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THE IMPORTANT ISSUES OF THE SLOVAK RIGHT-WING POLITICS

Daniela Škutová*

ABSTRACT

The problems of the right-wing and its ties of opinionated mutual incompliance over analytical framework is justified for at least three reasons: First, the historical and socio-political influences on the creation of the Slovak right-wing - determining the conceptual definition and content of the right-wing corresponds to the creation of the Slovak right-wing in the historical context in terms of creation of Slovak policy. Secondly, the specification of the Slovak right-wing - if possible to determine the specific features of the Slovak right-wing based on conceptual definitions and content, one should take into consideration the positive and negative aspects of right-wing policies because of the plight of the current right-wing politics, i.e. what is the responsibility of the right-wing and how does it reflect the current issues in domestic and foreign policy. Lastly, the current challenges of the Slovak right-wing - because of political analyses of the post-November policy in Slovakia, where the true centre is deemed to be the most consistent and most open to change, the right-wing has chosen it as its most important theme to undermine. Questions that the right-wing must ask itself in terms of future perspective have to reel off from the border between principality and flexibility of strategy and policy, which in the future scenario means the need to reformulate certain structural and content aspects.

Key words: Slovak right-wing politics, ideology and Slovak right-wing, disintegration and integration of Slovak right-wing

Introduction

The current classification of European political parties, Slovak parties as well, is based on an ideological breakdown. The ideological polarisation to the right - left political spectrum was established in different historical forms and different countries in a different form. In practice, it often happens that left-wing parties are taking steps that would under general classification be viewed as steps of right-wing parties and vice versa. (Tóth, Horváth, Brhlíková, Krno, Dřizová, 2005, p. 167) At the present, we could consider that the relativized

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ideological context loses its meaning. But the opposite is true. **H. F. Hayek** argues that no society can exist without ideology. Man is an ideological animal. (Hayek, 1976, p. 254) Ideology is a coherent, logical conception of human existence. Every society has the capacity for rapid polarisation to the left-wing and to the right-wing.

The question is what is the alternative ideology in the world today? American conservatives have tried anti-utopism and brought about a brilliant critique of ideologies. Due to decline in the market of ideology, however, they did not provide any alternative that would have raised a genuine enthusiasm. In the first half of the 20th Century **P. Drucker** considered the necessity of new concepts and new social theory. Similarly, **E. Vivas** thought about conservatism, which cannot have adequate political impact without a unified and systematic philosophy and without taking account of recent positive knowledge. (Kuehnelt - Leddihn, 2010, p. 484) Therefore, the importance of ideology is important for other reasons as well: it provides an itinerary, its objective and a practical political paragon. We cannot take a break from our own history; we cannot elude the fact that ideology is a fixed part of our world, primarily political. While left-wing thinking is characterised by three major revolutions (French, October, Germany), the right-wing thinking is based on their refusal, or the absence of thereof. Socialism, Communism, Liberalism were considered ideologies of the left-wing nature. Conservatives have long been recognised as an ideology incompatible with true conservatism, as some have brought great misery to mankind. However, in conflict with the left-wing they understood that a fight against ideology cannot be done without ideology.

Today it would be hard to find a typical left-wing or right-wing political party, respectively political systems. They are mixed and thus the gradually dying liberal-conservative optimism associated with the boom of democratism adherent to socialism slowly displaces the requirement of the true free-thinking man. Tocqueville also showed that American democracy functioned well due to the unique circumstances and beliefs. That is why the effort to maximise the real freedom always was and is the thing of the people. We are in a crisis of democracy, accompanied by many fears. Fear is the result of erosion in social and political life, seen as a general threat to the very principles of democracy. Within the vicious circle of worrying about the essence of democracy is a need to evaluate one important fact: *Democracy is well suited for times of peace, but it does not tolerate disasters and wars.*" (Adamec, online)

In political theory and practice for nearly two centuries the proceedings and

evaluation of different aspects of socio-political conflict have been seen as being: a sociological definition of society vs. community, economic definition in relation to market vs. planning and philosophy in contrast to immanence vs. transcendence. We cannot view the pluralistic basis of postmodern society in a unilateral scheme of black and white vision of politics. According to **R. Geffert**, in the analysis of political ideology one may point out the so-called political centre, which in accordance with the terminology of **N. Bobbio** makes "a central portion lying in the middle of the two ideological concepts" and is the inclination to one or the other polarity. The schematism of the centre-right or centre-wing used due to its simplicity, clarification of ideological orientation and, in particular, the accession to the voting group; has a strong motivational assumption: firstly, it points to the left-wing inclination to the right-wing economic issues and secondly it points to address social problems in the right-wing spectrum, which is the subject matter of the left-wing. In political science, the concept of "right-wing" and "left-wing" refers to the political polarisation of political parties and is associated with a preference for a particular political program base. In a schematic division of political diapasons – right-wing and left-wing, we start from dependency on the following logical determinants by **N. Bobbio**: There are basically four and could be characterised as issues of inequality or issues of differentiation and it's a) factual reality, b) the possibility of change, c) functionality, d) channelling it to a certain destination. Based on the fact or of polarisation, we can determine the following for the left-wing. It believes that:

1. Differences in ownership should be as small as possible and should be reflected on the idea of solidarity, homogenisation, subsidiarity, participation and justice,
2. Most of the differences are of a social nature and thus they can be removed by active social politics in terms of a social market economy,
3. Only a small number of differences in the economic sphere have a positive impact,
4. History shows that the validity of most extreme differences is only temporary.

