких избирателей. Результаты парламентских выборов в сентябре 2023 года означают возвращение социал-демократов и национально-консервативных политических сил на властные позиции в Словакии спустя более чем три года.

Ключевые слова: выборы, политическая партия, Словацкая Республика, парламент, правительство, социал-демократия, консерватизм.

JEL Classification: K33 УДК: 342.8; 342.84; 324 https://doi.org/10.61753/1857-1999/2345-1963/2023.19-2.07

Formulation of the problem

Parliamentary elections in the Slovak Republic (elections to the National Council of the Slovak Republic), which took place on February 29, 2020, ended the long-term rule of the Social Democrats (SMER – SD) and their coalition partners.¹ The new government coalition was formed by right-wing political entities (OĽANO, SME RODINA, SaS, ZA ĽUDÍ) with a strong Euro-Atlantic orientation. The new right-wing government had a constitutional majority in the parliament.² The period of their rule was marked by the coronavirus pandemic, the military conflict in Ukraine and, above all, permanent disputes in the government coalition, which ultimately led to the fall of the government, the appointment of a caretaker government and the holding of early parliamentary elections.³ Parliamentary elections were

96

¹ The political party SMER – SD ruled the Slovak Republic in the years 2006-2010 and 2012-2020. After the parliamentary elections in 2016, the Social Democrats formed a government together with the Slovak National Party and the Slovak-Hungarian party MOST-HÍD.

² Slovak Parliament – The National Council of the Slovak Republic consists of 150 deputies. A minimum number of 76 deputies is required to form the government of the Slovak Republic. Pursuant to Act 460/1992 Coll. (The Constitution of the Slovak Republic) Art. 84, the constitutional majority consists of at least a three-fifths majority of all deputies.

³ Regular parliamentary elections in Slovakia were to be held in February 2024.

held on September 30, 2023, and their results brought the victory of the Social Democrats (SMER - SSD) and the replacement of the ruling political set. The aim of the work is to briefly define the socio-political development in Slovakia in the past period in the context of historical analysis. Give the basic value characteristics of dominant political subjects. Analyze the results of early parliamentary elections from September 2023 and confront them with the results of the elections in February 2020. Based on this analysis, point out the movements in the political consciousness and behavior of the Slovak voter. The results of the parliamentary elections in September 2023 mean the return of social democrats and national-conservative political forces to positions of power in Slovakia after more than three years. This exchange of political elites can also significantly affect the foreign policy of the Slovak Republic.

The object of our investigation are political entities running in the parliamentary elections in 2020 and 2023. Slovak legislation sets the necessary threshold for the entry of a political entity at a minimum level of 5% of the votes obtained in the elections. For this reason, research attention is paid to political entities that have gained parliamentary representation. The main research material is the results of the parliamentary elections in Slovakia in 2020 and 2023 provided by the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic. These are the definitive and comprehensive results of the parliamentary elections. We also considered the program documents of selected political entities to be important research material. Historical research, analysis of statistical documents as well as methods based on the principles of logic and logical thinking form the main methodology of our research.

Presenting main materiál

In order to understand the political situation in Slovakia and especially the results of the parliamentary elections, it is necessary for the foreign reader to know at least the basic characteristics of the dominant political entities that are the subject of our research. For this reason, we present it in the text:

SMER - Slovak social democracy (SMER - SSD or SMER - SD) is a political entity that was established at the end of 1999. It adheres to a left-wing, social-democratic political orientation. It is a successful political project that ruled in Slovakia in various coalitions from 2006 to 2010 and then from 2012 to 2020. The chairman of the political entity since its inception has been Róbert Fico, multiple Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic. In recent years, it has been profiled not only as a left-wing but also as a national and conservative political entity. It advocates European integration and transatlantic cooperation on the premise of defending Slovakia's national-state interests. It rejects a military solution to the conflict in Ukraine as well as military support for the Ukrainian regime. He criticizes the sanctions policy of the collective West against the Russian Federation.¹ In the parliamentary elections in September 2023, the political party SMER - SSD became the winner of the elections and formed a new government of the Slovak Republic.

