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THE SEJM ELECTIONS: RENEWAL WITH UNANIMITY

Summary: In the parliamentary elections held on March 19, the 460 preferred candidates on the list of the Front of National Unity were chosen as deputies for the new Sejm. Although the regime claimed that 99.53 per cent of the valid votes were cast for the FNU, the degree of popular confidence manifested in individual candidates varied quite considerably, from a high of 99.80 per cent in the case of party leader Edward Gierek to a low of 91.10 per cent in that of Jozef Nagorzanski. Several of Gierek's associates in the PUWP leadership received a number of negative votes, the effect of which was to alter the order in which they were "elected."

Although certain voters utilized the electoral process in order to register continuing discontent with the present situation in Poland, the elections have, on balance, served the regime's intentions, in providing the leadership with a stronger "national mandate" and securing the election of a Sejm that will be amenable to Gierek's policies. Of the 460 deputies, almost two thirds are serving in the Sejm for the first time, almost all of the officials identified with the Gomulka regime having been removed.

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On the evening of March 20, the initial results of the previous day's elections to the Polish Sejm were released, and, on March 21, the electoral report was published in the daily press. According to the report, 21,854,481 (or 97.94 per cent)

of the 22,313,851 eligible voters cast ballots in the election, while 459,370 persons (2.06 per cent) abstained. Only 5,084 ballots (0.02 per cent) were declared invalid. Of the 21,849,397 valid ballots, 21,746,242 (or 99.53 per cent) were cast "for the Front of National Unity," with 103,155 (0.47 per cent) voters against the Front's list.

Even before the final results had been tabulated, Trybuna Ludu (1) referred to the elections as a "general and spontaneous expression of confidence in the policy of the PUWP. . . ." Although the electoral system hardly lends itself to "spontaneity," there is no doubt that the leadership of Edward Gierek can claim, as it, in fact, is doing, almost total support for its post-December 1970 policies and the resolution of the Sixth PUWP Congress. Indeed, in every respect, the Gierek regime has improved upon the electoral record compiled during the "autocratic" rule of former party leader Wladyslaw Gomulka, as is illustrated by the following tables:

<u>Officially Claimed Support for the FNU List</u>					
(per cent of valid ballots)					
	<u>1957</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1972</u>
	98.40	98.34	98.81	99.22	99.53
<u>Participation</u>					
(per cent of electorate)					
	<u>1957</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1972</u>
Voted	94.14	94.83	96.62	97.61	97.94
Abstained	5.86	5.17	3.38	2.39	2.06
<u>Invalid Ballots</u>					
	<u>1957</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1972</u>
Number	58,897	19,067	13,840	7,766	5,084
Per Cent	0.33	0.10	0.07	0.04	0.02
<u>Ballots Against the Front List</u>					
	<u>1957</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1972</u>
Number	270,002	292,009	226,324	161,569	103,115
Per Cent	1.50	1.57	1.15	0.78	0.47

(1) 20 March 1972.

Given the peculiarities of the Polish electoral system, (2) these figures are subject to some explanation. In the first place, it would appear that the expression of dissent -- in the form of simple abstention, invalidating the ballot, and crossing off all of the FNU candidates -- has declined in comparison with previous years. However, considerable use has been made of the fourth form of dissent -- that of crossing off one or more of the preferred candidates at the top of the list, in effect simultaneously endorsing some or all of the "surplus" candidates at the bottom. The result of such electoral behavior is, however, not reflected in the over-all statistics, because a voter who has crossed off a number of candidates on the ballot, even if it be seven out of eight names, is officially considered to have voted for the Front of National Unity.

The consequence of such negative votes is only apparent in the reduction of total votes cast for the preferred candidates, thus altering the order in which they are "elected." In political terms, this amounts to an expression of lack of confidence in certain individuals and in the party-dictated order in which the candidates are listed. Thus, although Trybuna Ludu claimed that the elections constituted "a demonstration of confidence for the people who will be Sejm deputies," (3) it is apparent from the final results that the degree of "confidence" manifested in each candidate varied quite significantly. As might have been expected, PUWP leader Edward Gierek received the highest percentage of support, obtaining 99.80 per cent of the valid votes in his Silesian constituency. Jozef Nagorzanski, running in the constituency of Tarnow in Cracow Voivodship, gained the dubious honor of receiving the lowest total, "only" 91.10 per cent of the valid votes. Of more political significance, three of Gierek's associates on the 11-man PUWP Politburo -- Edward Babiuch, Franciszek Szlachcic, and Wladyslaw Kruczek -- dropped from first to

(2) For the details, see Kazimierz Zamorski, "Features of the Polish Electoral System," Polish Background Report/10, Radio Free Europe Research (EERA), 19 May 1969.