The right-wing on the other hand believes that:

1. Natural differences between people have more weight than what unites people in society,

2. Most of the conditions that cause differentiation cannot be artificially removed,
3. The differences have a positive meaning for society,
4. They do not lead to any objective and do not have any specific direction, but are a natural part of human life and society. (Bobbio, 2003, p.124)

Different value system, worldview and methodology of interpretation of social movements suggests that a certain generalisation of the typical features of right-wing and left-wing is made: the right-wing puts more emphasis on the individual, private property, little to no interference to the market economy, while the left-wing puts an emphasis to solidarity and sees the role of the state mainly as an economic distributor.

The semantic resolution of right-wing and left-wing policy is currently more complicated due to a different historical, ideological and geographical background. In Western civilisation, the concept of right-wing and left-wing was used in a positive or negative sense of linguistic diversity. The right-wing is considered to be everything that is correct and right for the person, in particular, his freedom. The right-wing is represented as a free organic life form that houses a respect for tradition. The identification with personal freedom is directly related to the need for collective effort. Therefore, the progressivism of the right-wing as opposed to left-wing utopianism with its lack of real progress, emphasizes personal freedom, which does not represent any given social or political image.

1 Ideology and the Slovak Right-wing

The general aspects of perception of ideological orientations in present Slovak politics and political science are ambiguously identified. This uncertainty is associated with the designation of certain political parties in the party system of the Slovak Republic, which does not show the typical character formation in identifying the right-wing and left-wing political spectrum. There are especially problems in identifying the political parties and policies that are considered to be right-wing. Since the Slovak left-wing has profiled itself in the last 20 years as an ideologically consistent structure bound to specific political parties, the problems of the right-wing and its ties of opinionated mutual incompliance over analytical framework is justified for at least three reasons: first, the historical and socio-political influences on the creation of the Slovak right-wing - determining

the conceptual definition and content of the right-wing corresponds to the creation of the Slovak right-wing in the historical context in terms of creation of Slovak policy. Secondly, the specification of the Slovak right-wing - if possible to determine the specific features of the Slovak right-wing based on conceptual definitions and content to, one should take into consideration the positive and negative aspects of right-wing policies because of the plight of the current right-wing politics, i.e. what is the responsibility of the right-wing and how does it reflect the current issues in domestic and foreign policy. Lastly, the current challenges of the Slovak right-wing - because of political analyses of the post-November policy in Slovakia, where the true centre is deemed to be the most consistent and most open to change, the right-wing has chosen it as its most important theme to undermine. Questions that the right-wing must ask itself in terms of future perspective have to reel off from the border between principality and flexibility of strategy and policy, which in the future scenario means the need to reformulate certain structural and content aspects.

The current Slovak party system has a value orientation of the left-wing and right-wing aimed at promoting the following characteristics: the most noted signs of right-wing parties (SDKU - DS, KDH, Most-Híd, OKS, KDS) are order, authority, individualism, guaranteed protection of property right, a rejection of state economic intervention, nationalism, elitism, centralisation of power. Freedom, equality, brotherhood, protection of the vulnerable(weak), decentralisation of power, collectivism, reform - those are signs of left-wing parties such as KSS, SMER - SD, SDL, ZRS, SZ. Right-wing parties sometimes try to gain popularity of the public and defend the interests of the masses, left-wing parties try to promote private investment, liberals act like totalitarians inside their own party etc. Each party is right in something, as well as being wrong in something. Some of the requirements are feasible and some utopian. Therefore, finding a path of equilibrium where the best of both would be chosen is the best alternative. The fundamental problem of the current global crisis, the party crisis included, is finding ways to support and secure the State, as it is failing in its service to citizens. The State is perceived as an imaginary body of citizens; it is viewed as a legitimate entity in the preference of values. It should show this with respect to citizens; behave similarly to both private and public persons and to business and citizens. (The Right-wing, the Left-wing ..., online)

The question of identifying the right Slovak party system does not lie in the ideological conceptualisation or in the issue of cleavages. Conflicts have appeared in Slovakia to a greater or lesser extent, different labels for political

entities as well (standard and non-standard parties (Mesežnikov, 2002) national-populist and liberal-democratic political parties (Szomolányi, 1999). Party politics in Slovakia are marked by a strong personification and systematic conflicts. The rise of personal and party preference of political leaders resulted in Mečiar's popularity in the fight between Mečiarism and Antimečiarism and an alternative that meant a rise in confidence of Fico; seen when between 2000 and 2002 he numerously stated that he sees his future as the Prime Minister of Slovakia.(Novotny, nightmare of Mečiar and Dzurinda)

