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ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POST-WAR GENERATIONS OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

At the present time increasing interest is being displayed in problems relating to the present generation of young people in all industrially advanced countries of the world, a fact which is also observed in our country.¹ Not only sociological research, but also experiments on synthetic studies, whose authors attempt to present a general characteristic of the young generation of today, are registering an upward trend.²

In our contribution we try to present a characteristic of the individual post-war generations of our youth. We proceed from our definition of the term of *youth as age and biosocial groups*, and of the term of *generation as historic-social groups*.³

Our considerations are a summary of the results of a more extensive work. In the characteristics of the present-day generation of young people they are based on the activities of sociological research on youth realized now in our country, in the characteristic of previous generations on historic sources, public inquiries, recollections of participants in various movements, and on the observations of our own participation. At the same time we also make use of some results of research conducted in the other socialist countries.

I

Before we are going to differentiate the individual post-war generations of our youth, we should like to point to certain features that are common to all generations of the socialist era of our history and that differ from the post-war generations of our youth and from the youth in the non-socialist countries as well.

From the point of view of the relations between youth and society⁴, which primarily captures our interest in this connection, the following two factors are of a decisive character in the socialist era of our history:

In the first place it is a period of very rapid social changes concerning all the spheres of life of human society. The changes were realized both by the action of people's forces "from below" and by their initiation, particularly thanks to the officials of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the various socio-political institutions, "from above". Thus, especially in the first stages of this period (1945–1948), *that type of social dynamics was involved which, from the point of view of social adaptation of youth, is relatively favourable*.

In the second place the development of the post-war generations was influenced by the fact that the socialist society afforded, even though not

in all substages to quite the same extent, youth a wide scope for giving free way to their interests and provided them ample opportunities of participation in the activities of all spheres of social life. In the years when the national and democratic revolution grew over and in the years of building up socialism, *young people were even outspokenly assigned the role of one of the revolutionary forces that help to put through and realize socialist ideas.*

Under these conditions that "rise of the young generation" takes place in our country — and similarly also in the other countries of the socialist system — as has been characterized by the Polish sociologist *Josef Chalasiński* who investigated the thoughts of farm youth in Poland during the time of the first Six-Year Plan.⁵ The results of these research activities showed how quickly the interest displayed by young people, in this case by farm youth, in politics and their self-consciousness had grown.

*The high degree of interest in politics is a characteristic feature of all post-war generations of our youth,*⁶ even though, as we attempt to show in the following, it manifested itself in a different manner in the various stages of the socialist era of our history.

When comparing the political interest of young people in the socialist and capitalist countries, we find the following important difference: young people's political interest in socialism was directed largely to the sector of economic construction. Participation in this construction of the country's economy was positively becoming one of the most important criteria of political activity.⁷

If we follow the development of youth and the history of its movement in the post-war period, we find that in many respects there is a marked differentiation between the thoughts and the actions of young people in the different stages of the post-war years of our history. These differences are so much evident, especially between *the youth of the first post-war years and that of today, that they justify us to speak of different post-war generations of our youth.*

In the further parts of the present paper we, therefore, focus our attention, above all, on the problems our youth was faced with in the time of growing over of our revolution (1945—1948) and the youth of the first years of building up socialism (1949—1955), and particularly with the questions relating to the present-day young generation.

II

The members of the first post-war generation of our youth *entered life in the joyful atmosphere of the liberation of the Czechoslovak Republic.* From their childhood or early youth they brought along direct or mediated experiences from the time of Nazi occupation which exerted a considerable influence upon their minds and deeds.

The process of social adaptation of this generation proceeded also in many respects under more favourable conditions than it was the case with the preceding generations. Our entire society went through a stage of deep social changes that were realized in that period in agreement with the special conditions given by the historic development and the then

prevailing social situation in our country which were realized in the way of gradual changes. Of importance was the fact that the overwhelming part of young people wanted and could take part in their own manner. They were called upon and guided to do so.