HLAS - social democracy (HLAS - SD) is a political entity that adheres to the social democratic orientation of the European type. He sees the Slovak Republic as a stable part of the European Union and NATO. The political entity was created by the secession of some members of parliament from the SMER-SD party after the unsuccessful parliamentary elections in 2020. The founder of the political party is Peter Pelegrni, who on June 10, 2020 announced his resignation from the position of vice-chairman of the party as well as a member of the Smer-SD political party.² After the crisis in the government coalition in March 2018, Peter Pelegrini was until March 2020 the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic for the SMER – SD party. On September 11, 2020, a new political party called HLAS – social democracy (HLAS – SD) was founded at the Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic

¹ SMER-SD. [Online]: <u>https://www.strana-smer.sk/</u> (Visited 22.11.2023).

² SMER lost Pellegrini, Fico is keeping his fingers crossed. [Online]: <u>https://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/554058-fico-ponukol-pellegrinimu-miesto-predsedu-strany-smer/</u>(Visited 22.11.2023).

and Peter Pelegrini became its chairman. After the 2023 elections, it joined the government coalition with the party SMER – SSD and SNS.

Progressive Slovakia (PS) was founded in November 2017. It is considered a liberal, centrist and pro-European movement with a social orientation. He holds liberal positions in the cultural-ethical area. The main value starting points are "liberal democracy, freedom, human dignity, equality, justice, sustainable development, European and international cooperation", which are also, according to the PS, a necessary condition for "building a modern, open, solidary and European" Slovakia.¹ Within European structures, it is part of the European group of liberals (ALDE). From May 2022, the chairman of the political movement is Michal Šimečka, former vice-president of the European Parliament. In the presidential elections in 2019, the PS candidate, Zuzana Čaputová, was successful. The movement advocates tough sanctions against the Russian Federation and all-round support for the Ukrainian regime. In the 2020 parliamentary elections, the PS did not enter parliament.² In the early parliamentary elections in September 2023, it took second place with a gain of 17.96%.

WE ARE FAMILY (SME RODINA) is a political entity operating since 2015, whose chairman is businessman Boris Kollár. It is considered a populist movement with elements of nationalism and conservatism. After the parliamentary elections in February 2020, it became part of the right-wing government coalition. The chairman of the political party, Boris Kollár, served as the chairman of the Slovak parliament. After the elections in September 2023, it did not reach the parliament.

Ordinary people and independent personalities (OĽANO) is a political movement in which independent personalities and experts have a place. It was created in November 2011 as an attempt to create a strong opposition to the SMER-SD party. The founder and chairman of the party is Igor Matovič. From a political point of view, this political movement can be considered programmatically inconsistent and considerably populist. The fight against corruption and clientelism is considered a dominant priority in the movement. In the parliamentary elections of 2020, it defeated the Social Democrats and became the main political entity of the government. During the coronavirus period, he advocated the introduction of tough anti-pandemic measures. In the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, it advocated an anti-Russian stance and significant support for Ukraine. Before the parliamentary elections in 2023, within the political entity OĽANO, a joint list of candidates was created by several political parties, including the ZA ĽUDÍ party.³ Together they won 8.9% of the votes.

The Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) has been active in Slovakia since 1990 and can be considered a right-wing, conservative movement. The current chairman is Milan Majerský. In the past, the movement was part of several right-wing government coalitions. In the years 2016-2023, it was not a parliamentary subject. It returned to parliament after the elections in September 2023.

Freedom and Solidarity (SaS) was founded in February 2009. It is a liberal, right-wing political party that has been represented in the Slovak parliament since 2010. In the years 2010-2012 and in the years 2020-2023, it was part of the government coalition. Richard Sulík is the founder and chairman of the political entity. Within European politics, this political party can be defined as Euro-realist. Supports Slovakia's membership in the European Union and NATO.

The Slovak National Party (SNS) is a political entity that was founded in 1989. It claims historical continuity with the Slovak National Party active in the 19th century. It was the first

¹ PS. [Online]: [Online]: <u>https://progresivne.sk/dokumenty/</u>(Visited 22.11.2023).

 $^{^{2}}$ In the parliamentary elections in February 2020, PS ran in a coalition with another political party. In the case of a coalition of several political parties, a minimum quorum of 7% is set for entry into the Slovak parliament. PS candidates in a coalition with the TOGETHER party won 6.96% of the votes.