2 Shaping the Slovak right in the Historical Context of Slovak Identity and Identification of the Right-wing

Right-wing politics have both had and have a specific role in the current Slovak political system. Unlike the development of advanced Western political systems, the development of Slovak right-wing parties was determined by several factors: firstly, the historical and foreign political events affected the continuous development of Slovak politics. Secondly, ideological factors resulted in the formation of many political regimes and fundamentally marked the conceptual framework of the Slovak right-wing. Lastly, the socio-economic structure in the context of the given political system resulted in the rise of preferences of the political elite. The absence of statehood, a democratic political system and influential political structures, indicates a lack of right-wing politics up to 1993.

The basics of the Slovak right-wing were crystallised in the ideas of Slovak identity. Slovak efforts had a strong, but not always consistent articulated disposition. The motive of Slovak history was an independent state existence and transformation of Slovakia to an open society. The Slovak ethnic identity was created as an integral part of the nation Hungarica in the multi-ethnic Hungarian Kingdom, with the retention of the Slovak language and cultural identity. The modern 19th Century saw the Slovak ethnicity in the national emancipation process. The territorial- ethnic idea was shifted to a national-emancipatory effort of a Slovak identity without constitutional, legal requirements by a non-political objective of local and regional identities. This was confirmed by fact that during the formation of the Slovak identity a real dimension of Slovakia was missing until the break-up of historical Hungary in 1918. The constitutional incentives of the 19th and first half of the 20th Century bear witness to the maturation of the national community and beliefs of Slovak

national identity. The Slovak political elite saw the political autonomy in a different nature. According to **M. Zemko**, *"Issues and challenges that are present in our independent state for twenty years are still derived from our past. The 21st Century presents us with new challenges with many uncertain prospects not only in the distant, but also in quite near future."* (Zemko, 2013, p. 77) The strength of the political project of Slovakia in the 21st Century lies within the culture of pluralism.

Political activism in the 19th Century, which included a somewhat compact idea contained in the democratic program of **L. Štúr** and conservative political thought of **S. H. Vajanský** was replaced by more concrete political programs of political parties. (See Gbúrová, 2002) The historical context of the Slovak right-wing was reflected in the domestic political agenda. Thanks to this historical context, we can view the beginning of the Slovak right-wing parties with a certain set of distaste: the Populist Party (centre-left wing party), the Republican Party of Agricultural and Smallholder People (centre party), the Democratic Party (relatively right-wing party in relation to the Communist Party) and especially its political representation is viewed with a set of distaste. During the escalating Magyarisation in the 19th Century, the Slovak political elite began to take its shape amongst Catholic and Protestant intelligence in the Štúr movement. The aim was to stop the ongoing Magyarisation and oppression, and recognise the independent Slovak nation. The Štúr movement accentuated the Great Moravian tradition, promoted democratisation and social awareness. The failure of the Štúr movement led to a political stagnation of the newly formed political party SNS; the only Slovak party at that time. On the other hand, it also led to the creation of new political movements - socialist, catholic-clerical and petty-bourgeois democratic with elements of agrarianism.

The Pillars that brought about the success of political parties were formed by the inclusion of the national, social and Christian principle. New parties were formed side by side with SNS - AS (**M. Hodža**), SĽS (**A. Hlinka**) and SD (**E. Lehotský**). Cooperation with the Czech environment was directed to promote the common Czechoslovak state and Czechoslovakism. The cancellation of the monarchy and the creation of Czechoslovakia confirm the absence of right-wing politics in Slovak history *"because in 1918 there was no movement or politician who would stand up for the preservation of the monarchy and against the establishment of the Republic"*. (Joch, 2009) **M. Hodža** showed the most prominent views and thoughts in relation to right-wing politics. The inclination to this was also evident in **M. R. Štefánik**. Slovak politics and activism right after

the birth of parliamentary democracy was reflected in a critical attitude to the Czech centralism. SLS considered itself to be a right-wing party, but had elements of statism and paternalism. In the 1930s they shifted to autonomism.

