

STATE-SEEKING NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS DATABASE

DATASET 1

(1816-2001, Country-Year, Multivariate Version)

VARIABLES AND CODING RULES

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LIST OF VARIABLES

Variable No:	Variable name	Variable Label
1	cowcode	COW Country code
2	year	Year
3	Total	SSNM count
4	Total2	SSNM count (weighted)
5	Totald	SSNM (dichotomous)
6	total_neigh	SSNM count in neighbor countries
7	Ethfrac	Ethnic Diversity
8	Relfrac	Religious diversity
9	Irst	Iron-steel production
10	Gdppc	GDP per capita
11	Glob	Globalization
12	Centercap2_c	State Power
13	Ns5emp	Recent nation-state formation in the empire in the last 5 years
14	Nsf5neigh	Recent nation-state formation in neighbor territories in the last five years
15	Natorgyesno	Nationalist organizations
16	Impdep	Imperial dependency
17	Centerimpdep2	State Power x Imperial dependency interaction
18	Warsinemp	Number of wars in the empire
19	Numwar	Number of wars in the territory
20	Crisis	Economic crisis
21	Gsp	Social Unrest
22	Financialization	Financialization
23	Middleeast	Middle East
24	Europ	Eastern Europe
25	Africa	Africa
26	Asia	Asia
27	Oceania	Oceania
28	Lamerica	Latin America

1. COWCODE/ COW COUNTRY CODE

COWCODE is a three-digit unique identifier for countries/territories included in the analysis. The codes correspond to the following countries/territories.

2	United States of America	360	Romania
20	Canada	365	Russia
40	Cuba	366	Estonia
41	Haiti	367	Latvia
42	Dominican Republic	368	Lithuania
70	Mexico	369	Ukraine
90	Guatemala	370	Belarus
91	Honduras	371	Armenia
92	El Salvador	372	Georgia
93	Nicaragua	373	Azerbaijan
94	Costa Rica	375	Finland
95	Panama	380	Sweden
100	Colombia	385	Norway
101	Venezuela	390	Denmark
130	Ecuador	404	Guinea-Bissau
135	Peru	420	Gambia
140	Brazil	432	Mali
145	Bolivia	433	Senegal
150	Paraguay	434	Benin
155	Chile	435	Mauritania
160	Argentina	436	Niger
165	Uruguay	437	Ivory Coast
200	United Kingdom	438	Guinea
205	Ireland	439	Burkina Faso
210	Netherlands	450	Liberia
211	Belgium	451	Sierra Leone
220	France	452	Ghana
225	Switzerland	461	Togo
230	Spain	471	Cameroon
235	Portugal	475	Nigeria
255	Germany	481	Gabon
290	Poland	482	Central African Republic
305	Austria	483	Chad
310	Hungary	484	Congo
316	Czech Republic	490	Democratic Republic of the Congo
317	Slovakia		
325	Italy	500	Uganda
339	Albania	501	Kenya
343	Macedonia	510	Tanzania
344	Croatia	516	Burundi
345	Yugoslavia	517	Rwanda
346	Bosnia and Herzegovina	520	Somalia
349	Slovenia	530	Ethiopia
350	Greece	531	Eritrea
355	Bulgaria	540	Angola
359	Moldova	541	Mozambique

551	Zambia	705	Kazakhstan
552	Zimbabwe	710	China
553	Malawi	712	Mongolia
560	South Africa	731	North Korea
570	Lesotho	732	South Korea
571	Botswana	740	Japan
580	Madagascar	750	India
600	Morocco	770	Pakistan
615	Algeria	771	Bangladesh
616	Tunisia	775	Myanmar
625	Sudan	780	Sri Lanka
630	Iran	790	Nepal
640	Turkey	800	Thailand
645	Iraq	811	Cambodia
651	Egypt	812	Laos
652	Syria	816	Vietnam
660	Lebanon	820	Malaysia
663	Jordan	840	Philippines
666	Israel	850	Indonesia
679	Yemen	900	Australia
700	Afghanistan	920	New Zealand
701	Turkmenistan		
702	Tajikistan		
703	Kyrgyzstan		
704	Uzbekistan		

- State-Seeking Nationalist Movements that took place in an existing state are coded with the cowcode of that particular state. For example, a Flemish state-seeking nationalist movements that take place in Belgium is coded as “211” (Belgium).
- State-Seeking Nationalist Movements that occurred in a particular region of a historical empire (or a multinational federation that no longer exists in 2001) are coded under the cowcode of the existing sovereign state in 2001. For instance, territories of protests by the Estonian state-seeking nationalist mobilization against the USSR are coded under as “366” (Estonia) not as “365” (Russia) or any contemporary state that belonged to the USSR at the time of the nationalist mobilization.
- If a SSNM occurred in a broader world region, which is divided into different sovereign states in 2001, it is coded separately in all of those states. For instance, a Kurdish state-seeking nationalist uprising during the late Ottoman Empire period that occurred in a region that encompasses contemporary “645” (Iraq), “640” (Turkey), “652” (Syria), and “630” Iran, is coded under all of these geographies.
- See Appendix A – Part D for other rules.

2. YEAR/ YEAR

Year is the year of the that state-seeking movement took place.

3. TOTAL/ SSNM COUNT

Total is the total number of articles on state-seeking movements are identified using the Guardian/Observer. Appendix A explains the coding instructions. Total includes the total number of articles where SSNM=1 & INTERNATIONAL=1 & CURRENT=1. This variable only includes international state-seeking movements and those that have taken place at least within a year of the publication of the article about the event. This variable also includes planned, canceled, threatened and rumored events.