Under those historic conditions a young generation strongly engaged in political life grew up in a natural way as early as the beginning of 1945. Its bulk connected or began to connect its own personal existence, its future, with the *idea of socialism*, even though the different sections or groups of young people frequently imagined the socialist society in a different way. The socialist orientation of the then young generation is furnished proof of by the fact that its participation which linked political engagement right with membership in political parties was for the greater part organized in the parties of the so-called socialist bloc. In the years 1946 and 1947 approximately 450,000 young people were organized in the Czech Lands in one of the four existing political parties, which makes roughly 30 per cent of all boys and girls in the age groups of 16 to 24 years.⁸ Out of the total number of young people organized in political parties, over 80 per cent were members of the parties forming the socialist bloc, and almost 33 per cent of all young people organized in a political party were, in turn, members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

In that revolutionary period the conditions for *realizing a broad unit of action of the youth movement* were thus created. Sources of those times show that in the ranks of young people — with members of all their sections — a strong tendency displayed itself in 1945 for unity of action also with the members of various youth organisations.

Tendencies towards unity of youth manifested themselves in most people's democratic countries, even though the organisational forms in which this unity was being realized were different in the particular countries. Thus, for instance, unlike Yugoslavia, where the United Federation of Anti-Fascist Youth of Yugoslavia had been set up in illegality towards the end of 1942, which after the country's liberation became the only youth organisation, the activities of those youth organisations which had been prohibited by the Nazi occupants and whose programmes were in keeping with the programme of the first stage of our revolution were also restored in Czechoslovakia in 1945, besides the newly arisen national Unions of Czech and Slovak Youth. The organisations involved were primarily traditional organisation of our youth such as the Junák-Boy and Girl Scouts Movement, the University Students' Association, in addition to organisations for physical culture and sports (Sokol, Orel, DTJ) of a religious character (Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., etc), of a cultural character, in which a part of the young people was also organized.

The unity of action of the youth movement was realized in our country in 1945 in organisational respect through collective membership of the principal youth organisations in the Unions of Czech Youth.⁹

The National Youth Unions represented the most typical organisation in the period of growing over of the revolution. The Union of Czech Youth and the Union of Slovak Youth were in their way selective organisations, whose members were those young people who were satisfied with their programmes.¹⁰

The importance of the Union of Youth followed from its position in the system of the National Front which on an institutional level was formed of the political parties and the mass organisations. Its membership, of which 77 per cent were young people not organized in any political party, supported the growing over process of the revolution. It was that part of the young generation which took an active role in the course of the February events in 1948 and in the following years, often already in leading position of public life, and in realizing the socialist changes of our society.

A typical feature of the years 1945 to 1948 is *the political struggle for the conception of the further development of our society*.¹¹ The political differentiation which manifested itself, on the one hand, in the already mentioned rate of organisation in political parties, on the other hand, in the political struggle within the individual youth organisations, especially marked in the University Students' Associations, was symptomatic for the political engagement of the young people of that time. The political struggles culminated in our country in February 1948.

The February events opened up wide opportunities for those members of the first post-war generation of youth who had actively supported the development of the revolution. Young people were afforded great opportunities of social advance who are today about forty years old and thus can occupy their positions still for some longer time. This advance, concerning a relatively large number of people, has changed the course of the natural generation shift, which manifests itself in the present times as well.¹²

Under different conditions grew up those young people who went through the process of social adaptation in the fifties, especially in their first half. Of decisive influence for the moulding of the profile of the members of this generation is their participation in the complicated process of socialist transformation of society, the main goal of which was laid down by the IXth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1949. *The years 1949 to 1960 can be characterized as years of transformation of the formerly essentially capitalist class structure of our society to a socialist structure*.¹³

The sweeping changes in our society exerted a fundamental influence on the mind and the behaviour of the then young generation. For the youth who always distinguishes itself by the highest social mobility of all the age groups, the mass transfer from the villages to the towns is a typical feature of that time, as called forth by the process of the increased rate of the industrialization drive. For the bulk of the young people in the villages and towns, favourable conditions on the whole were given for a social advance¹⁴. Most young people who had grown up in the years 1950 to 1956 linked their own personal prospects right with the course of building-up of socialism and with the results of the Five-Year Plans. *Young people of that period, in their majority, also accepted the Marxist world outlook*. It was a period when in our country Marxist ideas spread and consolidated. Their dissemination among the youth, but also among the adults, however, adopted not infrequently forms that caused our young people not to acquire the critical-analytic spirit of the Marxist

theory, but only a certain sum of doctrines and often only very simplified schemes in the well-known Stalinite formulations. Just with this generation, whose members had no possibility of verifying their views in the confrontation or the ideological clash with non-Marxist ideas, things went so far that part of them dogmatically believed in the correctness of everything that was being realized in our country.

