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**EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2023
IN SLOVAKIA: ANALYSIS OF ELECTION RESULTS
AND CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE FORMATION
OF A NEW GOVERNMENT COALITION**

**ДОСТРОКОВІ ПАРЛАМЕНТСЬКІ ВИБОРИ 2023:
АНАЛІЗ РЕЗУЛЬТАТІВ ВИБОРІВ ТА ХРОНОЛОГІЧНИЙ
ПОРЯДОК ФОРМУВАННЯ НОВОЇ УРЯДОВОЇ КОАЛІЦІЇ**

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Introduction

With the expression of no confidence in the government of Eduard Heger by the National Assembly of the Slovak Republic, the process that gradually led to early parliamentary elections began. For the purpose of their action, the members of the National Assembly of the Slovak Republic adopted a constitutional amendment. Based on it, they could vote to shorten the election period of the National Assembly of the Slovak Republic. On January 25, 2023, they supported this amendment with 92 votes. This step made it possible for early parliamentary elections to be held on September 30, 2023. Until then, Slovakia was to be governed by the temporary Heger government [5]. However, on May 15, 2023, Heger's cabinet was replaced by a technocratic government led by Ľudovít Ódor, which was supposed to lead Slovakia to the upcoming elections [6]. On June 15, however, the Ódor's government did not gain the confidence of the National Assembly of the Slovak Republic and administered the country with limited powers until the election date [14].

This article has two main goals. Firstly, to analyze the results of the 2023 parliamentary elections. Secondly, to analyze the chronological order

of the formation of a new government coalition from the position of the political party – Voice – social democracy.

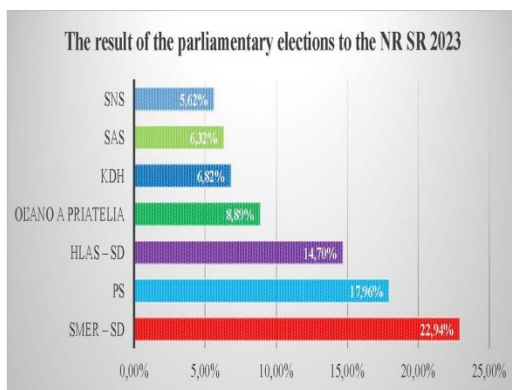
The article is divided into separate chapters structured in a logical order: Introduction, literature review, theoretical framework, methodology, discussion and conclusion.

1. Literature review

Many academics in connection with the issue of parliamentary elections are focusing on: Firstly, they analyze the results of the elections and the basis for forming the government [12]. Secondly, they analyze the reasons for holding elections at an earlier date [8]. Thirdly, they analyze political parties, candidates for prime minister and election campaign [21]. Fourthly, they deal with the characteristics of the Slovak party system [7]. Fifthly, they also address the definition of the second strongest party in the election and also analyze the many circumstances that interfered with this election [22].

2. Theoretical framework

At the end of 2023, another democratic and free election was held in Slovakia [9]. During them, 25 political parties and movements ran [13].



Own processing, source of data [16]:

The data contained in the graph indicate the specific result of the parliamentary elections [16]. In connection with mandates for individual political parties, parliamentary seats were redistributed as follows: Smer-SD (42). [4] PS (32), Hlas-SD (27), OĽANO and Priatelia (16), KDH (12), SaS (11), SNS (10). [8] Voter turnout was 68.5%, which was the highest voter turnout in the last 20 years [11].

3. Methodology

Analysis – based on the analysis, we will focus on the result of the 2023 parliamentary elections and on the chronological order of the formation of a new government coalition from the position of the Hlas-SD party.

Synthesis – through synthesis, we will summarize the essential and most important facts in connection with the result of the parliamentary elections and the chronological order of the formation of the new government coalition from the position of the Hlas-SD party.

The research question is: *"How did the creation of the new government coalition proceed from the point of view of the Hlas-SD party?"*.

Research hypothesis: *"The chronological sequence of the formation of a new government coalition from the position of the Hlas-SD party began shortly after the elections and ended with the signing of the coalition agreement between Hlas-SD-Smer-SD-SNS"*.