³ Postoj; TASR. Elections 2023 / OĽANO goes into a coalition with KÚ and Za lúdí. 25 political subjects will be candidates. [Online]: <u>https://www.postoj.sk/133551/olano-ide-do-koalicie-s-ku-a-za-ludi-kandidovat-bude-25-politickych-subjektov</u> (Visited 22.11.2023).

political party of Slovaks. The current SNS is considered a right-wing, conservative and national political party with a significant social orientation. With its program, it advocates national, social and Christian values. The chairman of the party is Andrej Danko. The SNS applies for Slovakia's membership in the European Union under the conditions of respect for Slovakia's national and state interests. The political party has reservations about Slovakia's membership in NATO. In the years 2016-2020, it was part of the government coalition with the SMER-SD party.¹ Andrej Danko was the chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic during this period. In the parliamentary elections in February 2020, she lost her parliamentary status. In the elections in September 2023, it again became a parliamentary entity and part of the new government coalition. However, representatives of other political parties also ran on its list of candidates.

FOR THE PEOPLE (ZA ĽUDÍ) is a political party founded by the former president of the Slovak Republic, Andrej Kiska (2014 – 2019). The political party was established in September 2019, before the parliamentary elections. It is a right-wing centrist political entity with a pro-European and transatlantic orientation. After the parliamentary elections in February 2020, it became part of the government coalition. In the elections in September 2023, she ran on the OĽANO candidate list.

People's Party Our Slovakia (ĽSNS) is considered an extreme right-wing and nationalist party. He rejects Slovakia's membership in the European Union as well as in NATO. It was established in October 2000 and its founder and chairman is Marián Kotleba. It was represented in the Slovak parliament from 2016 to 2023. In March 2021, a group of parliamentarians left the ĽSNS and formed a new political entity under the name REPUBLIC. It is a national and conservative political movement.² The chairman of the party is member of the European Parliament Milan Uhrík. In the parliamentary elections in September 2023, none of the parties made it to the parliament.

Understanding the results of early parliamentary elections in the Slovak Republic, which took place on September 30, 2023, requires knowledge of the main characteristics of political development in Slovakia in the past period. After the parliamentary elections in 2006, the political party SMER – SD formed the government of the Slovak Republic. It became the dominant political entity in Slovakia. She won the parliamentary elections in 2010, but did not form a government. In the years 2010-2012, the government coalition was formed by rightwing political entities. Developments on the Slovak political scene after the 2010 elections were accompanied by conflicts in the right-wing government coalition and culminated in early parliamentary elections on March 10, 2012. In these elections, social democracy won again and was the only one to form a government. The Social Democrats became the governing body until 2020. ³The socio-political atmosphere of the 2016-2020 election period in Slovakia was largely determined by the murder of the investigative journalist Ján Kuciak and Martina Kušnírová, which happened on February 21, 2018. These tragic events led to societal, a mass protest against the government coalition and above all against the strongest government party SMER-SD. These protests culminated on March 9, 2018.⁴ The political parties of the government coalition, and especially SMER-SD, were accused by the political opposition of corruption and mafia practices. On March 15, 2018, Robert Fico resigned as Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic and submitted his resignation to the President of the

```
RMDIRI, 2024, Nr. 2 (Vol. 19) <u>https://rmdiri.md/</u>; <u>https://www.usem.md/md/p/rmdiri</u>
```

¹ After 1990, the SNS was part of five government coalitions in the years 1992-1994, 1994-1998, 2006-2010, 2016-2020, 2023 - .

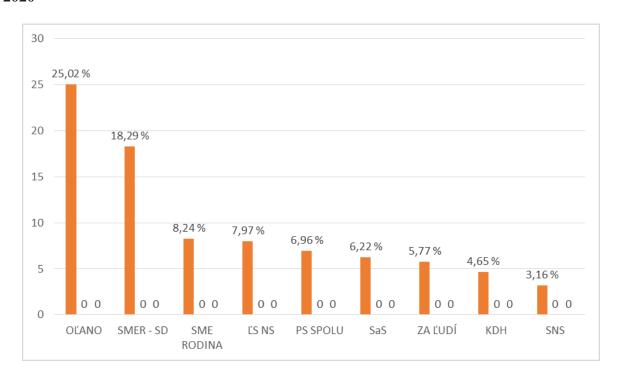
² TERAZ.SK /TASR, Milan Uhrík: The Republic is a democratic party ready to rule. [Online]: <u>https://www.teraz.sk/publicistika/milan-uhrik-republika-je-demokraticka/588176-clanok.html</u> (Visited 24.11.2023).

³ After the parliamentary elections in 2016, they ruled until 2020 in a coalition with the SNS and the MOST-HÍD party.

⁴ The largest anti-government demonstrations in the era of independence. Around 100,000 Slovaks took to the streets. [Online]: <u>https://hnonline.sk/slovensko/1708358-najvacsie-protivadne-demonstracie-v-ere-samostatnosti-do-ulic-vyslo-okolo-100-tisic-slovakov</u> (Visited 24.11.2023).

