

Table 1. The Main Cleavages of Transformation

<i>The Cleavages of Transformation</i>	<i>The Key Controversial Questions</i>	<i>The Parties Formed within the Cleavage</i>
Conflict over the character of the regime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Character of the regime, pace, intensity and direction of the social and political transformation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communist parties • Civic movements (forums) or anti-communist formations of dissident provenience
Socio-economic cleavage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Question of profits and losses of the economic transformation • Dispute over the form and pace of the economic transformation • Rudiment of the <i>cleavage</i> owners – working class (questions of the range of economic redistribution) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberal-conservative formations • Social-democratized ex-communist parties or re-established ‘historic’ social-democratic formations
Nationalistic cleavage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existence of ethnic minority or specific region • Existence of another nation regarded as a traditional „enemy“ • Dispute over the character of the regime (inclusive civic society versus “ethnocracy”) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parties/movements of national minorities and regional formations • Nationalistic formations with the ‘nation-wide mission’
Residual cleavage from the early stage of democratization in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • typically Church versus state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Christian-democratic and Christian-national parties • Liberal and Ex-communists formations

<p>Residual cleavage communism versus anti-communism</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Process of de-communization • Attitude toward the communist past 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ex-communist parties or neo-communist parties • Parties formed from the movements (forums) or Christian-democratic parties
<p>vitalized conflict over the character of the regime</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Questions of respect to the liberal rights and values, rule of law state, fairness of political competition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parties formed from the movements/forums (sometimes), ex-communist, Christian-democratic, liberal and other formations <p>Ideological and programme orientation is connected or not with liberal democratic values and procedures.</p>

<p>Election 1990 (results - %)</p>	
Public Against Violence (VPN)	29,3
Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)	19,2
Slovak National Party (SNS)	13,9
Communist Party of Slovakia – KSS (later Party of the Democratic Left)	13,3
Coalition Coexistence and Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement	8,7
Democratic party (DS)	4,4
Green Party (SZS)	3,5

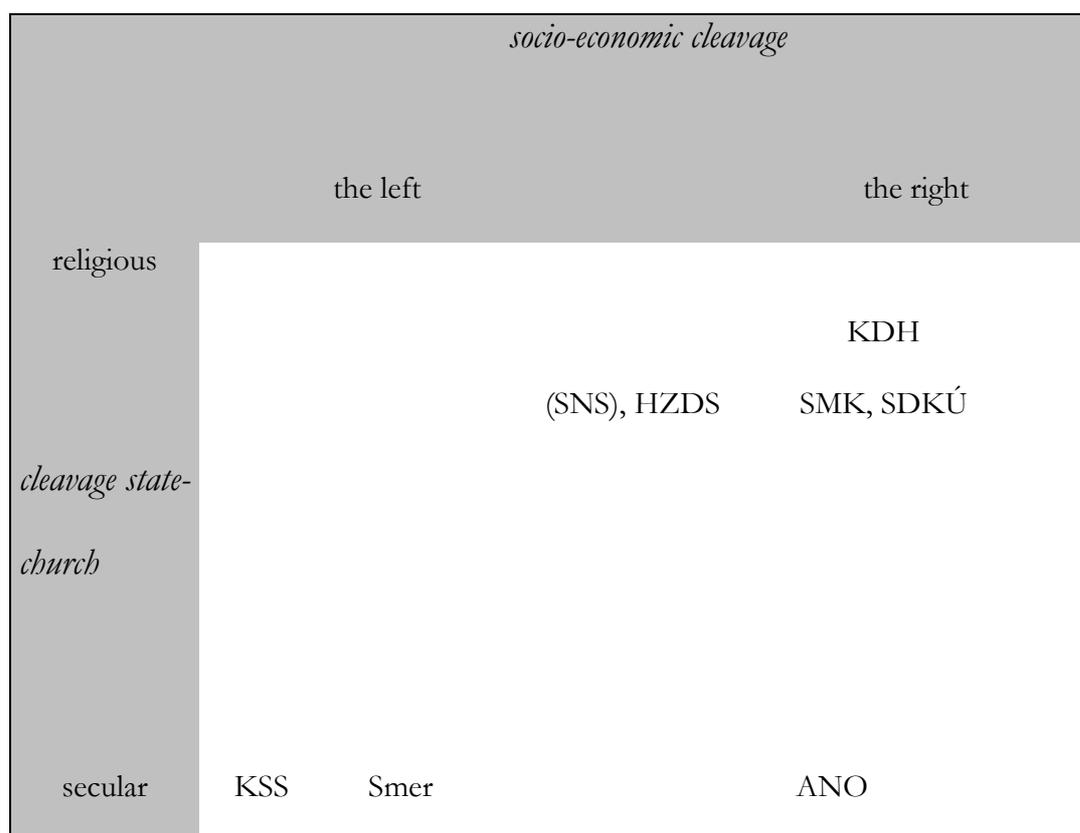
Election 1992 (results - %)	
Movement for the Democratic Slovakia (HZDS)	37,3
Party of the Democratic Left (SDE)	14,7
Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)	8,9
Slovak National Party (SNS)	7,9
Coalition Coexistence and Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement	7,4