4. Discussion

On October 1, Hlas-SD leader Peter Pellegrini stated that, given the results of the Hlas-SD, it was impossible for a government to be formed that Hlas-SD would not be a part of [19]. On October 3, P. Pellegrini did not exclude a single variant of the coalition – Smer-SD, Hlas-SD, SNS or PS, Hlas-SD, SaS and KDH [18]. On October 5, P. Pellegrini admitted that if Hlas-SD was to go into a coalition with the parties PS, SaS and KDH, the offer must be generous, because it is an unstable group [20]. PS leader Michal Šimečka said on October 7 that he was ready to give up the position of prime minister in favor of the leader of Hlas-SD [15]. On October 9, the chairmen of Smer-SD, Hlas-SD and SNS met for the first joint meeting [17]. On October 10, the PS expressed an interest in offering the Hlas-SD party the position of Minister of the Interior [2]. On the same day, the leader of Hlas-SD announced that he would only negotiate with Smer-SD and SNS on the government coalition. He argued the instability of the alternative coalition [10]. On October 11, Smer-SD, Hlas-SD and SNS signed a memorandum and divided posts and ministries in it. [1] Five days later, the leaders of Smer-SD, Hlas-SD and SNS signed a coalition agreement [3].

Conclusion

The aim of this article was to analyze the 2023 NR SR elections and analyze the chronological order of the formation of a new government coalition from the position of the Hlas-SD party. As a result of the research question, it is necessary to point out that the first step towards the formation of the government coalition Smer-SD-Hlas-SD-SNS was a meeting of the leaders of the mentioned parties, which took place 9 days after the election

date. A day later, Hlas-SD, headed by leader P. Pellegrini, decided that it would only negotiate with Smer-SD and SNS on the new government coalition. On October 11, the leaders of the mentioned parties signed a memorandum of understanding and five days later signed a coalition agreement. It is also appropriate to point out that the research hypothesis was confirmed.

The question of whether an alternative coalition would be more stable is irrelevant. However, it is possible to predict that the government coalition – PS, Hlas-SD, SaS, KDH would be an unstable and programmatically incompatible government coalition. Social and classical liberals on one side and conservatives and socialists on the other. For the sake of the stability of the government coalition, barriers would have to be established based on agreements, so that cultural and ethical topics are not opened and economic ones are addressed. Despite this, the mentioned parties are far from each other even in economic topics. SaS stands for the classic liberalism of A. Hayek and a lean state, Hlas-SD mainly for a strong state and the economic theory of J. Keynes. The remaining two parties – PS is more economically in the middle and KDH is for a smaller and more efficient state with stronger local governments or regions. Even during the period of informal negotiations, the SaS could not come to an agreement with the PS, because the SaS called on the PS to release P. Pellegrini and the Hlas-SD party as Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior. PS refused to give up both chairs. However, it later changed its mind.

To sum up, on the one hand, I think that the coalition that PS tried to create would not last 4 years. It would be composed of four ideologically different parties representing four different ideologies – classical and modern liberalism, conservatism and social democracy. On the other hand, even the coalition of social democrats and nationalists is not as stable as if only social democrats ruled, because even nationalists have certain differences in their worldview compared to social democrats. In short, not a single possible coalition that was formed on the basis of the parliamentary elections would be a completely stable majority in the National Assembly of the Slovak Republic.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE ECONOMIC FRONTIER

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The trade policy of a state is an important component of the economic policy and it influences the way in which the economic borders of that country are defined and developed. This is seen clearly through the roles it has: promotion of external economic relations, protection of the national economy from foreign competition, balancing the commercial balance and the balance of payment, as well as the increase of the state's currency reserves [1, p. 71].

The commercial policy uses three main instruments [1, p. 72–103; 2, p. 106–111]:

– Taxation (at the customs), through which a state's customs policy is established. The policy uses custom duties and other laws and regulations whose declared purpose is the attraction of income towards the state's budget. Moreover, the customs policy has protected throughout time the internal market from foreign competition, using the instruments it had as a means of negotiation in order to attain tariff reduction or to institute discriminating measures in relation to other states.

– Non-tariff instruments, which hinder or limit the international flow of goods, being politically or economically motivated. The declared purpose of these measures is to protect the internal market from foreign competition and to stabilize the balance of payment. The main forms of this instrument are: import quota, import license, agreements regarding the organized flow of negotiated license goods, import take-off tax, minimum and maximum