

## The Abstract

This thesis deals with the process of creation, development and the downfall of the Civic Forum. This process is herewith included to the wider frame of the process of formation of the Czech party system.

The Civic Forum represented not only one of the main actor of political development in the first year of transformation, but also the base of creation of some important political parties and movements in the 1990.

This thesis is time allowanced by the November 17th, 1989 on one side, and by the end of February, 1991, when the Civic Forum is divided, on the other side.

In the first chapter the author deals with the development of Czechoslovak communist regime and the opposition in the years 1987-1989. He follows the change of international political situation of Czechoslovak regime in context of changes in the soviet bloc in the consequence of political and economical reforms in the USSR.

The second and most large chapter of this thesis deals with the foundation of Civic Forum and the process of negotiations between representatives of Civic Forum and communist government in November and December of 1989. The author analyse the functional mechanisms of Civic Forum in first two months, its main strategies and the changes of these strategies, the modes of the communication of Civic Forum with the representatives of the power. He also analyses development of positions of present power-holders, represented by communist federal prime minister Ladislav Adamec.

In the third chapter the author deals with the problem of denomination of the process of political change in Czechoslovakia in November of 1989, and try set this process in the frame of the theory of transition to democracy. He analyses main turning points – the events, which influenced the development of political change in Czechoslovakia. These changes were achieved by public demonstrations in Prague and other big cities, and also by the talks between leaders of oppositional movements (Civic Forum, People against Violence) and representatives of communist federal government of prime minister Adamec. The leadership of the Communist party was low-important agent for whole time till the end of December of 1989. From the beginning of the process the Civic forum did not aspire to the takeover of political power, but the opposition wanted to take part in the discussions about the political reforms. But in the time the requirements of oppositional movement were more and more in conflict with the fundamental principles of the communist authoritarian

political system. The first big success of opposition was the change of the Constitution (elimination of the article about main role of Communist party in the Czechoslovak political system). The position of the Civic forum has radicalised when the communist President of Republic Husák established new government with that majority of ministers from the Communist party. Opposition expressed no confidence to prime minister Adamec and decide to enter into new government with its people. The author tries to find more precise politological term for this process of political change. He is inspired by the study of V. Dvořáková and J. Kunc, and also by the theory of revolution by Lyford P. Edwards and Jaroslav Krejčí. Main theoretical concept is the classification of the phases of transition to democracy by Dankwart Rustow. Author analyses three phases of the Czechoslovak case: 1. Phase of preparation (the both sides recognize own power each other and the find out that they must respect each other), 2. Decisive phase (both sides make agreement about the solution of the situation), 3. Phase of Habituation (stabilization of the new democratic political system).

The author's conclusion is that the political change in Czechoslovakia is possible to designate as transition to democracy by the collapse of communist system, because the leadership of Communist party was not able to solve the economical and political crisis in Czechoslovakia in the 80's and also was not able to react to the people's demonstrations in November of 1989.

In the fourth chapter the autor analyses the processes proceed inside Civic Forum in the time from the beginning of 1990 till the first democratic elections in June of 1990. The Civic Forum takes more and more of the power, and its politicians must also solve one basic question: the structure of this political movement.

The fifth chapter represents the analysis of the first democratic elections in June of 1990. The autor offers the survey of main political subjects and its relation to the Civic Forum.

In the sixth chapter the autor describes the development of Civic Forum in the period after elections till the division of this movement in February of 1991. The autor analyses the processes of opinion's differentiation inside the Civic Forum and the discussion about the future of this movement.

The seventh chapter characterises main sources of the origin and functional mechanisms of new political elite after November of 1989.

The eighth chapter connects the findings about the development of Civic Forum with the findings about the rise and development of Czech party system. The autor tries to analyse main factors of creating this party system after 1989.