(3) 20 March 1972.

last place in the order of votes received by preferred candidates. In Warsaw, where Western correspondents reported that many of the voters were exercising their right to cross off candidates, (4) Politburo alternate member Jozef Kepa obtained 93.30 per cent of the valid votes, finishing in a tie for last place among the seven "elected" deputies. Among those citizens availing themselves of the possibility to vote in secret was none other than former party leader Gomulka, who, in earlier elections, had stressed that crossing off FNU candidates would be a "disloyal" act!

Explanatory Note

For an analysis of the selection practices of the electorate, three key indicators will be used: the number of valid votes cast in a given constituency; the number of votes cast for the list of candidates of the Front of National Unity; and the percentile ratio of the latter to the number of valid votes. The following example will illustrate the issue. According to the official report, the number of valid votes in the Downtown Warsaw constituency was 351,263, while the number of votes cast for the list of FNU candidates was 349,872, i.e., 99.60 per cent. At the same time, the same official report on the results of the elections gives the list of FNU candidates, none of whom obtained either 349,872 votes or scored a 99.60 per cent electoral victory. The list appears as follows:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number of Votes Obtained by Individ- ual Candidates</u>	<u>Per Cent of Valid Votes</u>
1. Janusz Groszkowski	344,161	97.98
2. Jozef Ozga-Michalski	333,372	94.91
3. Jerzy Majewski	340,607	96.97
4. Jarema Maciszewski	341,750	97.29
5. Zuzanna Polaska	343,198	97.70
6. Edmund Meclewski	338,272	96.30
7. Felicja Tutkaj	20,537	5.85
8. Wieslaw Pilchowski	16,080	4.58

(4) See, for example, the reports of James Feron in The New York Times and Dan Morgan in The Washington Post on March 20.

The list shows six preferred or "seat" candidates (those who have been elected Sejm deputies) and two excess (or "expendable") ones, whose only function seems to have been to collect the votes resulting from electors crossing off the names of the leading candidates. The average percentage of votes obtained by the "seat" candidates is thus 96.86 per cent (i.e., almost 3 per cent less than officially claimed) and when (and if) the complexities of the Polish electoral system are carried to their logical conclusion, the average for the whole list is 73.95 per cent. The logic of the apparent absurdity is based on the fact, already mentioned, that, under the electoral law, each ballot is considered cast for the list as long as there remains at least one name not crossed off. This may explain the discrepancy between the high figure of positive votes claimed for the whole constituency and the much lower "scorings" by the individual candidates. It seems, therefore, that a more realistic picture of the election results can be obtained by basing all calculations on the results of the individual "seat" candidates and the thus obtainable averages for the constituencies. Such calculation will totally ignore the "expendable" candidates and will pertain to the 460 "seat" candidates who have already become Sejm deputies.

Changing the Order of Preference

As is known, the names of the candidates appearing on the electoral lists (ballots) are originally arranged according to a certain order of preference, whereby the more important the person, the higher the place on the list he occupies. Thus, it is almost a rule that the top position on the list is taken either by a so-called central candidate (a high party or government leader from Warsaw), or by a local leader, in many instances a party voivodship first secretary. This order of preference is also preserved in the official announcements of the election results, as a rule with total disregard of the fact that it no longer corresponds to the actual state of affairs, because the voters -- by resorting to selection -- have changed the placings. In the given example of the Downtown Warsaw constituency, Ozga-Michalski is still listed second, although he was pushed down to the bottom of the list by the voters. Furthermore -- with the sole exception of Professor Groszkowski -- the deputies' positions on the list do not correspond to the election results.

