

# Popular Struggles and Movements

- Democracy almost invariably involves conflict of interests and viewpoints. These differences are often expressed in organised ways. Those who are in power are required to balance these conflicting demands and pressures. This leads to an analysis of the different ways and organisations through which ordinary citizen can play a role in democracy. There are direct ways of controlling political power in the form of political parties, and indirect ways through pressure groups and movements.

## Movement For Democracy In Nepal

- Nepal witnessed an extraordinary popular movement in April 2006. The movement was aimed at restoring democracy by regaining popular control over the government from the king.
- King Birendra was killed in a mysterious massacre of the royal family in 2001. King Gyanendra, the new king of Nepal, was not prepared to accept democratic rule. He took advantage of the weakness and unpopularity of the democratically elected government.
- In February 2005, the king dismissed the then Prime Minister and dissolved the popularly elected parliament.
- All the major political parties in the parliament formed a Seven Party Alliance (SPA) and called for a four day strike in Kathmandu, the country's capital.
- This protest soon turned into an indefinite strike in which Maoist insurgents and various other organisations joined hands. People defied curfew and took to the streets.
- The number of protesters reached between three to five lakhs on 21<sup>st</sup> April and they served an ultimatum to the king.
- On 24<sup>th</sup> April 2004, the last day of the ultimatum, the king was forced to concede to all the three demands.
- The SPA chose Girija Prasad Koirala as the new Prime Minister of the interim government.
- The restored parliament met and passed laws taking away most of the powers of the king.
- The SPA and the Maoists came to an understanding about how the new constituent Assembly was going to be elected.
- This struggle came to be known as Nepal's second movement for democracy.

## Bolivia's Water War

- Bolivia is a poor country in Latin America. The World Bank pressurised the government to give up its control of municipal water supply. The government sold these rights for the city of Cochabamba to a multi-national company (MNC).

- The company immediately increased the price of water by four times. Many people received monthly water bill of Rs 1000 in a country where average income is around Rs 5000 a month. This led to a spontaneous popular protest.
- In January 2000, a new alliance of labour, human rights and community leaders organised a successful four day general strike in the city.
- The government agreed to negotiate and the strike was called off. Yet nothing happened. The police resorted to brutal repression when the agitation was started again in February.
- Another strike followed in April and the government imposed martial law. But the power of the people forced the officials of the MNC to free the city and made the government concede to all the demands of the protesters.
- The contract with the MNC was cancelled and water supply was restored to the municipality at old rates. This came to be known as Bolivia's water war.

## Democracy and Popular Struggles

- The incidents of Nepal and Bolivia are instances of political conflict that led to popular struggles, involving mass mobilisation. Public demonstration of mass support clinched the dispute. Both of them involved critical role of political organisations.
- Defining moments of democracy usually involve conflict between those groups who have exercised power and those who aspire for a share in power. These movements come when the country is going through transition to democracy, expansion of democracy or deepening of democracy.
- Democratic conflict is resolved through mass mobilisation. Sometimes, it is possible that the conflict is resolved by the parliament or the judiciary. But when there is a deep dispute, these institutions themselves get involved in the dispute. The resolution has to come from outside and the people.
- These conflicts and mobilisations are based on new political organisations. The spontaneous public participation becomes effective with the help of organised politics such as political parties, pressure groups and movement groups.

## Mobilisations and Organisations

- The call for indefinite strike was given by the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) in Nepal. It included some big parties that had some members in the parliament.
- The protest was joined by the Nepalese Communist Party (Maoist), which did not believe in parliamentary democracy and was involved in an armed struggle against the Nepali government.

- The struggle involved the support from all major labour unions and their federations; organisations of indigenous people, teachers, lawyers and human rights groups.
- The protest against water privatisation in Bolivia was led by an organisation called FEDECOR. It comprised of local professionals engineers, environmentalists and local professionals.
- They were supported by a federation of farmers who relied on irrigation, the confederation of factory workers unions, middle class students from the university of Cochabamba, and homeless street children. The movement was supported by the Socialist party that came into power in 2006.
- One way of influencing the decisions in a democracy is direct participation in competitive politics by creating parties, contesting elections and forming governments.
- Many indirect ways in which people can make the governments listen to their demands is by forming an organisation and undertaking activities to promote their interests. These are called interest groups or pressure groups.