Republic, Andrej Kiska. Peter Pelegrini (Smer - SD) became the new prime minister.¹ The government coalition, led by the SMER-SD party, managed to maintain power positions until the regular parliamentary elections in February 2020. The price was the reconstruction of the government, including the replacement of its president. Despite the fact that the government coalition composed of the parties SMER - SD, SNS and MOST-HID retained the government majority, Slovak society was polarized to a considerable extent. This division of society was also confirmed by the presidential elections held in March 2019, in which the candidate of the opposition political forces from the Progressive Slovakia political movement, Zuzana Čaputová, won over the candidate of the SMER-SD political party in the second round of the elections held on February 21, 2019. Parliamentary elections in February 2020 meant the defeat of the Social Democrats and the victory of right-wing political entities. The SMER-SD political party remained in position. SNS and MOST-HÍD did not get into the Slovak parliament. The new government coalition was formed by the political parties OĽANO, SME RODIN, SaS and the political party ZA ĽUDÍ. Igor Matovič became the Prime Minister. The new government coalition had a constitutional majority in the parliament. The results of the parliamentary elections are presented in graph no. 1. The political composition of the Slovak Parliament is presented in graph no. 2.

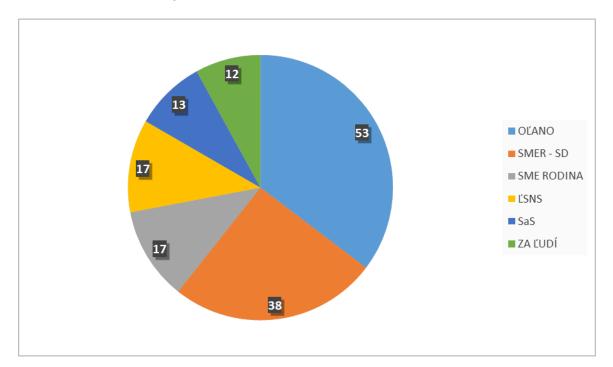
Graph no. 1 Results of dominant political entities in the parliamentary elections of February 29, 2020



¹ Fico resigned. Pellegrini mandate government. [Online]: has the form to а new https://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/462405-fico-podal-demisiu-pellegrini-ma-poverenie-zostavit-novu-vladu/ (Visited 24.11.2023). 100

Graph no. 2

The political composition of the Slovak Parliament based on the election results in the elections held on February 29, 2020



The period of the government of the right-wing government coalition was characterized by the struggle with the disease of COVID-19 and the introduction of strict anti-pandemic measures. It was also marked by the war events in Ukraine after February 2022. The Slovak government within the European Union supported the sanctions policy against the Russian Federation. It implemented humanitarian as well as military aid to the Ukrainian regime.¹ The entire governance was accompanied by conflicts in the government coalition, primarily between the political entities OLANO and SaS. Several ministerial posts were repeatedly changed, and the prime minister was also changed.² Opposition political entities, and especially the SMER-SSD party, have repeatedly initiated a referendum on the holding of early parliamentary elections. A referendum on the possibility of shortening the electoral period and holding early parliamentary elections was held on January 21, 2023. It was invalid due to low voter turnout.³ Another coalition crisis took place simultaneously with the referendum, which resulted in the departure of the SaS political party from the government coalition. Subsequently, the Slovak government was voted no-confidence in the parliament. The President of the Slovak Republic dismissed her on December 16, 2012.⁴ On January 31, 2023, the National Council of the Slovak Republic decided by its resolution to shorten the

¹ Slovak Government Office: Heger claims that the EU must help Ukraine to the maximum extent possible. [Online]: [Online]: <u>https://www.vlada.gov.sk/heger-tvrdi-ze-eu-musi-do-najvyssej-moznej-miery-pomoct-ukrajine/</u> (Visited 22. 11.2023).

²Aktuality.sk: Prime Minister Eduard Heger [Online]: <u>https://www.aktuality.sk/tema/premier-eduard-heger/3/</u>(Visited 22. 11.2023).

³ Aktuality.sk: Výsledky referenda 2023: Referendum je neúspešné. Ústava sa meniť nebude. [Online]: <u>https://www.aktuality.sk/clanok/k9GAMPq/vysledky-referenda-2023-referendum-je-neuspesne-ustava-sa-menit-nebude/</u> (Visited 20.11.2023).