As in the past, so too in these elections of 1972, the voters have not left one single constituency "unturned." In only 7 of the 80 constituencies did the top candidates manage to retain their original places. In no fewer than 34 constituencies, the top candidates were moved down to the bottom of the list by the voters, while in 7 of these 34 cases there were complete reversals of order, i.e., the list was actually turned upside down. In the remaining 39 constituencies, there was a movement of the top candidates to lower positions, although not to the last (lowest) place on the list.

In this connection, it is worth noting that these changes in order of preference are not related to, or dependent on, the extent of the social discipline of the voters. For instance, the most "disciplined" electorate of the Bytom constituency (99.54 per cent average support for the FNU candidates) did not miss the opportunity of humiliating their voivodship local government leader, Jerzy Zietek, by moving him from the top of the list to the bottom. The same is true of one of the most "rebellious" constituencies, Nowy Sacz (average 93.96 per cent), where the same unpleasant experience had to be swallowed by a central candidate, Eugeniusz Grochal, deputy chairman of the Trade Union Central Council.

Constituency Percentages

As already explained, a realistic picture of voters' performance is obtained by studying the results of the individual candidates. With regard to the constituencies, such a picture is obtained by calculating the averages of support for the candidates. This is illustrated by the following table:

<u>Average Percentage</u>	<u>Number of Constituencies</u>	<u>Number of Candidates</u>
99.01 and over	9	53
98.01-99	25	145
97.01-98	25	139
96.01-97	15	85
95.01-96	3	20
94.01-95	1	6
93.01-94	2	12
	<hr/> 80	<hr/> 460

Of the nine "exemplary" constituencies with the highest average percentage of support for the FNU candidates, five are situated in Katowice Voivodship, three in Rzeszow Voivodship, and one in Opole Voivodship.

The six constituencies showing the least support for the candidates (93-96 per cent) are:

Cracow District	95.72
Cracow City	95.59
Radom (Kielce Voivodship)	95.54
Wadowice (Cracow Voivodship)	94.35
Nowy Sacz (Cracow Voivodship)	93.96
Tarnow (Cracow Voivodship)	93.01

Regarding the geographical distribution of these areas of the highest (Katowice Voivodship) and lowest (Cracow Voivodship) percentile averages, there is no departure from the pattern of the past. This applies in particular to the two "rebellious" constituencies of Nowy Sacz and Tarnow.

Performance of PUWP Leaders

Western correspondents reported, immediately after the election results were made available, that Gierek emerged uncontestably victorious by scoring no less than 99.80 per cent of the votes in his constituency, while Kepa obtained only 93.30 per cent of the votes in his Warsaw-Wola Ward constituency, thus sliding down almost to the bottom of the list. It would appear that the difference between the two party leaders of no less than 6.50 per cent, is rather significant. As a matter of fact, such a conclusion is not quite fair. In order objectively to judge a candidate's performance at the polls, one has to compare his percentile result with the average results of his constituency. It then becomes clear that neither was Gierek so victorious, for the average for his constituency (Sosnowiec, in Silesia) was 99.52 per cent, nor did Kepa suffer a defeat of the magnitude of 6.50 per cent, since the average in his constituency was 96.01 per cent. (However, given the fact that the span of percentages was rather broad in the Warsaw-Wola Ward constituency -- almost 5 per cent -- the performance of the local party leader is humiliating.) When viewed from this angle, Nagorzanski's record is also not so embarrassing when his "performance" of 91.10 per cent is considered against the constituency's average

of 93.01 per cent. The point is better illustrated by the example of Babiuch, who slid down from his top place on the list to the bottom. He obtained 96.00, against his constituency's average of 96.93 per cent, and against the highest scoring (by Professor Alfons Klafkowski) of 97.96 per cent.

With the above consideration in mind, the list of individual contestants will be supplemented with an indication of the average percentage in a given constituency, which figure will follow the one pertaining to the performance of the candidate. This set of figures will be followed by an indication of the original placing on the list (1/7 means that he was first on the list among seven "seat" candidates) and the final outcome (4/7 would mean that the top candidate slid down to fourth place among seven "seat" candidates). The following list of Politburo members is not arranged in alphabetical order but according to performance in the elections.