### **Pressure Groups and Movements**

- Pressure groups are organisations that attempt to influence government policies.
- They do not aim to directly control or share political power. These are formed when people with common occupation, interest, aspirations or opinions come together in order to achieve a common objective.
- We often hear the word "people's movement" to describe many forms of collective action – Narmada Bachao Andolan, Movement for Right to Information, Anti Liquor Movement, Women's Movement, Environmental Movements.
- Like an interest group, a movement also attempts to influence politics rather than directly take part in electoral competition.
- But unlike the interest groups, movements have a loose organisation. Their decision making is more informal and flexible. They depend much more on spontaneous mass participation than an interest group.

### **Sectional Interest Groups and Public Interest Groups**

- Trade unions, business associations, and professional bodies are sectional because they represent a section of society; workers, employees business persons, industrialists, followers of a religion, caste group etc.
- Their principal concern is the betterment and well being of their members, not society in general.
- Sometimes these organisations are not about representing the interest of one section of the society. They represent some common or general interest that needs to be defended, such as the Bolivian organisation FEDECOR or the Human Rights Organisation of Nepal.

- This second type of group is called promotional groups or public interest groups. They promote collective rather than selective good.
- BAMCEF (Backward and Minorities Community Employees Federation) is an organisation, largely made up of government employees that campaigns against caste discrimination. It addresses the problem of its members who suffer discrimination. But its principal concern is with social justice and social equality for the entire society.

### **Movement Groups**

- Most of the movements are issue specific movements that seek to achieve a single objective within a limited time frame. Others are more general or generic movements that seek to achieve a broad goal in the very long term.
- The Nepalese movement for democracy and Narmada Bachao Andolan Movement (India) are of this kind and tend to have a clear leadership and some organisation. But their active life is usually short.
- These single issue movements can be contrasted with the movements that are long term and involve more than one issue. The environment movement and the women's movement are examples of such movements.
- All of these have separate organisation, independent leadership and often different views on policy related matters. Yet all of these share a broad objective and have a similar approach. This is why they are called a movement.

### **How do they Influence Politics?**

- Pressure groups and movements exert influence on politics by trying to gain public support and sympathy for their goals and their activity by carrying out information campaigns, organising meetings, filing petitions etc.
- They often organise protest activity like strikes or disrupting government programmes.
- Business groups often employ professional lobbyist or sponsor expensive advertisements.
- In some instances, the pressure groups are either formed or led by the leaders of political parties or act as extended arms of political parties.

### **Is their Influence Healthy ?**

- Pressure groups and movements have deepened democracy. Putting pressure on the rulers is not an unhealthy activity in a democracy as long as everyone gets this opportunity.
- Governments can often come under pressure from a small group of rich and powerful people. Public interest groups and movements perform a useful role of countering this undue influence and reminding the government of the needs and concerns of ordinary citizens.

# Exercise

# 1

**DIRECTIONS :** This section contains multiple choice questions. Each question has 4 choices (1), (2), (3) and (4) out of which only one is correct. Choose the correct option.