The different moods of public opinion in Slovakia reflect the fact that the idea of complete independence as opposed to the ideas of a common Czechoslovak state prior to 1918 were shared by "*all social ranks and regions of Slovakia*." (Škvarna, 2007) The experience of the first Slovak Republic is a confrontation with an undemocratic political system. A priori any elements of pluralism were excluded, inter alia right-wing policies, despite the government enforced clericalism, traditionalism and economic liberalism. The post-war period was an opportunity for DS, which represented democratic and anti-communist principle. The hegemony of the Communist Party, however, prevented the functioning of the rule of law and led to the systematic destruction of traditional values of European civilisation. A standstill was a systematic effort of the homogenisation of social life while the Communist dictatorship refused any elements of opposition. The Communist ideology began to fold like a deck of cards for a number of reasons; the return to the roots of the Christian nature of Slovakia helped a great deal. The Christian opposition directed their activities to civil and religious rights, and established an impetus for gradual change. The question is why political elite has not been created after the change of the regime – like in other Central European countries with similar experience from the previous period. In the Czech Republic both left-wing and right-wing elements were created ...in Slovakia the transformation process is associated with other specifics, which greatly complicated the creation of the political elite. Therefore, the problem of defining the Slovak right-wing and left-wing must be understood in a historical context.

According to **J. Buzalka**, Slovakia in the 21st Century is a socially conservative and predominantly rural country. Slovakia was not hit by the emancipation trends of liberal democratic or left-wing politics, as in the West. Emancipation of the people was given by populists and communists. An exception can be made with the agrarian movement in the interwar period; the only more comprehensive geopolitical concept of **M. Hodža**. (Buzalka, 2012) The specifics of Slovak society are not only determined by the economic catching up to the West, "*which, although slow and often painful fills, but rather a shift in the political culture and stability of the political system at all.*" Slovak society shifted to democracy as a society politically unstable, where stealing from what belonged to everyone was viewed as morally correct. "The semi-

stealing virus” as a legitimate element of socialism is still seen today. (Abrahám, 2012) Political power is the instrument of renewal, but also of enslavement. If the legacy of past traumas of Slovakia’s policy remains unresolved, it will pull an imaginary strand of history as unexplored and unresolved legacies of the Slovak state, communism, **Mečiar** amnesties in a number of other scandals that currently appear indiscriminately across the entire spectrum of political parties.

3 The Slovak Right-wing Parties in the Party System after 1989

After 1989, the party system in Slovakia was seen in the form of polarised pluralism.

The ground-breaking events of 1989 are bound to several stages of the transformation process and the formation of new political elite. (See Tóth, 2007) **J. Čarnogurský** was represented as a personality in the dissent of the conservative Christian doctrine of Socialist Czechoslovakia. It was he, who along with others helped with the disassembling of the communist regime. In 1990 he founded KDĽ - the Christian Democratic Party. This political movement greatly influenced policy in Slovakia and contributed to both the government and the force in shaping alternatives to the present government power. Based on the Statutes adopted in December 2010 by KDĽ, the party "*is based on the legacy of European Christian culture*" and "*is a conservative and democratic party. It seeks to apply conservative Christian values in political life, the state and the international community.*" (Statutes of KDĽ)

In the first phase of the democratisation process (1989-1991), which is circumscribed by the dissolution of the Communist regime and the first parliamentary elections in June 1990, movements without ideological base were mobilised with the goal of changing the political system of Communist totalitarianism. The dissolution of VĽK, which consisted of reform communists from the period of the Prague Spring, Christian leaders and civil dissent, artists and activists, resulted in the differentiation of the political elite to the right-wing and left-wing camp. The standardisation of the political spectrum was formed on the basis of the reforming Communist structures, renewal of democratic parties national and ethnic forces from before Communism (DS, SNS) and political parties formed on the basis of Western democracies (KDĽ, SZ). In post-Communist European lands conservatism is essentially based on two possible bases. One is the Christian religion, the other Western European conservatism.

According to **R. Tóth**, the Christian perspective is more acceptable for the people in Slovakia than the civic perspective. Since November 1989, civic consciousness has been associated with the Liberals and Cosmopolitans. All parties aspiring to have a conservative resume in Slovakia are based on Christian (mainly Catholic) religion and seek spiritual clerical assistance, adds **R. Tóth. P. Zajac**, however, explains that Central European conservatism is in a paradox. In order for it to become a model of Western conservatism, after 1989 it needed to become a radical support of changes, in order for there to be created something that could be grown and cultivated. *"The consequence is that those who have a somewhat reluctant attitude towards democratic destabilising changes must now behave as political radicals, so that they can behave conservatively tomorrow."* (Oravec, 1995)

"A political conservative today is a consistent advocate of reform just because he brings us closest to the values that can grow, develop and be cultivated." (Hare, Conservative manifesto 2010) KS was transformed into left-wing groups. In the second phase of the democratisation process a new right-wing spectrum began to take shape, while the left-wing groups saw integration. In the 1992 early Parliamentary elections, HZDS achieved a new historic high. It formed a coalition with SNS, while KDH lost many members and supporters with terrible results. *„Vladimir Mečiar ruled from 1992 until 1998 (with the exception of half-year intermezzo in 1994) as the leader of the nationalist-socialist bloc. He reigned as a ruler more authoritarian than democratic, more as an absolutist than a constitutionalist with little respect for the rule of law or the State."* (Joch, 2009) Certain similarities can be seen between HZDS and the pre-war HSL'S. The similarities included: opposition profiling, preference increase and attitude to the common law.