⁴The President dismissed the government of EduardHeger.[Online]:<u>https://www.prezident.sk/article/prezidentka-odvolala-vladu-eduarda-hegera/</u>(Visited 22.11.2023).

RMDIRI, 2024, Nr. 2 (Vol. 19) <u>https://rmdiri.md/</u> ; <u>https://www.usem.md/md/p/rmdiri</u> 101

electoral period and to hold early parliamentary elections on September 30, 2023.¹ In the period from May 15, 2023 to October 25, 2023, Slovakia was governed by an official government. Early parliamentary elections in Slovakia were triggered by specific political developments. Their results confirmed the fact that Slovak society is politically polarized. Participation in early parliamentary elections in Slovakia, which took place on September 30, 2023, reached 68.51% of all voters, which was 3,007,123 voting citizens.² Compared to the voter turnout in the previous parliamentary elections (February 2020), the turnout was 2.71% higher, i.e. 90,283 more voters.³ The results of early parliamentary elections are presented in table no. 1. and graphically in graph no. 3.

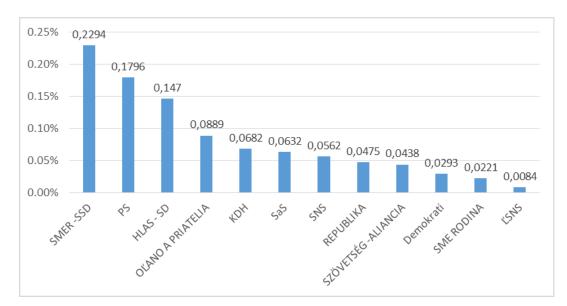
Table no. 1

Results of dominant political entities in the parliamentary elections on September 30, 2023

Politický subjekt	Výsledok v %	Počet
		hlasov
SMER – SD	22,94%	681 017
PS	17,96%	533 136
HLAS - SD	14,70%	436 415
OĽANO A PRIATELIA, KÚ a ZA ĽUDÍ	8,89%	264 137
KDH	6,82%	202 515
SaS	6,32%	187 645
SNS	5,62%	166 995
REPUBLIKA	4,75%	141 099
SZÖVETSÉG -ALIANCIA	4,38%	130 183
Demokrati	2,93%	87 006
SME RODINA	2,21%	65 673

Graph no. 3

Results of dominant political entities in the parliamentary elections on September 30, 2023



¹ NRSR: Early parliamentary elections will be held on September 30, 2023. [Online]: <u>https://www.nrsr.sk/web/Default.aspx?sid=udalosti/udalost&MasterID=56294</u> (Visited 22.11.2023).

²Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic: Summary voting results [Online]: <u>https://volbysr.sk/sk/suhrnne_vysledky.html</u> (Visited 22.11.2023).

³ In the parliamentary elections in February 2020, participation was at the level of 65.80%, which amounted to 2,916,840 voters. [Online]: <u>https://volby.statistics.sk/nrsr/nrsr2020/sk/data01.html</u> (Visited 22.11.2023).

RMDIRI, 2024, Nr. 2 (Vol. 19) <u>https://rmdiri.md/</u>; <u>https://www.usem.md/md/p/rmdiri</u>

The election results indicate that it was mainly a battle of two political concepts. On the one hand, a social and largely national and conservative orientation, and on the other, a progressive, neo-liberal and fundamentally pro-European model. So it was mainly a fight between the political parties SMER - SD and Progressive Slovakia. Both political entities succeeded in mobilizing voters. Socially, nationally and conservatively oriented voters saw the SMER-SD political entity as the main opponent of progressive and neoliberal politics. Voters saw the electoral victory of SMERU - SD as a guarantee of social stability. After the collapse of the politics of the previous government coalition, progressive and liberal-oriented voters decided for PS.