1. Name the king of Nepal, who was not prepared to accept democratic rule.  
(1) King Birendra (2) King Mahendra  
(3) King Gyanendra (4) King Shailendra
2. In which year did the King of Nepal dismissed the Prime Minister and dissolved the popularly elected parliament?  
(1) 2006 (2) 2004  
(3) 2001 (4) 2005
3. Which king of Nepal was killed in a mysterious massacre of the royal family in 2001?  
(1) King Mahendra (2) King Birendra  
(3) King Devendra (4) King Gyanendra
4. What is the full form of SPA in the politics of Nepal?  
(1) Social Party Alliance (2) Seven Party Alliance  
(3) Secular Party Alliance (4) Secret Party Alliance
5. Which was the last day of ultimatum when the King was forced to concede to all the three demands?  
(1) 24 April 2004 (2) 24 April 2006  
(3) 28 April 2004 (4) 28 April 2006
6. Who among the following did not join the movement in Nepal in 2006?  
(1) Labour unions (2) Human rights groups  
(3) Indigeneous people (4) Followers of the King
7. Where is Bolivia situated?  
(1) North America (2) Eurasia  
(3) South America (4) Latin America
8. Which organisation pressurised the government of Bolivia to give up its control of municipal water supply?  
(1) International Monetary Fund  
(2) World Bank  
(3) United Nations  
(4) League of Nations
9. A successful four day general strike was organised by the leaders of Bolivia in \_\_\_\_\_.  
(1) March 2000 (2) June 2000  
(3) September 2000 (4) January 2000
10. The government sold the municipal water supply rights for the city of Cochabamba to a \_\_\_\_\_.  
(1) public sector company (2) joint venture company  
(3) multinational company (4) private sector company
11. The organisation that led the protest against water privatisation in Bolivia was \_\_\_\_\_.  
(1) MEDECOR (2) FEDECOR  
(3) SEDECOR (4) ZEDECOR
12. The \_\_\_\_\_ party came into power in Bolivia in 2006.  
(1) communist (2) maoist  
(3) secular (4) socialist
13. In which African country has the Green Belt Movement planted 30 million trees?  
(1) Egypt (2) Nigeria  
(3) Kenya (4) Sudan
14. Who is the leader of the Green Belt Movement?  
(1) Daniel Arap Moi (2) Wangari Maathai  
(3) Nelson Mandela (4) Robert Mugabe
15. In which year the Karnataka government set up a company called Karnataka Pulpwood Limited?  
(1) 1984 (2) 1986  
(3) 1982 (4) 1980
16. Which tree was planted by the company for making paper pulp?  
(1) Bamboo (2) Banyan  
(3) Pine (4) Encalyptus
17. In which year did the movement called 'Kittiko-Hachchiko' (pluck and plant) started a non-violent protest against the Karnataka Pulpwood limited?  
(1) 1987 (2) 1985  
(3) 1989 (4) 1986
18. Organisations that attempt to influence the government policies lent, do not aim to directly control or share political power are called \_\_\_\_\_ groups.  
(1) sectional (2) promotional  
(3) public (4) pressure
19. DMK and AIADMK are political parties of \_\_\_\_\_.  
(1) Karnataka (2) Andhra Pradesh  
(3) Kerala (4) Tamil Nadu
20. Pressure groups and movements try to influence the \_\_\_\_\_ into giving more attention to their issues.  
(1) parliament (2) courts  
(3) media (4) citizens
21. Asom Gana Parishad was a movement led by \_\_\_\_\_.  
(1) teachers (2) lawyers  
(3) merchants (4) students
22. Business groups often employ professional lobbyist or sponser expensive \_\_\_\_\_.  
(1) products (2) politicians  
(3) media (4) advertisements
23. On balance, pressure groups and movements have deepened \_\_\_\_\_.  
(1) democracy (2) media  
(3) police (4) parliament
24. Pressure groups and movements are not \_\_\_\_\_ to the people.  
(1) answerable (2) accountable  
(3) applicable (4) accessible
25. Organisations that undertake activities to promote the interests of specific social sections such as workers, employees, teachers and lawyers are called \_\_\_\_\_ groups.  
(1) sectional (2) pressure  
(3) promotional (4) public

# Exercise

# 2

## Matching Based Questions

**DIRECTIONS (Qs. 1 to 5) :** Match Column-I with Column-II and select the correct answer using the codes given below the columns.

1. **Column I** **Column II**
- A. Organisation that mobilise people with a view to win political power (p) Public interest groups
- B. Struggles launched for the resolution of a social problem with or without an organisational structure (q) Sectional interest groups
- C. Organisations that seek to promote common interest (r) Political parties
- D. Organisations that seek to promote the interests of a particular section or group (s) Movement

- (1) A → (q); B → (p); C → (s); D → (r)  
 (2) A → (s); B → (r); C → (p); D → (q)  
 (3) A → (s); B → (q); C → (r); D → (p)  
 (4) A → (r); B → (s); C → (p); D → (q)

2. **Column I** **Column II**
- A. Political party (p) Fertilizer Dealers Associations
- B. Single issue movement (q) Women's Movement
- C. Long term movement (r) Asom Gana Parishad
- D. Pressure group (s) Narmada Bachao Andolan

- (1) A → (p); B → (q); C → (r); D → (s)  
 (2) A → (r); B → (s); C → (q); D → (p)  
 (3) A → (s); B → (r); C → (p); D → (q)  
 (4) A → (r); B → (q); C → (p); D → (s)