(more)

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<u>Name and Constituency</u>	<u>Individual Per- formance/Consti- tuency Average</u>	<u>Place on List/ Final Outcome</u>
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(Politburo Full Members)

Edward Gierek, Sosnowiec	99.80/99.52	1/6 - 1/6
Henryk Jablonski, Opole	99.31/98.99	1/5 - 1/5
Piotr Jaroszewicz, Warsaw-Praga	98.91/98.45	1/5 - 1/5
Mieczyslaw Jagielski, Lublin	98.43/98.25	1/7 - 1/7
Jan Szydlak, Lodz-Baluty	98.48/98.09	1/5 - 2/5
Wojciech Jaruzelski, Wroclaw	97.41/96.86	1/7 - 2/7
Jozef Tejchman, Plock	97.32/97.41	1/5 - 3/5
Stefan Olszowski, Bydgoszcz	97.17/97.60	1/6 - 5/6
Wladyslaw Kruczek, Tarnobrzeg	98.65/99.03	1/6 - 6/6
Edward Babiuch, Poznan	96.00/96.93	1/7 - 7/7
Franciszek Szlachcic, Chrzanow	96.00/96.66	1/7 - 7/7

(Politburo Alternate Members)

Zdzislaw Grudzien, Katowice	99.38/99.36	1/8 - 4/8
Kazimierz Barcikowski, Stargard Szczecinski	98.68/98.71	1/5 - 4/5
Jozef Kepa, Warsaw-Wola Ward	93.30/96.01	1/7 - 6/7
Stanislaw Kania, Gdynia	97.12/98.60	1/7 - 7/7

(CC Secretaries)

Stanislaw Kowalczyk, Pabianice	97.48/97.50	1/5 - 4/5
Jerzy Lukaszewicz, Zielona Gora	98.14/98.41	1/8 - 7/8

(CC Secretariat Members)

Andrzej Werblan, Radom	94.79/95.54	1/6 - 5/6
Ryszard Frelek, Koszalin	97.51/98.04	1/6 - 6/6

It follows that no fewer than three Politburo members, one Politburo deputy member, and one CC secretariat member were moved from top positions on the list to the bottom.

Voivodship Secretaries

Of the 19 voivodship party first secretaries, at least three performed well. These are Zdzislaw Kurowski of Bialystok, who retained his top place on the list of seven candidates; Jozef Klasa of Cracow, who moved up from the second place on the list of six candidates to the top; and Ludwik Drozd of Wroclaw, who fared even better by climbing up from third place on the list of seven candidates to the top. In this connection, it is interesting to note that all these three secretaries are Gierek's appointees. However, so are four of the six voivodship first secretaries who were moved from the top of the list to the bottom. These are Tadeusz Bejm of Gdansk; Janusz Brych of Szczecin; Piotr Karpiuk of Lublin; and Stanislaw Szkraba of Rzeszow. The two old voivodship secretaries who slid down to bottom are Mieczyslaw Hebda of Zielona Gora and Jozef Majchrzak of Bydgoszcz.

"Allied" Parties

The performance of the United Peasant Party politicians was far from impressive. At least 17 top politicians and an equal number of provincial branch chairmen were placed on the lists, some of them on the top. Of the leading UPP politicians, deputy chairman Dyzma Galaj, Sejm speaker in the last term, retained his top position among the five candidates in the Kutno constituency. Two more UPP politicians, chairman Stanislaw Gucwa and presidium member Emil Kolodziej, slid down by only one place, while no fewer than three top UPP leaders were moved from top to bottom of the lists, and at least five slid down to the bottom from their second or third positions on the lists. The chairmen of local branches did not perform any better than did their leaders.

The smaller Democratic Party, which is represented in the Sejm by 39 deputies, placed on the lists of candidates no fewer than four top leaders and seven provincial branch chairmen. Of these, only two scored considerable electoral victories: Gabriel

Gortowski, chairman of the DP Lodz municipal committee, moved from the fourth place on the list in Lodz to the top, while Edward Wisniewski, chairman of the Lublin Voivodship Committee, moved from fourth place to the top of the list. The success of Gortowski in Lodz is particularly significant, for he replaced, at the top of the list, Vice-Premier Eugeniusz Szyr (who dropped to the bottom of six candidates), the man who is chairing a special committee for the reconstruction of Lodz. Regarding the top DP politicians, it might be mentioned that presidium member Wacław Kozubski moved from third place to second on the list. With the exception of these "victories," the remaining DP contestants for Sejm seats had to suffer some humiliation by sliding down. This is true in particular of Chairman Zygmunt Moskwa, who was knocked down from the top to the bottom.