The SMER-SD party won the parliamentary elections with an electoral result of 22.94%. Progressive Slovakia finished second with a result of 17.96%. The political party HLAS – SD finished third with a political profit of 14.7%. It should be emphasized that HLAS – SD ran in the parliamentary elections in 2023 for the first time. After its creation in 2020 by separating from the SMER-SD party, it was the long-term favorite of most pre-election polls. SMERU -SD succeeded in mobilizing voters and regaining the electoral lead. The decline in voter support of the HLAS - SD political party can be seen in its refusal to cooperate with the SMER - SD party after the election. Part of its potential voters feared that HLAS - SD could enter a government coalition with PS. With the SNS entering the parliament, the conditions were created for the new government to be formed by both social democratic parties (SMER – SD and HLAS – SD) together with the SNS. The WE FAMILY movement from the former government parties did not enter the parliament. The Party for People succeeded in the OLANO candidate. L'SNS and even the REPUBLIKA party, which separated from it, did not get into the parliament. The pre-election political preferences of the REPUBLIC party indicated that it would become a parliamentary political entity after the elections. It can be assumed that in the elections some of its potential voters eventually preferred the SMER - SD and SNS tent.¹ After 2016, KDH became a parliamentary subject again. The winner of the 2020 election, OĽANO, won 8.29%. Based on the results of the parliamentary elections in September 2023, the following political parties formed a government coalition: SMER - SD, HLAS – SD and SNS.² Róbert Fico (SMER – SD) became the head of the new Slovak government. The chairman of the political party HLAS - SD Peter Pelegríni was elected as the chairman of the Slovak parliament. SNS President Andrej Danko was elected Deputy Speaker of the Parliament. In the government of the Slovak Republic, the SMER – SD party won six ministries (finance, foreign affairs, defense, agriculture, transport and justice). The political party HLAS – SD won seven ministries (interior, education, social affairs and family work, health, economy, for European funds and the recovery plan, and the Ministry of Investments). SNS acquired three ministries (culture, environment and tourism).³ The government coalition has a narrow majority in the Slovak parliament - 79 deputies. The political composition of the National Council of the Slovak Republic is presented in graph no. 4.

¹ Agency Focus: Electoral preferences of political parties. [Online]: <u>https://www.focus-research.sk/</u> (Visited 06.12.2023).

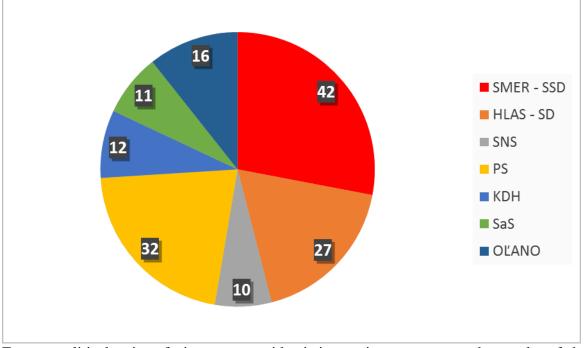
² The leaders of Smer, Hlas and SNS signed a coalition agreement. Robert Fico announced how they shared the ministries. [Online]: <u>https://tvnoviny.sk/domace/clanok/862425-lidri-smeru-hlasu-a-sns-podpisali-koalicnu-dohodu-robert-fico-oznamil-ako-si-podelili-ministerstva?campaignsrc=tn_clipboard (Visited 06.12.2023).</u>

³ TA3: The new government of the Slovak Republic is in the presidential palace. The president appointed Robert Fico as prime minister. [Online]:

https://www.ta3.com/clanok/907683/nova-vlada-sr-je-v-prezidentskom-palaci-prezidentka-vymenovalaroberta-fica-za-premiera (Visited 06.12.2023).

RMDIRI, 2024, Nr. 2 (Vol. 19) <u>https://rmdiri.md/</u> ; <u>https://www.usem.md/md/p/rmdiri</u> 103

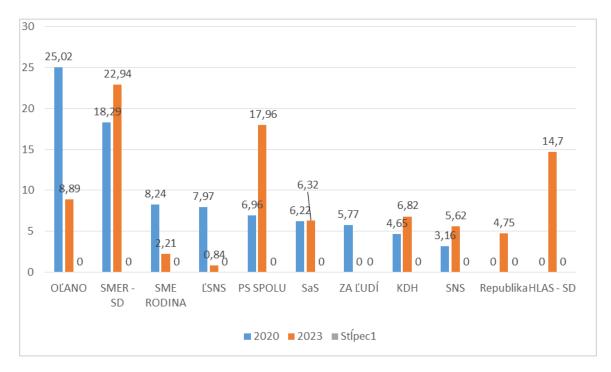
Graph no. 4 Political composition of the Slovak Parliament based on the results of the elections held on September 30, 2023



From a political point of view, we consider it interesting to compare the results of the parliamentary elections in 2020 and 2023. Based on this comparison, it is possible to follow the movements of the voters' votes over the past period. We present this comparison in graph no. 5.