3. **Column I** **Column II**
- A. S.P.A. (p) Bolivia
- B. A.I.A.D.M.K. (q) Assam
- C. FEDECOR (r) Nepal
- D. AGP (s) Tamil Nadu

- (1) A → (q); B → (p); C → (s); D → (r)  
 (2) A → (r); B → (p); C → (q); D → (s)  
 (3) A → (r); B → (s); C → (p); D → (q)  
 (4) A → (p); B → (s); C → (q); D → (r)

4. **Column I** **Column II**
- A. The King of Nepal dismissed the Prime Minister and dissolved the parliament (p) 2006
- B. The Socialist party came into power in Bolivia (q) 2005
- C. A four day general strike was called in Cochabamba (r) 2001
- D. King Birendra was killed in the massacre of the royal family (s) 2000

- (1) A → (p); B → (q); C → (r); D → (s)  
 (2) A → (q); B → (p); C → (s); D → (r)  
 (3) A → (p); B → (s); C → (q); D → (r)  
 (4) A → (s); B → (r); C → (q); D → (p)

5. **Column I** **Column II**
- A. Movement by students against the foreigners led to the formation of (p) DMK and AIADMK
- B. An organisation of organisations (q) BAMCEF
- C. Social reform movement during the 1930s and 1940s led to the formation of (r) Asom Gana Parishad
- D. Organisation that campaigns against caste discrimination (s) NAPM
- (1) A → (r); B → (s); C → (p); D → (q)  
 (2) A → (q); B → (r); C → (p); D → (s)  
 (3) A → (r); B → (q); C → (s); D → (p)  
 (4) A → (p); B → (r); C → (q); D → (s)

## Statement Based Questions

6. Consider the following statements—
- (a) The protest against water privatisation in Bolivia was led by FEDECOR.
- (b) This organisation comprised of local professionals, engineers and environmentalists.

Which of the above statement(s) is / are correct ?

- (1) (a) only (2) (b) only  
 (3) Both (a) and (b) (4) Neither (a) nor (b)

7. Consider the following statements
- (a) Seven Party Alliance in Nepal called for a four day strike in Kathmandu.
- (b) Narmada Bachao Andolan has become a mass movement for over a decade.
- (c) In 2006, the Socialist party came to power in Bolivia.
- (d) BAMCEF is an organisation of farmers in West Java, Indonesia.

Which of the statements is/are correct?

- (1) (a), (b) and (c) (2) (a) and (b)  
 (3) (b) and (d) (4) (a) and (c)

8. Consider the following statements
- (a) Pressure groups take positions on political issues.
- (b) All pressure groups are political parties.
- (c) Pressure groups try to influence the media into giving more attention to the issues.
- (d) Pressure groups have no such significant roles in politics.

Which of the above statement(s) is / are correct ?

- (1) (a) (b) and (c) (2) (a) and (b)  
 (3) (b) and (d) (4) (a) and (c)

9. Consider the following statements
- (a) In Kenya, the elements of President Daniel Arap Moi's government encouraged ethnic communities to attack one another over land.
- (b) The Green Belt Movement has planted 30 million trees across Uganda and Rwanda.

Which of the above statement(s) is / are correct ?

- (1) (a) only (2) (b) only  
(3) Both (a) and (b) (4) Neither (a) nor (b)

10. Consider the following statements

- (a) The roots of parties like the DMK and the AIADMK in Karnataka can be traced to a long drawn social reform movement during the 1930s and 1940s.  
(b) The NAPM is an organisation working for environmental issues.

Which of the these statement(s) is / are correct ?

- (1) (a) only (2) (b) only  
(3) Both (a) and (b) (4) Neither (a) nor (b)

### Passage Based Questions

**DIRECTIONS (Qs. 11 to 18) :** Read the passage(s) given below and answer the questions that follow.

#### Passage – 1

The call for indefinite strike was given by the SPA or the Seven Party Alliance in Nepal. This alliance included some big parties that had some members in the parliament. The protest was joined by the Nepalese Communist Party (Maoist) which did not believe in parliamentary democracy. This party was involved in an armed struggle against the Nepali government and had established its control over large parts of Nepal. All the major labour unions and their federations joined this movement. The organisation of the indigenous people, teachers, lawyers and human rights groups extended support to the movement.