Catholic Politicians

There are five deputies representing Znak, five from the Pax organization, and two from the Christian Social Association. In addition, one deputy represents Caritas. They are listed according to their performance.

(more)

<u>Name and Constituency</u>	<u>Individual Performance/Constituency Average</u>	<u>Place on List/ Final Outcome</u>
<u>Znak</u>		
Stanislaw Stomma, Bialystok	98.46/98.34	4/7 - 2/7
Janusz Zablocki, Czestochowa	98.93/98.87	2/5 - 3/5
Tadeusz Myslik, Cracow	95.80/95.72	3/6 - 4/6
Waclaw Auleytner, Bartoszyce	97.31/97.65	3/4 - 4/4
Konstanty Lubieniski, Siedlce	96.04/96.18	2/6 - 5/6
<u>Pax</u>		
Marek Kabat, Ostrow Wielkopolski	98.25/97.97	5/6 - 3/6
Witold Jankowski, Wadowice	94.14/94.35	2/6 - 3/6
Jerzy Hagmajer, Kozle	98.81/98.89	3/5 - 5/5
Zenon Komender, Jelenia Gora	96.85/97.40	2/6 - 6/6
Boleslaw Piasecki, Radom	94.71/95.54	2/6 - 6/6
<u>ChSA</u>		
Stanislaw Rostworowski, Chelm	99.07/98.90	3/4 - 2/4
Zygmunt Filipowicz, Tuchola	98.15/98.17	3/5 - 3/5

Josef Sawajner of Caritas won 95.91 per cent in Wroclaw (against the average of 96.86 per cent), retaining his next to last seat on the list of seven candidates.

As can be seen from the above table, only Stomma from the Znak group enjoyed what can be called an electoral victory by moving up from fourth to second place among seven candidates. The

remaining Znak members slid down by one place in three instances, and by three in another instance.

Even worse are the electoral results of the Pax candidates, who -- with the exception of Kabat -- were moved down by as much as four places (in two instances) and in three instances right to the bottom (against Znak's one such defeat).

Government Officials

The picture would not be anywhere near complete without a review of the performance of the government officials, in particular of the five deputy premiers:

<u>Name and Constituency</u>	<u>Individual Per- formance/Consti- tuency Average</u>	<u>Place on List/ Final Outcome</u>
Jan Mitrega, Rybnik	99.03/98.84	1/7 - 2/7
Wincenty Krasko, Leszno	98.15/98.42	1/7 - 7/7
Franciszek Kaim, Torun	97.35/97.90	1/6 - 6/6
Zdzislaw Tomal, Ostroleka	97.09/97.33	1/5 - 5/5
Eugeniusz Szyr, Lodz-Center	96.16/97.61	1/6 - 6/6

As can be seen, the only man who can claim some success (relative to the defeats of the others) is Mitrega, who was moved down by only one place, while the remaining four top government officials slid right down to the bottom of their respective lists. Stanislaw Wronski, Minister of Culture and the Arts, slid almost to the bottom of his list, from top spot to the last-but-one place. The same is true of another central candidate, Jerzy Bafia, first chairman of the Supreme Court. Mieczyslaw Moczar, chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, was sent from the top to the bottom of a list of four candidates in Konskie constituency where, in 1969, he had performed quite well by retaining his top position.

The Significance of the Elections

In assessing the Sejm elections, the danger exists of exaggerating the significance of the number of negative votes received by high-ranking party officials. Although it is true that Kruczek, Szlachcic, and Babiuch fell to the bottom of the list of preferred candidates in their respective constituencies, the fact remains that they received 98.65, 96.00, and 96.00 per cent, respectively, of the valid ballots cast. Although a certain number of voters did utilize the electoral process in order to register continuing discontent with the present situation in Poland, there is little evidence to suggest that Gierek or his close associates have suffered a setback. This is not to suggest that the leadership, in fact, enjoys the overwhelming support registered in the elections, but rather to point out that, under existing regulations, elections provide neither an accurate barometer of popular sentiment nor a meaningful choice between candidates. Indeed, if the changes in the lists brought about by negative votes are assessed by the regime as a measure of the relative "popularity" of the individual leaders, the consequences might well serve to benefit Gierek himself, since many of those who dropped down in the list, e.g., Olszowski, Kruczek, and Kepa, could hardly be classified among his strongest supporters in the leadership.