Thoughts and moves pertaining to the legitimate autonomy of Slovakia in 1990-91 initiated not only by extremists and post-Communists from SNS, but also from the chairman of KDH **J. Čarnogurský**, (the then leader of the parliamentary opposition) were specified by the nationalist-socialist camp led by **V. Mečiar**. The establishment of the Slovak Republic was the impetus for the new elite. They did not profile out of the left-wing right wing spectrum but were based on the conflict lines of the centre-peripheral, and later on Mečiarism vs. Antimečiarism. The influence of power, facilities and assets led to conflict: firstly, to a socio-political and socio-economic conflict. The socio-political conflict on the right-wing progressed from the so-called lustration law, which led to the fragmentation of the electorate to small parties in the 1992 elections. This

meant that the small parties were not able to mobilise and the elections ended in a defeat for them. The socio-economic conflict between the left-wing and the right-wing was a dispute over values. While the left-wing emphasized left-wing paternalistic and protective functions of the state in the social sphere, the right-wing promoted pro-market reforms, privatisation, the arrival of foreign investors and a low rate of inflation. Interestingly enough a political conflict did not occur between the left-wing parties and right-wing parties but between the right-wing parties themselves. The right wing parties, united by the principles of anti-Communism created two movements: classical Liberals, who on the basis of the preferences of the market economy and privatisation prompted the development of Slovakia after 1989, and the Christian Democrats, who favoured state management of the economy and integrated the right-wing parties as a single political unit. Secondly, the conflict of cultural and historical identity led to conflicting value preferences in relation to the Slovak history and led to the creation of ideological concepts of solving national- cultural interests on a constitutional basis.

One of the key determinants of creating the young Slovak democracy is a dual system of government. The system of oligarchic democracy, based on visible democratic government and invisible government, which possessed economic resources had its roots in privatisation following the political line of the economic transformation and institutional abuse of power tools by **V. Mečiar**. The governance of **V. Mečiar** overshadowed the political spectrum. The distribution of right-wing and left-wing parties was not strong. It did, however, influence the selection of potential political elites up to now. There was no consensus on the basic parameters of the functioning of the political system. Crowding out of radical positions and authoritarian parties were a sign of a graduate convergence, a confirmed theory of **S. Szomolányi**. The period of rehabilitation and major reforms began with the first phase of graduate convergence in 1998. In these elections the Blue Coalition (KDH, DU, and DS) tried to beat **V. Mečiar**. The centre-right Blue Coalition was viewed as a democratic opposition. Other entities later joined (SDSS and SZ), leading to the creation of SDK. The results of the elections showed another accompaniment in the number of parties in the parliament until now – polarised pluralism – when 5 or more parties met the election quota. Many predicted the left-right wing coalition in 1998 to fail, but they lasted a whole election term. The integration of the right-wing going on behind Antimečiarism in 1998-2002 led to great intellectual and political achievements. The political elite demonstrated their

convergence when they decided for the stabilisation of the economy and the return to the path of integration to the EU and NATO. The initiative of KDH and the right-wing document Declaration of the National Council in 2001 was also supported by SNS and HZDS, but not by the left-wing. A crucial change in the number of political parties came with the creation of SMER in 1999. It was aimed against both the coalition and opposition.

We find a parallel in the increase in preference of HSL'S, HZDS and SMER who distanced themselves from the unpopular reforms of the coalition. (Bureš, Charvát, Just, 2010). The change from a confrontational style to a consensual style of ruling after the 2002 elections led towards a giant kick start in reforms. One of these reforms was the introduction of a flat tax by the liberal democrats from KDH. The integration of the right-wing parties was disturbed by the disintegration of principal conservatives and pragmatists; i.e. conservatives and liberals. A fundamental schism occurred between the right-wing and left-wing liberals, since the left-wing liberals preferred the corrupt **P. Rusko** before **V. Palko**. The left-wing liberals made another grave error in the presidential elections, which led to further disintegration. Slovakia began with structural reforms in public finance, health, social system and labour market, education, public administration and the pension system, Slovakia also joined the EU and NATO. Foreign investments streamed into the country, new jobs were created. Nevertheless, the reform efforts were met with resentment. The social democratic SMER began to point out the negative impact of the reforms. In this period, the traditional clash between the left-wing and right-wing occurred. Disagreements arose between the public and the political elite. According to **S. Szomolányi**, the relationship between responsiveness and responsibility has led to the fact that on one hand, the public opinion was taken into consideration, on the other hand stood the responsibility to fulfilling long-term objectives expressed in the government program. Failure of the parties to return to the original parties led to the continuation with the ongoing style of the Mečiar government. **M. Dzurinda** dreamed of the great People's Party, despite the fact that the coalition was facing an inside major conflict. The entire ruling coalition was losing the battle with transparency. When Dzurinda's government tried to stay in power in late 2005, it was SMER who profited from the various scandals of the coalition. The government failed because of the Treaty on the Right to Exercise Objection in Conscience. Early Parliamentary elections were held in June 2006, and were won by SMER. Together with SNS and HZDS they formed a coalition.