An important mile-stone in that period was the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in 1956, the consequences of which influenced the youth growing up in the period of the close of the fifties. Its response was already to be felt in the years 1956 to 1960, especially among the youth at the Universities and Colleges.¹⁵ Since with many young people the relationship to communism was rather a matter of feeling than of reason, the reactions of many young people to the criticism of the personality cult were also mostly of an emotional character.

Towards the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties conditions began gradually to form where the growing up present-day generation of our youth developed differently from the preceding generations.

III

Our present-day generation, among whom we also count young people that in the middle of the sixties were about 16 to 24 years old, belong according to their birth dates to the age groups 1941 to 1949. If we take into consideration the present-day young people within the range of from 16 to 21 years, who capture most our interest, we find that they do not recollect any more the war years, respectively that they were born already in the post-war period. They lived through their childhood at the beginning of the fifties, went through their school years at a time when in our country the cultural traditions were interrupted as a result of the already mentioned events, when they acquired a simplified idea both of the capitalist world and of the socialist world.

The members of the present-day generation found themselves in their ripening youth in an other society as that which they had created in their imaginations. New cultural influences and the other aspects of social happenings, among them our present-day economic difficulties as well, begin to act on them. The criticism of the so-called one man cult impaired in the ripening part — but not only in them — of our population in a justified manner the schematic ideas of a socialist society and failed to create by itself new ideas.

If, at the same time, we proceed from the characteristic features of the psychology of a young person, of which we should like to draw attention in this connection especially to the desire to carry one's point as an independent person and to distinguish oneself from the adults, the tendency to rigorousness in views, as well as little experience in life, we understand why today the generation problem appears to us in a much more defined likeness than was the case with both preceding young generations. Young people, as some research studies of youth have shown, often see even the question of the personality cult in the light of generation relations.

Also from the point of view of social adaptation of the members of the

present-day generation there exist conditions different from those for both preceding generations. In our society the process of revolutionary transformation of the former class structures into a structure of socialist society has been complete in essence.¹⁶ Thus there also occurred a *relative stabilisation of the new social structure, including a relative stabilisation of the socialist institutions*. Another important factor is the that the members of present-day youth create, as a result of the new historic conditions, even a different system and hierarchy of values from those the members of the higher age groups possess, their fathers, respectively — members of the youth movement of the first post-war years.

And that, of course, is not only our problem, It is to be seen today in all European countries of the socialist system.¹⁷

The indicated facts force us to examine more deeply the problems relating to the present-day young generation. That is why extensive research studies are being prepared and beginning to be realized. The hitherto obtained results¹⁸ also show that in the present-day young generation we encounter, besides attitudes resulting from the natural development of every young individual which we can follow in *young people of all eras and all cultures*, several features of own thoughts and actions of young people in *all industrially advanced countries*. This applies, above all, to the way of using spare time.¹⁹

At the same time we must not, of course, overlook that *our youth differs in many respects from the youth in the capitalist countries*. This is evident from a comparison of research activities in Czechoslovakia and in the West European countries. The most characteristic difference following from this comparison resides in the *much higher political engagement* of our youth, as well as of Poland's, Yugoslavia's, and the Soviet Union's youth. The bulk of our youth deems socialism to be a matter of course and recognizes its numerous advantages. Another question, on which light was thrown by research activities published in the journal *Nová mysl* (New Mind),²⁰ resides in the fact how young people imagine the optimum model of socialist society. Serious shortcomings of our society are seen by the young people, above all, in formalism, red tape, in people's passivity, in the incorrect wage system, etc. In many respects their criticism thus agrees with the critical analysis made by the XIIIth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. However, as a rule, it is stronger, as it is to be seen from the psychology of a young person.

In the political views and in the goals of life the young generation of today is also much more *concrete* than many members of the young generation of the time of the national and democratic revolution and the generation of the time of building up of socialism had been. It is typical, the results of the research activities carried on by our and Polish sociologists agreeing, that the overwhelming number of the members of all social sections of youth give, as a rule, to the question of what they value most in life, the agreeing answer "a well-paid job".