Graph no. 5

Comparison of support for dominant political parties based on electoral results in the 2020 and 2023 elections



Based on the mentioned comparison, we see a radical collapse of the OĽANO political movement by more than 16% of the vote. Despite the fact that the HLAS-SD party separated from it, the SMER-SD party won 4.65% more votes than in the 2020 elections. HLAS-SD won 14.7% of the votes in the 2023 elections. Social democratic parties won a combined 37.64% of votes in early parliamentary elections in Slovakia. Compared to the parliamentary elections in 2020, it was 19.35% more votes.¹ After the parliamentary elections in 2020, it represented nationally or nationalist-oriented voters in the Slovak parliament with a gain of 7.97% for the ĽSNS. After its split and the creation of the REPUBLIC political party, the electoral vote was divided, which disqualified both political entities from parliamentary activity in the 2023 elections. A total of 5.59% of the votes were lost. It can be concluded that the aforementioned had an impact on the strengthening of the SNS in the 2023 elections, which reached the parliament with a gain of 5.62%, which was 2.46% more voters than in 2020.²

Of the governmental political entities in the years 2020-2023, the OĽANO political movement experienced the biggest political collapse in the 2023 elections. It lost 16.13% of the electoral votes. At the same time, it should be noted that in the 2023 elections, several political entities ran on his candidate list. Among them is the former government party FOR THE PEOPLE. Together they won 8.89% of the votes. The SME RODINA political movement lost more than 6% of the vote in the 2023 elections and did not enter parliament. We can state that the right-wing political parties of the former government coalition lost a total of 22.16% of votes in the 2023 parliamentary elections (OĽANO, WE ARE A FAMILY, FOR THE PEOPLE). The only political entity from the former government coalition that obtained similar election results in 2020 and 2023 was Sloboda a Solidarita (SaS). She won more than 6% of the votes. It can be stated that a significant part of the liberal voters of the parties of the former government coalitions was won by the PS. In the parliamentary elections in 2023, it won 11% more votes than in 2020. KDH won 2.17% more votes in the 2023 elections than in 2020. It thus became a parliamentary entity.

A comparison of the election results in 2020 and 2023 in Slovakia shows a significant increase in support for social democratic political parties. The increase in support for Progressive Slovakia can be seen as a reaction of liberal voters to the unsuccessful governance of the former government coalition. The new government coalition was formed by two social democratic parties (SMER – SD, HLAS – SD) together with the Slovak National Party (SNS). However, they will have a narrow majority of 79 parliamentary votes in the parliament. Four political entities will operate in the opposition environment. Of them, PS and SaS can be evaluated as liberal political entities. KDH can be evaluated as a conservative and pro-European political entity. After the parliamentary elections in 2023, OĽANO changed its name to the political movement SLOVAKIA and continues to remain a populist, liberal political entity.³ The results of the parliamentary elections on September 30, 2023 mean the replacement of the Slovak government and the return of the social democrats to power, but at the same time point to the significant political polarization of Slovak society.

Conclusions

The thesis provides a brief genesis of political development in Slovakia and the basic characteristics of dominant political entities. It presents and analyzes the results of the parliamentary elections in 2020 and 2023. Based on this analysis, it emphasizes movements in

² Celebrities who ran for the ĽSNS political party in the 2020 elections also ran on the SNS candidate list.
³ Pravda: The OĽaNO movement has changed its name again, it will be called Slovakia. [Online]:

¹ In the parliamentary elections in 2020, Peter Pelegríni was the leader of the candidate list of the SMER – SD party.

https://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/686222-hnutie-olano-opat-zmenilo-nazov-bude-sa-volat-slovensko/ (Visited 22.11.2023).

RMDIRI, 2024, Nr. 2 (Vol. 19) <u>https://rmdiri.md/</u> ; <u>https://www.usem.md/md/p/rmdiri</u> 105

the political consciousness and behavior of Slovak voters. The results of the parliamentary elections in September 2023 mean the return of social democrats and national-conservative political forces to positions of power in Slovakia after more than three years. Nevertheless, the results of the parliamentary elections prove the political polarization of Slovak society.

References:

1. SMER-SD. [Online]: <u>https://www.strana-smer.sk/</u> (Visited 22.11.2023).

2. SMER lost Pellegrini, Fico is keeping his fingers crossed. [Online]: <u>https://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/554058-fico-ponukol-pellegrinimu-miesto-predsedu-strany-smer/</u>(Visited 22.11.2023).