Election 1994 (results - %)	
Movement for the Democratic Slovakia (HZDS)	35
Common Choice (coalition SDE and three small parties)	10,4
Hungarian Coalition (MK)	10,2
Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)	10,1
Democratic Union (DU)	8,6
Association of Slovak Workers (ZRS)	7,3
Slovak National Party (SNS)	5,3

Election 1998 (results - %)	
Movement for the Democratic Slovakia (HZDS)	27
Slovak Democratic Coalition (SDK)	26,3
Party of the Democratic Left (SDE)	14,7
Party of the Hungarian Coalition (SMK)	9,1
Slovak National Party (SNS)	11,2
Party of Civic Understanding (SOP)	8

Election 2002 (results - %)	
Movement for the Democratic Slovakia (HZDS)	19,5
Slovak Democratic and Christian Union (SDKÚ)	15,1
Direction (Smer)	13,5
Party of the Hungarian Coalition (SMK)	11,2
Christian Democratic Movement (KDH)	8,3
Alliance of a New Citizen (ANO)	8
Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS)	6,3

Figure 2. The Orientation Scheme of the Parties and the Two Most Significant Cleavages in the Present Slovak Party System



Note: The SNS which had been split before the 2002 election was re-united after the election. According to the polls, it has a great chance to obtain the parliamentary representation in the 2006 election. Therefore it was classified in the figure.

Trust of Slovak publicity into Slovak politics (%)

7/1991		1/1992		3/1993		5/1994		12/1995		10/1997	
V. Mečiar	48	V. Mečiar	39	M. Kováč	34	M. Kováč	23	V. Mečiar	22	V. Mečiar	22
A. Dubček	16	A. Dubček	17	V. Mečiar	22	V. Mečiar	22	I. Gašparovič	15	I. Gašparovič	14
V. Havel	12	V. Havel	13	P. Weiss	15	J. Moravčík	22	M. Kováč	16	M. Dzurinda	14
J. Čarnogurský	8	P. Weiss	9	I. Gašparovič	13	P. Weiss	14	P. Weiss	11	M. Kováč	13
P. Weiss	6	J. Čarnogurský	5	M. Kňažko	10	I. Gašparovič	8	B. Bugár	8	P. Weiss	9
1/1999		6/2001		10/2002		10/2003		10/2004		8/2005	
M. Dzurinda	26	R. Fico	21	R. Fico	17	R. Fico	26	R. Fico	22	R. Fico	25
R. Fico	18	V. Mečiar	17	M. Dzurinda	17	V. Mečiar	12	I. Gašparovič	12	I. Gašparovič	14
V. Mečiar	16	A. Malíková	13	V. Mečiar	15	B. Bugár	11	V. Mečiar	11	V. Mečiar	11
R. Schuster	11	R. Schuster	11	B. Bugár	10	P. Hrušovský	7	B. Bugár	10	B. Bugár	9
B. Schmögnerová	11	B. Bugár	8	P. Rusko	9	P. Rusko	6	M. Dzurinda	6	J. Slota	7

Table. Evolution of the Cleavages of Transformation in Slovakia after 1989 (simplified view)

Timing/ Cleavages	Slovakia
1989/1990 1992	initial: conflict over the character of regime significant: socio-economic, church vs. state, centre vs. periphery with change to nationalistic cleavage (↑)
1992 2002	significant: nationalistic and revitalized conflict over the character of the regime (Mečiarism vs. Anti-Mečiarism) weak: church vs. state, socio-economic, communism vs. anticommunism (↓)
2002 2006	significant: socio-economic weak: church vs. state (↑), nationalistic cleavage, revitalized conflict over the character of the regime (Mečiarism vs. Anti-Mečiarism) (↓)

Note: Arrow indicate tendency of evolution specific cleavage.