The thoughts and the actions of our present-day generation of young people penetrate very distinctly into their movement as well. Young people of the present criticize expressions of formalism and red tape in the work of the Union of Czechoslovak Youth, they point to certain negative results

of the excessive mass character of this organisation, to the low differentiation rate in the activities which cannot fully satisfy the interests of all its members. All these are questions that also Party and Union of Youth bodies are trying to solve at the present time. In the not too far away past the indicated shortcomings in the work of the Union of Czechoslovak Youth contributed their share to the fact that young people began to associate in various informal groups and that the *tramp movement* received fresh support.

The complicated and intricate questions of the present-day generation of Czechoslovak youth and the problems relating to their movement can be tackled and solved only on the basis of thorough scientific know-how in close cooperation with sociologists, psychologists, pedagogues, and with historians as well. Of importance to note is the fact that under the present circumstances the basic conditions for this work have already been created.

Translated by L. G. Winter

REFERENCES

- ¹ Among our literature we should like to point out, above all, the following publications: "Aktuální problémy sociologie mládeže" (Topical Problems Relating to Youth Sociology), volume of authors, Ostrava 1965; "Problémy výzkumu osobnosti vysokoškolského studenta" (Problems Relating to Research of the Personality of a University Student), volume of authors, Olomouc 1965; "O specifičnosti hnutí mládeže" (On the Specificity of the Youth Movement), volume of authors, Praha 1964. These volumes also contain other papers and reports of Czechoslovak and foreign origin.
- ² Among the papers dealing with the problems relating to the young people in the West European countries we should like to draw attention at least to the monographs written by *Helmut Schelsky* "Die skeptische Generation", Stuttgart 1957, *Jacques Duquesne* "Les 16-24 ans", Paris 1962; *James S. Coleman* "The Adolescent Society. The Social Life of the Teenager and its Impact on Education", Illinois 1962; *N. S. Eisenstadt* "From Generation to Generation. Age groups and Social Structure", London 1956; of the literature concerning the youth in the socialist countries we point to the volume compiled by a team of authors "*Młodzież epoki przemian*", Warszawa 1965, besides the reports quoted in the mentioned volumes of ours.
- ³ Cf. *Dagmar Cahová*, K vymezení místa mládeže v sociální struktuře společnosti (On the Assignment of Youth's Place - as age groups - in the Social Structure of our Society), Přehled, 1966, No. 1.
- ⁴ *Karel Mannheim* emphasizes that the sociologist's interest in the study of youth, unlike the pedagogue's and psychologist's interests, focusses on two questions, i. e. what youth expects from society and what society expects from youth. *K. Mannheim* "Das Problem der Jugend in der modernen Gesellschaft", Zürich, 1951.
- ⁵ *Josef Chalasiński* "Awans pokolenia" (The Advanced Generation), cited according to *Jerzy Kubin* "Polish Youth", in the mentioned volume "Topical Problems Relating to Youth Sociology".
- ⁶ The same tendency is displayed, inasmuch Poland's and Yugoslavia's youths are concerned, by *Bauman* and *Zvonarevich* in the papers quoted in the Ostrava volume.
- ⁷ A wide range of literary works are given over to the questions of the working activity of youth in our county. We should like to underline here two aspects of this tendency of engagement of youth. Youth labour teams contributed, beyond dispute, towards speeding up the reconstruction of our economy destroyed during the war

and, in later years, to the building up of the national economy. In their promotion and publicity, however, a one-sided glorification of manual unskilled work occurred, which was at variance with the needs of development of the economy in industrially advanced Czechoslovakia.

⁸ We present the total number of young people according to the Population Census carried out in Czechoslovakia in the years 1946 and 1947 (Soupis obyvatelstva v Československu v letech 1946 a 1947), Praha 1951, page 34.

Age group (completed year)	Total	Boys	Girls
15-19	697.303	352.942	244.361
20-24	744.618	363.507	381.111
Total	1,441.921	716.449	725.472

⁹ These problems are dealt with in detail in the article "K otázce jednoty a diferenciacie mládežnických hnutí" (On the Question of Unity and Differentiation of the Youth Movement), published in the cited volume "On the Specificity of the Youth Movement".