4 Disintegration and Integration of the Slovak Right-Wing

In accordance with **V. Dobrovič**, while the left-wing in Slovakia cooperates jointly, the right-wing quarrels amongst themselves. (Dobrovič, 2010) The similarity in the political program of the right-wing parties is in direct contrast to the substitution of some leading officials and the emergence of new political entities. This is despite the fact that the right-wing parties showed us and our neighbours they were not afraid of reforms (changes in taxes, the pension system, health care, etc.). SDKÚ-DS considered the creation of new political parties as counterproductive, because it did not help the uniformity of the right-wing. It allowed the departure of some of its members, due to their motivation in career growth. **D. Lipšic** from NOVA deems the cooperation and joining of the right-wing parties' necessary, but instead of cooperation at political level he sees cooperation of the right-wing parties in voters and sympathizers. The gradual disintegration leads to a simple question, why cannot the right-wing parties consolidate? With the increase in number of right-wing political parties we can observe two important aspects of the problem: „*one chair for the Chairman and lack of chairs for other Chairman's of right-wing political parties.*” The cleavage of the right-wing parties continues as a result of the failed elections in 2012. In addition to NOVA (promotes a new Slovak constitution and direct election of judges or prosecutors) a program platform Alfa was created (wants a reform of the electoral system and a shadow state budget), alongside the program We Make Slovakia and Liberal Agreement. The turbulences created in the entire spectrum of right-wing parties point to the current review of the failure of the previous government and self-reflection, which occurred after they lost the elections in 2012. Lipšic's statements that “*Slovakia needs to be rebuilt*”, points out that the state does not work and that various financial groups, political party sponsors and oligarchs have a real impact in Slovakia. Therefore, cosmetic changes are no longer sufficient. **V. Berger** (Berger, 2013) when studying the reasons for the decay of the right-wing, he highlights the problem of the definition of opinion: “*Years ago, it joined power and fought against Mečiar, today it lacks a unifying theme.*”

The centre-right government of **M. Dzurinda** with the right-wing parties SDKÚ-DS, SMK and KDH led to the disintegration of the right-wing which continues today. The conservative liberals left KDH, the popularity of Dzurinda's party declined, **B. Bugár** left SMK to create his own political party Most-Híd and the creation of a new political party SaS even further contributed to the right-

wing disintegration. The government of **I. Radičová**, which formed in 2010 after the elections – included SaS, KDH and Most-Híd was accompanied by great instability, while the popularity of SMER-SD and Fico grew. The new political elite were not able to elect a General Prosecutor, faced personal conflicts and it did not have an integrated vision of the direction of Slovakia. The coalition crumbled due to their stance to the European Stability Mechanism. SaS was against it and SMER-SD refused to vote for it even though that they shared a positive view on it. Therefore, in October, **I. Radičová** chose to link the voting on the European Stability Mechanism with a no-confidence vote in order to try to force SaS to vote. Their absence at the voting led to the fall of Radičová's government. The constant blame between the right-wing parties meant that voters became disgusted. More people left SaS and created their own party Ordinary People and Independent Personalities. Together with Member of Parliament from OKS and the Conservative Party of Slovakia, they gained numerous chairs in the Slovak National Parliament. Approximately two months after the fall of Radičová's Government, the Gorilla scandal broke out. A confidential document from the SIS from 2006 hurt the right wing parties, especially SDKÚ-DS.

The next phase of disintegration features the situation after the election in 2012. **P. Frešo**, the Chairman of the Bratislava Region, became the Chairman of SDKÚ-DS. **D. Lipšic** left KDH and received more preferential votes than the Chairman of KDH **J. Figel'**. Later, the innovator **R. Prochádzka** left KDH as well. **A. Hlina** left the Ordinary People and Independent Personalities and became an independent Member of Parliament. A clear signal of the decaying right-wing is the initiative to create a common platform under the name the People's Platform. They were unable to decide on a common presidential candidate, unable to decide on a common vision. SaS and Ordinary People and Independent Personalities did sign it. The right-wing parties do not present any threat or alternative to SMER-SD. Instead of fighting together they fight amongst themselves. The centre-left wing continuously gains more votes than the right-wing. When it comes to elections, Slovakia is a rather divided country. (Divided country; 2009) Is it even possible for the right-wing to rule in the situation we have today? The results show, that the right-wing parties gain preferences more or less based on luck and positive events. They do not outnumber the left-wing voters. They apparently would not represent the majority of the population, but given a feasible constellation, mobilisation of the voter base and a common action there is a change that a right-wing government could be possible. An

alternative would be to resign on a sole right-wing coalition and consider cooperation with SMER-SD. The right-wing parties will have to find a way out of this disintegration. They need to formulate their goals, communicate their ideas and create new political elite. The possibility of creating a right-wing alternative rests on the consideration of the social position of conservatism with practical ways of thinking and resolving general issues through a connection of conservatism and Christianity. In Slovakia, conservatism is viewed as a natural part of the historical genesis of the Slovak socio-political reality. The Catholic-Protestant environment, which served as an authority of truth and courage in addressing cultural and ethical issues and the conservative representation of cultural and ethical issues created a framework for the validity of conservatism in Slovakia.