11. When did SPA call for an indefinite strike?  
(1) 2005 (2) 2006  
(3) 2001 (4) 2003
12. SPA called for a four day strike in  
(1) Thimpu (2) Gangtok  
(3) Pokhara (4) Kathmandu
13. Which of these groups joined the SPA?  
(1) Socialists (2) Trade merchants  
(3) Police (4) Maoists
14. Which of these groups did not join the movement in Nepal?  
(1) Lawyers (2) Trade union  
(3) Government officials (4) Human rights group

#### Passage - 2

The Nepalese movement for democracy arose with the specific objective of reversing the King's orders that led to suspension of democracy. In India, Narmada Bachao Andolan is a good example of this kind of movement. It started with the specific issue of the people displaced by the creation of Sardar Sarovar dam on the Narmada river. Its objective was to stop the dam from being constructed. Gradually, it became a wider movement that questioned all such big dams and the model of development that required such dams. Movements of this kind tend to have a clear leadership and some organisation. But their active life is usually short. These single issue movements can be contrasted with movements that are long term and involve more than one issue. For example – environmental movement and women's movement.

15. From which of these states Narmada river does not cross?

- (1) Maharashtra (2) Andhra Pradesh  
(3) Gujarat (4) Madhya Pradesh

16. Who among these personalities is connected with Narmada Bachao Andolan?

- (1) Anna Hazare (2) Sunderlal Bahuguna  
(3) Kiran Bedi (4) Medha Patkar

17. Narmada Bachao Andolan is a \_\_\_\_\_

- (1) long term movement (2) sectional movement  
(3) single issue movement (4) promotional movement

18. Nepal is considered among the \_\_\_\_\_ wave countries.

- (1) second (2) fourth  
(3) first (4) third

### Assertion Reason Based MCQ

**DIRECTIONS (Qs. 19 to 28) :** Following questions consist of two statements, one labelled as the 'Assertion' (A) and the other as 'Reason' (R). You are to examine these two statements carefully and select the answer to these items using the code given below.

**Code :**

- (1) Both A and R are individually true and R is the correct explanation of A.  
(2) Both A and R are individually true but R is not the correct explanation of A.  
(3) A is true but R is false  
(4) A is false but R is true.

19. **Assertion :** The indefinite strike was joined by the Nepalese communist party (Maoist) which did not believe in parliamentary democracy.

**Reason :** This party was involved in an armed struggle against the Nepali government.

20. **Assertion :** Democracy evolves through popular struggles.  
**Reason :** Democratic conflict is resolved through mass mobilisation.

21. **Assertion :** Narmada Bachao Andolan became a long-term movement as it dealt with an environmental issue.

**Reason :** Environment movement is a label for a large number of organisations and issue-specific movements.

22. **Assertion :** The Nepalese Movement for democracy arose with the specific objective of reversing King's orders.

**Reason :** BAMCEF is the organisation that protested against water privatisation in Bolivia.

23. **Assertion :** Defining movements of democracy involve conflict between those groups who have exercised power and those who aspire for a share in power.

**Reason :** These moments come when the country is going through transition to democracy, expansion of democracy or deepening of democracy.

24. **Assertion :** Pressure groups attempt to influence government policies.

**Reason :** Movements have a loose organisation with

informal and flexible decision making.

25. **Assertion :** The Assam Movement was led by political leaders against the foreigners.  
**Reason :** It led to the formation of Asom Gana Parishad
26. **Assertion :** Pressure groups gain public support by carrying out information campaigns.  
**Reason :** These groups try to influence the judiciary into giving more attention to these issues.
27. **Assertion :** Political parties have to face the people in elections so they are accountable.  
**Reason :** Most of the new leadership of political parties comes from interest or movement groups.
28. **Assertion :** The government gets to hear about what different sections of the population wants.  
**Reason :** This leads to a rough balance of power and accommodation of conflicting interests.