The popularity contest aspect of the elections aside, the parliamentary vote can best be evaluated from the point of view of the regime's intentions in deciding to hold the elections more than one year ahead of schedule. The stated rationale for the decision was to gain popular approval for the Gierek leadership's policies, in particular for those approved at the sixth congress in December 1971. In this respect, the elections have, in official eyes, served their purpose. On March 21, Zycie Warszawy termed them "a kind of referendum in which the Poles said yes to party policy," while, on the following day, Trybuna Ludu cited the results as the "best evidence that the Polish community regards the present party and government line as right and as the only correct one."

If Gierek can now claim that he has received a national mandate, it is also obvious that he has secured the election of a Sejm that will be amenable to his policies. Of the 460 deputies, almost two

thirds are serving in the Sejm for the first time, almost all of the officials previously identified with the former regime having been removed. As one observer has noted, the elections "mark the end of a period of transition and consolidation for Mr. Gierek." (5) Having made significant changes in the party and government hierarchy over the course of the past 14 months, he has now engineered a transformation in the composition of the Sejm. This process will be completed on March 28, when the newly elected Sejm will meet for its first session. Among the first orders of business will be the election of a new State Council and the formation of a new government. Not many surprises are expected in the latter case -- given the changes that have already taken place. As regards the State Council, the Sejm will, inter alia, select a new chairman -- Poland's head of state -- in view of the fact that the present incumbent, Jozef Cyrankiewicz, did not stand for re-election to the Sejm. There have been numerous reports that Henryk Jablonski, the 62-year-old Politburo member and Minister of General and Higher Education, will replace Cyrankiewicz.

Kazimierz Zamorski/Michael Costello

(5) Bernard Margueritte in Le Monde, 22 March 1972.

APPENDIX

The 80 Top and Bottom Candidates and Deputies

The statistical data pertaining to these two categories are extremely interesting, given the fact that they reflect the difference between the preferences of the party (which determined the original arrangement of the names of the "seat" candidates on the ballots) and those of the voters in the 80 constituencies.

	Top		Bottom	
	<u>Original</u> <u>Arrangement</u>	<u>Voters'</u> <u>Preference</u>	<u>Original</u> <u>Arrangement</u>	<u>Voters'</u> <u>Preference</u>
<u>Age</u>				
up to 30 years	1	1	2	1
31-40	7	16	17	7
41-50	33	21	19	26
51-60	24	16	16	26
over 60	11	6	2	10
unknown	4	20	24	10
	<u>80</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>80</u>
<u>Party Affiliation</u>				
PUWP	63	31	29	48
UPP	14	22	25	16
DP	2	5	5	7
Znak	-	-	-	1
Pax	-	-	-	3
nonparty	1	6	3	1
unknown	-	16	18	4
	<u>80</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>80</u>

	Top		Bottom	
	<u>Original</u> <u>Arrangement</u>	<u>Voters</u> <u>Preference</u>	<u>Original</u> <u>Arrangement</u>	<u>Voters</u> <u>Preference</u>
New deputies (novices in the Sejm)	29	60	65	41
Old deputies	51	20	15	39
	80	80	80	80
Males	77	67	64	70
Females	3	13	16	10
	80	80	80	80
<u>Profession</u>				
High party (in- cluding "allied" parties) apparat- chiks	32	4	-	15
Middle apparat	14	4	-	15
Central and local government officials	17	1	-	15
Workers	1	12	22	11
Peasants: indivi- dual farmers	-	20	25	1
state and collect- ive farmers	5	6	8	4
Intelligentsia: engineers and tech- nicians	1	8	8	3
teachers	4	10	6	3
physicians	-	6	6	2
journalists	2	2	2	7
others	2	7	3	3
Military (generals)	2	-	-	1
	80	80	80	80