CHANGE: The first step of the conservative alternative is its social orientation together with the necessary political involvement and exerted political influence. This requires a change in the prior perception of the specifically aimed Slovak conservatism. The so-called revolution of Slovak conservatism should reflect new thinking with a new political environment, while accentuating the needs and interests of the social constellation, which only gradually gets accustomed to adjustment. These changes have to come from changes in thinking, approach and law. *"In the times of a great scientific boom and highly sophisticated human achievements, it is unthinkable to have unprofessional authorities, a decline in education, science, education, lack of enforceability of law; a state where everyone has the amount of health care and law as he has money."* (Čomaj, 2012, p. 88) Another factor of change is the duration and undisputable defence of capitalism in terms of defence of freedom and responsibility. One can argue against this principle, especially when economic issues are given great importance, or by claiming that prosperity does not necessarily lead to satisfaction.

COMPLIANCE: A uniform opinion of the view on conservatives and the right-wing exists, who rather agree on what they say then. The need for structural profiling with emphasis on culture, i.e. regeneration of civic participation by means of practical policy tools will enable the creation and strengthening of political structures from the bottom (from profiling cultural background to its strengthening by targeted legislative and executive influences from the bottom up). (Plichtová, 2010, pp.45-137) The assumption is that there will be a census on the vision of accented values and on strict a hierarchy and practicality of effective major, minor or marginal values.

SHARING: Thirdly, versatility is important in verbalisation and verbalisation is important in versatility; simple opinions that would apply to all citizens, not just a few. This applies to changes in applying rhetoric emphasis on differences before the common social priorities. There is a rule of consistency of themes with an all society confessional, cultural, economic, ecological traditional framework and balancing certain equilibrium relationships between the individual parts of the social and political system. Conservatives say that by legalising some sort of marriage in the form of registered partnership we will destroy the marriage between the man and woman. (Radičová, Lesná, 2013) They also say that by allowing registered partnerships, we will achieve that our new generations will be educated on perverse values, which will teach them that homosexuality is normal. The teaching of tolerance and understanding is not a perverse value. If the future generation becomes tolerant of homosexuality and accepts it as a fact, it will be a good sign that humanity is more tolerant. This is not represented by the right-left wing political spectrum but by the Slovak conservatism.

EQUILIBRIUM: Fourthly, to address the dilemma whether the proposed alternative seeks to change the layout of the political powers in order to increase the power of conservatism or change the power of the political equilibrium in favour of social interest. According to F. Zakarria, first the government has to be able to rule others and gradually discipline itself. That is why the issue of flexibility of thinking is also a problem of the conservative political elite.

ERUDITION: Fifthly, the Slovak conservatism and the right-wing have to deal with the changes in stereotypes, re-evaluate the positions on ethical issues in accordance with the requirements of the present. Since the current trend of development in the present is subject to innovative decisions in politics as well. *“Our position in politics is mainly conditioned by education and its related preferences of individual interests and profiles. Political parties saturate these in a minimal fashion. Today, everything just blends into some sort of imaginary centre.... The current conservatism is forced to learn from the left-wing. It does not want to be dignified or elitist rather, if needed, more practical and action based and vice versa. The left wing is increasingly immobile and conservative. It refers to the past, to former customs and customary social standards.”* (Strauss, 2010, p. 242) Uncritically (un)adopted liberal values lead to a shift away from conservatism, enhanced by the loss of credibility and public support. The basic challenges of Slovak politics require us to evaluate the past years and think

about the results of both successful and unsuccessful steps. Slovakia needs creative political elite, even more than before the country's accession to the EU in 2003. (Buzalka, 2012, p. 36) Slovakia needs to support Christianity as the dominant tradition of the active minority and agreeing majority due to the expected opportunities to absorb pluralism a tolerance of different ethnic and religious groups.

ENTHUSIASM: Sixthly, enthusiasm, which was reflected on by conservative political philosophy and right-wing politics is slowly fading out in the traditional political model without ethics. Even though the view of politics without ethics remains, the current possibilities of the development of conservative philosophy offer a certain equivalent alternative to other existing political concepts. Politics which are subject to change and specific measures are misunderstood as unreal. Radical views on the need to get rid of generations, i.e. deposition of socialism, but more so the need to solve problems of apathy and disinterest in public affairs. This requires a paradigm shift; next to politics and activities at the national level pay more attention to regions and communities; draw attention from paradigmatic to parametric measures.