¹⁰ The *Union of Czech Youth* associated in 1945 about 400,000 young people, The *Junák - Czech Scout Movement* roughly 150,000; the *Revolutionary Trade Unions Youth* approx. 100,000; and the *University Students' Association* some 60,000 members. The number of the Czech Youth Union members decreased in 1946 and 1947. As of November 15th, 1947 it counted 298,000 members, of whom 150,000 were registered. Cf. *Dagmar Cahová* "The Junák" (Czech Boy-Scout Organisation) and the forming of the United Youth Organisation Journal of Studies of the Philosophical faculty of the University of Brno, G. (Studies in Social Science), 1964.

¹¹ Attention is drawn in this connection to the evaluation of that period in the papers by *Jan Křen* and *Milan Reiman* "K syntéze našich novodobých dějin" (On the Synthesis of Our Modern History), Contributions to the History of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 1963, No. 2.

¹² We should not forget that a part of the first post-war young generation, as a result of the beginning dogmatic-sectarian deformations of living conditions in the fifties, was greatly handicapped.

¹³ We proceeded here from the data furnished by *M. Kučera*, The Population of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic over the Years 1945 to 1965, Demography, No. 2, 1965:

Classes and Social Sections	Before the liberation 1945	1961
Workers	49,8 %	55 %
Farmers - small, medium-class, running own farms, cooperative	22,8 %	3,5 %
Other employees	—	11,7 %
Tradesmen (business, crafts)	11,6 %	27,4 %
Capitalists (industry & agricul.)	6,6 %	—
Others	9,2 %	—
	—	2,4 %
Total	100 %	100 %

- ¹⁴ Conditions prevailing in our country in the time of the first Five-Year Plan realized over the years 1949 to 1953 are, in certain respects, analogous to the conditions prevailing in Poland during the first Six-Year Plan. It is from those years that the already mentioned research results obtained by Prof. *Chalasiński* date. Prof. *Chalasiński*, on the basis of studying the journals of 5,000 Polish youths, arrived at the conclusion that in the years of building up socialism the self-consciousness of young Polish farmers and workers had unusually grown. A similar experience was made in Czechoslovakia, too, even though in the mentioned period sociological research was no more carried on in our country. Proof of this is furnished by numerous sources of information and observations, as well as by the evidence of witnesses.
- ¹⁵ *Ivan Tesár* occupies himself with questions of the development of the University youth in the post-war in the article "Studentstvo a revoluční hnutí" (The Students and the Revolutionary Movement), published in the volume On the Specificity of Youth and in a contribution at the conference on the Development of the Post-war Generations, held in Prague in January 1966.
- ¹⁶ *Pavel Machonin*, "Nová sociální struktura" (The New Social Structure), Kulturní tvorba, January 21st, 1965.
- ¹⁷ Prof. *Zvonarevich* of the Zagreb University presented at the Sociological Seminar in Ostrava 1965 the following results of research on the generation relations in Yugoslavia: To the question whether there exists an agreement of views between the present-day generation and the generation of fathers, 32 per cent of the persons asked answered "yes", the bulk, i. e. 55 per cent, said "no", and 15 per cent had not given any thought to that problem. Of particular interest were those answers which were to show where disagreement resided in. The most surprising thing was that 53 per cent of the young Yugoslavs asked replied that they considered their participation in the partisans' fight to be of little importance in the present evaluation of the members of older generations, while the generation of "fathers" continued to put this criterion in a foremost place.
- ¹⁸ Some results of sociological research we base our work on are published in the cited volumes (item 1), where there are also references to other sources.
- ¹⁹ Interesting results to this effect are presented by *M. Mácha* "Mládež a společnost" (Youth and Society), in the cited volume Topical Problems Relating to Youth Sociology; furthermore by *F. Koudelka*, "Poznámky k některým problémům volného času", (Remarks on Certain Problems of Leisure Time), in the volume Problems Relating to Research of the University Student's Person.
- ²⁰ Sociologický o mládeži (Sociological Considerations on Youth), *Nová mysl* (New Mind), 1965, No. 2.