### Featured Based Questions

29. On the basis of the following features, identify the correct option:
- Principal concern is the betterment and well being of its members, not society in general.
  - Seek to promote the interests of a particular section or group of society.
  - Trade unions, business associations and professional bodies are some of its examples.
  - They represent a section of society, followers of a religion, caste group etc.
- (1) Pressure groups      (2) Political parties  
(3) Promotional groups      (4) Sectional interest groups
30. On the basis of the following features, identify the correct option:
- They share broad a objective and have a similar approach.
  - These can be organised for a single issue or for long-terms.
  - They can have a clear or independent leadership.
  - These can be issue specific or generic to achieve a broad goal.
- (1) Promotional groups      (2) Movements  
(3) Political parties      (4) Interests groups
31. On the basis of following features, identify the correct option:
- An organisation largely made up of government employees.
  - It campaigns against caste discrimination.
  - It addresses the problems of its members who suffer discrimination.
  - Its principal concern is social justice and social equality for the entire society.
- (1) FEDECOR      (2) AIADMK  
(3) NAPM      (4) BAMCEF
32. On the basis of the following features, identify the correct option—
- The World Bank pressurised the government to give up its control of municipal water supply.
  - The government sold these rights for the city of Cochabamba to a multinational company (MNC).
  - In January 2000, a successful four day general strike was organised in the city.
  - The contract with the MNC was cancelled and water supply was restored to the municipality at old rates.
- (1) Narmada Bachao Andolan  
(2) Popular movement of Nepal  
(3) Bolivia's water war  
(4) Assam movement by students

### Definition Based Questions

33. Which of the following is the correct definition of "PRESSURE GROUPS"?
- Organisations that seek to promote the interests of a particular section or group.
  - Organisations that mobilise people with a view to win political power.
  - Organisations that undertake activities that promote common interests and viewpoints.
  - Organisations that launched struggles for the resolution of a social problem.
34. Which of the following is the correct definition of "MOVEMENT"?
- Organisations that seek to promote common interest
  - Struggles launched for the resolution of a social problem with or without an organisational structure.
  - Organisations that mobilise people with a view to win political power.
  - Organisations that seek to promote the interests of a particular section or group.
35. Which of the following is the correct definition of "SECTIONAL INTEREST GROUPS"?
- Organisations that mobilise people with a view to win political power.
  - Organisations that launched struggles for the resolution of a social problem.
  - Organisations that seek to promote common interest.
  - Organisations that seek to promote the interests of a particular section or group.

# Hints

# SOLUTIONS

## Exercise 1

1. (3) 2. (4) 3. (2)
4. (2) The SPA chose Girija Prasad Koirala as the new Prime Minister of the interim government.
5. (1) 6. (4) 7. (4)
8. (2) The government sold these rights for the city of Cochabamba to a multinational company.
9. (4) It was an alliance of labour, human rights and community leaders. The government agreed to negotiate and the strike was called off.
10. (3) 11. (2) 12. (4) 13. (3) 14. (2)
15. (1) 16. (4)
17. (1) In this movement, people plucked the Eucalyptus plants and planted saplings of trees that were useful to the people.
18. (4)
19. (4) The roots of these parties can be traced to a long drawn social reform movement during the 1930s and 1940s.
20. (3)
21. (4) Assam movement was lead by students against the foreigners.
22. (4) 23. (1)
24. (2) Political parties have to face the people in elections so they are accountable which is not the case with pressure groups and movements.
25. (1) Their principal concern is the betterment and the well-being of the members , not society in general.

## Exercise 2

1. (4) 2. (2) 3. (3) 4. (2) 5. (1)

6. (3)
7. (3) Narmada Bachao Andolan has become a single issue specific movement.
8. (4)
9. (1) The green belt movement has planted 30 million tree across Kenya.
10. (4) DMK and AIADMK are parties of Tamil Nadu. The NAPM is the organisation of organisations.
11. (2) 12. (4)
13. (4) Those communist who believe in the ideology of Mao, the leader of the Chinese revolution. They seek to overthrow the government through an armed revolution so as to establish the rule of the peasants and workers.
14. (1) 15. (2) 16. (4)
17. (3) Narmada Bachao Andolan started with the specific issue of the people displaced by the creation of Sardar Sarovar Dam on the Narmada river. It objective was to stop the dam from being constructed.
18. (4) 19. (1) 20. (2)
21. (4) Narmada Bachao Andolan became a single issue movement as it dealt with a specific issue.
22. (3) BAMCEF is a organization largely made up of government employees that campaigns against cast discrimination.
23. (1) 24. (2)
25. (4) Assam movement was lead by students against the foreigners.
26. (3) Pressure groups try to influence the political parties into giving more attention to their issues.
27. (2) 28. (1) 29. (4) 30. (2) 31. (4)
32. (3) 33. (3) 34. (2) 35. (4)