ETHICS: Conservatism extenuates naturalism, favours traditions, and argues the wisdom of ancestors and functional institutions. Some conservatives warn against ideologies that will bring disaster for humanity. We can however say the same thing about religion as well. The human is an ideological animal and in conformity with A.F. Hayek it should be noted that no society can exist without ideology. (Kuehnelt-Leddihn, 2010, p. 484) The progress of the Slovak political constellation is the result of the previous socio-political situation. The cultural-political map of the presence has its roots deep in the past. We need to change the resources of the map to those of the present in order for us to find the born again roots in the recent schools of thought. We can see a continuum of transformation of democratic conditions. With the development of free enterprise and open borders for foreign capital, it is interesting to see the increase in discrepancy between the initial value of enthusiasm in the hope of a better democratic world from 20 years ago and the disillusionment over the deplorable state of the current Slovak society and political culture. It's a paradox that *"politicians have too much power in their hands, they are not slowed down by tradition, by the power of law or by controlled by the courts and independent state bodies... they see power as an instrument, they perceive it as a routine work and not as work, where besides carrying out daily matter, they are supposed to take care of conservation and forming of standards that make them*

routine but also decent politicians." (Abrahám, 2012, pp. 280-1) The resignation of being decent in politics proportional with the increase of apathy gradually depletes the content of democracy.

The changing and depreciated values and political pragmatism makes it difficult for the citizen to participate in politics. The efforts to revitalise liberal-conservative Christian intentions are not working well particularly because of political calculation with a poorly answered past; it served them as a tool. Prone to anti-liberal, populist or cleric politicisation masks the clarity of which value policy should be habilitated. In doing so, the political ignorance of unpredictability in politics, but also in other areas of political and social life all the more complicated the transformation of the traditional Slovak society in the necessary process of decomposition of ideological stereotypes and attitudes, bypassing the fact that the de-politicisation and progressive discipline of the government is not only a forecast of current analysts, but a continuously expected necessity.

Finally, it should be noted that that the expected success of the right-wing/conservatism does not lie in the analytical framework of content and structural components of perceived reality. Rather as content, it appears to us as a procedural framework. From the side of conservatism, it is expected that a method of strengthening free interactions of responsible bearers of legal, economic and moral preferences, whose goal will be the creation of a free and safe society and where the enforced policy is a tool of power that effectively guards these preferences of the citizens. Despite the ongoing globalisation and individualism of the changing ruling political class and ideological differences, conservatism remains to be a permanent present phenomenon of social and political reality in Slovakia. The strength and weakness of the potential impact of changes will depend on its internal dynamics, operational capacity to react to changing realities, but also on its ability to accentuate its principle and baseline values.

Conclusions

The current trends in Slovak politics are an example of not only failure, but also of the decline of right-wing politics and thinking. In terms of content shift, ideological shifts of the right-wing political parties in the political spectrum have demonstrated a move to the right and to neo-liberal opinions. While some liberal parties (in social terms) are shifting to the opinions of modern social democracy

or to the reduction of state intervention, conservative parties in the economic field are in favour of the neo-liberal basis. KDH retains an ideologically stable neoconservative position, but in the context of declining preferences and the necessity of integration of the right-wing it is likely that an alternative to the strongest political entity SMER – SD will be formed from the gradual strengthening of the position of SDKÚ-DS. This trend is entirely up to SDKÚ-DS. The strength and preference of the party will be based on its position to solve key problems in the economic, legal and social sphere. This will, however, require a uniform procedure of political parties in a way to ensure law enforcement and improve the judiciary system, to implement a payroll tax reform, redevelop education, health care and the military. The shift of the right-wing from neoliberal positions to conservative, from the formation of stable value preferences and distorting of the system is reflected in a study of the historical context as well as in a brief analysis of the party system after 1989. Another tendency that has emerged from this study is the standardisation of the ideological and political framework, which at the current discontinuity of the right-wing is likely to be in the next decade, despite unforeseen newly emerging conflicts; lead to social and political turbulence. The dominance of partocracy is unlikely to change, while the current division of the right-wing and left-wing will, however, achieve a clearer contour for the sake of power positions in the rotation of right-wing and left-wing government. It is possible for there to be a grand coalition of SMER-SD and SDKÚ-DS. The standard framework for the current discontinuity will harmonise in the value of global liberalism in the not too distant future. The right-wing agenda must therefore clearly identify the current problems and their agenda has to be re-established on conservative value preferences that are a rational justification to favour reform before change. The analysis reveals some problems of the Slovak right-wing. Perhaps in line with the conservative opinion, it is necessary to point out that a change changes the properties of the object, while a reform does not. The sequence of steps to the revitalisation of the right-wing has a meaning in terms of time and content. For Slovak politics it seems that any change will be just another confirmation of the actual status quo.

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