K VÝVOJI POVÁLEČNÝCH GENERACÍ MLÁDEŽE V ČESKOSLOVENSKU

Autorka se v úvodu zmiňuje o tom, že se u nás zvyšuje v posledních letech zájem o studium otázek mládeže, jemuž se věnují již nejen pedagogové a psychologové, ale i sociologové a historikové. Upozorňuje v této souvislosti na sborníky prací, které u nás k této problematice byly vydány. Dále vysvětluje své rozlišení pojmu *mládeže jako věkové sociální skupiny*, jež je jednou ze skupin biosociálních, a *pojmu generace jako kategorie historicko-sociální*. Ve své úvaze — jež je shrnutím problematiky rozsáhlejší práce — se opírá o některé sociologické výzkumy, historické prameny a dobové ankety, o vzpomínky účastníků hnutí mládeže a konečně o vlastní zúčastněná pozorování. Konfrontuje výsledky studia problematiky naší mládeže s výsledky výzkumů uskutečněných v jiných socialistických zemích.

I

V prvé části se autorka pokouší o stručnou charakteristiku všech poválečných generací naší mládeže a o vymezení základních rozdílů mezi postoji mládeže v socialistických a kapitalistických zemích.

Vychází přitom z modelu dynamiky společenského života, který použil Zygmunt Bauman ve svém referátě *Polská mládež a politika*. Z hlediska tohoto modelu byla situace u nás a v lidově demokratických zemích velmi příznivá pro sociální adaptaci (socializaci) mládeže. Společnost procházela obdobím přeměn, které se uskutečňovaly působením revolučních sil a byly současně navozovány lidově demokratickými institucemi a organizacemi. Mládeži byla přiznávána role jedné z revolučních sil. Za této situace vyrůstala první poválečná generace naší mládeže, která si přinášela z dětství a z rané mladosti přímé či nepřímé zkušenosti z období nacistické okupace, jako generace velmi silně politicky angažovaná. Autorka srovnává vývoj naší mládeže s výsledky, které publikoval profesor Chalašínski v práci „Vzestup pokolení“ (*Awans pokolenia*). Vysoký stupeň politické angažovanosti je charakteristickým rysem všech poválečných generací mládeže, i když se v jednotlivých etapách socialistického období našich dějin projevoval v různých formách. V souvislosti s otázkou politické angažovanosti naší mládeže se autorka pokouší ukázat na některé odlišné rysy politické angažovanosti v socialistických a kapitalistických zemích.

II.

Ve druhé části článku je podávána stručná charakteristika prvních poválečných generací naší mládeže – mládeže dorůstající v období procesu přerůstání národní a demokratické revoluce, a mládeže, u níž se proces sociální adaptace dokončoval v období výstavby socialismu. Při výkladu vývoje mládeže ve druhém zmíněném období upozorňuje autorka na význam roku 1956. Proces zahájený XX. sjezdem KSSS ovlivnil také vývoj mládeže u nás. Jeho důsledky se zřetelně projevují i u současné generace naší mládeže.

První poválečnou generaci naší mládeže je možno charakterizovat jako generaci politicky angažovanou a politicky diferencovanou. Převážná její část přijala ideje socialismu, i když si jej jednotlivé vrstvy mladých lidí představovaly často různě. Socialistická orientace převážné části mládeže je vyvozována z čísel o stranické angažovanosti naší mládeže.

V další části ukazuje autorka stručně vliv únorových událostí na vývoj mládeže. Únorové vítězství revolučních sil umožnilo v následujících letech rychlý sociální vzestup těch vrstev mládeže, která podporovala revoluční změny sociální struktury. Autorka ukazuje některé charakteristické rysy mládeže z let 1949–1955, která přijala ve většině marxistický světový názor, avšak ve zjednodušené podobě známých deformací tohoto období.

III

Závěrečná část výkladu je věnována problematice současné generace mládeže. Opírá se o první výsledky sociologických výzkumů naší mládeže a konfrontuje je s výsledky průzkumů v jiných socialistických zemích. Ukazuje, že i současná mladá generace je silně politicky angažovaná, přičemž se v jejích politických názorech projevuje značná konkrétnost a střídmost. To vyniká zvláště v oblasti hierarchie životních hodnot. Závěrem ukazuje některé nové tendence ve vývoji naší mládeže, které bude nutné důkladně zkoumat.