3. PS. [Online]: <u>https://progresivne.sk/dokumenty/</u>(Visited 22.11.2023).

4. Postoj; TASR. Elections 2023 / OĽANO goes into a coalition with KÚ and Za lúdí. 25 political subjects will be candidates. [Online]: <u>https://www.postoj.sk/133551/olano-ide-do-koalicie-s-ku-a-za-ludi-kandidovat-bude-25-politickych-subjektov</u> (Visited 22.11.2023).

5. TERAZ.SK /TASR, Milan Uhrík: The Republic is a democratic party ready to rule. [Online]:<u>https://www.teraz.sk/publicistika/milan-uhrik-republika-je-demokraticka/588176-clanok.html</u> (Visited 24.11.2023).

6. The largest anti-government demonstrations in the era of independence. Around 100,000 Slovaks took to the streets. [Online]: <u>https://hnonline.sk/slovensko/1708358-najvacsie-protivadne-demonstracie-v-ere-samostatnosti-do-ulic-vyslo-okolo-100-tisic-slovakov</u> (Visited 24.11.2023).

7. Fico resigned, Pellegrini has the mandate to form a new government. [Online]: <u>https://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/462405-fico-podal-demisiu-pellegrini-ma-poverenie-zostavit-novu-vladu/</u> (Visited 24.11.2023).

8. Slovak Government Office: Heger claims that the EU must help Ukraine to the maximum extent possible. [Online]:<u>https://www.vlada.gov.sk/heger-tvrdi-ze-eu-musi-do-najvyssej-moznej-miery-pomoct-ukrajine/</u> (Visited 22. 11.2023).

9. Aktuality.sk: Prime Minister Eduard Heger [Online]: <u>https://www.aktuality.sk/tema/premier-eduard-heger/3/</u> (Visited 22. 11.2023).

10.Aktuality.sk: Výsledky referenda 2023: Referendum je neúspešné. Ústava sa meniť nebude. [Online]: <u>https://www.aktuality.sk/clanok/k9GAMPq/vysledky-referenda-2023-referendum-je-neuspesne-ustava-sa-menit-nebude/</u>(Visited 20.11.2023).

11.The President dismissed the government of Eduard Heger. [Online]:<u>https://www.prezident.sk/article/prezidentka-odvolala-vladu-eduarda-hegera/</u> (Visited 22.11.2023).

12.NRSR: Early parliamentary elections will be held on September 30, 2023. [Online]:<u>https://www.nrsr.sk/web/Default.aspx?sid=udalosti/udalost&MasterID=56294</u> (Visited 22.11.2023).

13.Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic: Summary voting results [Online]: <u>https://volbysr.sk/sk/suhrnne_vysledky.html</u> (Visited 22.11.2023).

14.In the parliamentary elections in February 2020, participation was at the level of 65.80%, which amounted to 2,916,840 voters. [Online]: <u>https://volby.statistics.sk/nrsr/nrsr2020/sk/data01.html</u> (Visited 22.11.2023).

15.Agency Focus: Electoral preferences of political parties. [Online]: <u>https://www.focus-research.sk/</u> (Visited 06.12.2023).

16.The leaders of Smer, Hlas and SNS signed a coalition agreement. Robert Fico announced how they shared the ministries. [Online]: <u>https://tvnoviny.sk/domace/clanok/862425-lidri-smeru-hlasu-a-sns-podpisali-koalicnu-dohodu-robert-fico-oznamil-ako-si-podelili-ministerstva?campaignsrc=tn_clipboard</u> (Visited 06.12.2023).

17.TA3: The new government of the Slovak Republic is in the presidential palace. The president appointed Robert Fico as prime minister. [Online]: <u>https://www.ta3.com/clanok/907683/nova-vlada-</u>sr-je-v-prezidentskom-palaci-prezidentka-vymenovala-roberta-fica-za-premiera (Visited 06.12.2023).

18.Pravda: The OĽaNO movement has changed its name again, it will be called Slovakia. [Online]: https://spravy.pravda.sk/domace/clanok/686222-hnutie-olano-opat-zmenilo-nazov-bude-sa-volatslovensko/ (Visited 22.11.2023).

Copyright©Jozef HRDLIČKA, 2023.

Contacts/Contacte/ Контакты:

HRDLIČKA Jozef, Doctor of Political Sciences, Department of Political Science of the Alexander Dubček University of Trenčín Trenčín, Slovak Republic. E-mail: jozefhrdlicka77@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0009-0009-3426-0146 https://doi.org/10.61753/1857-1999/2345-1963/2023.19-2.07