4. TOTAL2 / SSNM COUNT (WEIGHTED)

TOTAL2 is the weighted version of the TOTAL, which take into consideration the number of pages newspapers reserved for reporting international news each year. Appendix B explains the logic and calculation of weights.

5. TOTALD/ SSNM (DICHOTOMOUS)

TOTALD is the dichotomous version of the TOTAL.

0. No SSNM took place in that country/territory that year

1. At least one SSNM took place in that country/territory that year.

6. TOTAL_NEIGH / SSNM count in neighbor countries

TOTAL_NEIGH is the sum of SSNM in contiguous/neighbor countries/territories.

7. ETHFRAC / ETHNIC DIVERSITY

Ethnic fractalization index score (Fearon and Laitin, 2003; Wimmer and Min, 2006)

8. RELFRAC / RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY

Religious fractalization index score (Fearon and Laitin, 2003; Wimmer and Min, 2006)

9. IRST/IRON-STEEL PRODUCTION

Iron and steel production (in thousands of tons) as calculated by Singer (1987) and updated by Correlates of War project.

10. GDPPC / GDP PER CAPITA

GDP per capita in Geary-Khamis (PPPs) as calculated by Maddison (2003). Missing years are imputed using linear interpolation and extrapolation based on the growth rate of the closest neighbor with a similar geo-economic standing (Karataşlı 2017).

11. GLOB / GLOBALIZATION

Global trade openness index score as calculated by Chase-Dunn et al. (2000) as world average of the country-level ratio of the level of external trade (e.g. imports) to the GDP.

12. CENTERCAP2_C / STATE POWER

Composite index of national capabilities score as measured by Singer (1987) using military expenditure, number of soldiers, iron-steel production, energy consumption, urbanization and population size in a given country relative to the world, updated by Wimmer and Feinstein (2010). Centered around the mean.

13. NS5EMP/ RECENT NATION-STATE FORMATION IN THE EMPIRE IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS

Number of nation-states formed in the empire in the last 5 years (Wimmer and Feinstein, 2010).

14. NSF5NEIGH / RECENT NATION-STATE FORMATION IN NEIGHBOR TERRITORIES IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS

Number of nation-states formed in neighbor territories in the last 5 years (Wimmer and Feinstein, 2010).

15. NATORGYESNO / NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS

Dichotomous variable

1=there is at least one nationalist organization;

0=no nationalist organization

calculated by Wimmer and Feinstein (2010).

16. IMPDEP / IMPERIAL DEPENDENCY

Dichotomous variable

1=the territory is an imperial dependency

0=the territory is not an imperial dependency;
as calculated by Wimmer and Feinstein (2010).

17. CENTERIMPDEP2 / STATE POWER X IMPERIAL DEPENDENCY INTERACTION

Interaction term between CENTERCAP2_C and IMPDEP

18. WARSINEMP / NUMBER OF WARS IN THE EMPIRE

Number of wars interstate wars fought in the empire as calculated by Wimmer and Feinstein (2010)

19. NUMWAR / NUMBER OF WARS IN THE TERRITORY

Number of wars interstate wars fought in the territory as calculated by Wimmer and Feinstein (2010).

20. CRISIS / ECONOMIC CRISIS

Dichotomous variable (1=crisis, 0=no crisis) calculated using Maddison's GDP estimates as years where a country's GDP per capita growth rates fall below 0 or below the 25th percentile in the world.

21. GSP / SOCIAL UNREST

Frequency of non-nationalist social unrest measured from international newspapers, calculated by Global Social Protest Research Group (Arrighi Center, 2019).

22. FINANCIALIZATION / FINANCIALIZATION

Dichotomous variable (1=financial expansion, 0=material expansion) calculated by the author based on Arrighi (1994) and explained in Table 1.

23. MIDDLEEAST/ MIDDLE EAST

Dichotomous variable

0= country/territory is not in Middle East

1= country/territory is in Middle East

24. EEUROPE / EASTERN EUROPE

Dichotomous variable

0= country/territory is not in Eastern Europe

1= country/territory is in Eastern Europe

25. AFRICA / AFRICA

Dichotomous variable

0=country/territory is not in Africa

1= country/territory is in Africa

26. ASIA / ASIA

Dichotomous variable

0=country/territory is not in Asia

1= country/territory is in Asia

27. OCEANIA / OCEANIA

Dichotomous variable

0=country/territory is not in Oceania

0=country/territory is in Oceania

28. LAMERICA / LATIN AMERICA

Dichotomous variable

0=country/territory is not in Latin America

1=country/territory is in Latin America

APPENDIX A

Coding Instructions for SSNM Dataset-I: New York Times and Guardian/Observer

Read each news article and code the article based on the following procedures:

I. General Instructions:

Codes for Competing the Data Entry Form

1= True Positive

0= False Positive

II. Parts of the Data Entry Form to Compete

CODER: Type your Coder ID

A- DETERMINING TRUE POSITIVES FOR STATE-SEEKING NATIONALIST MOVEMENT (SSNM) BOX

CODE SSNM=1 if the news report mentions:

1. any form of collective action (violent or peaceful, institutional, spontaneous, democratic, or undemocratic, progressive, or reactionary) by stateless communities demanding separation or secession from an existing state, demanding independence, or formation of a new state, OR
2. any independence movements of states in a federal state, OR
3. any new nations declaring/gaining independence, OR
4. any decisions by states and political leaders recognizing (or not recognizing) the independence of a stateless nation or a colony, OR
5. any fear, threat, rumor, or plan about state-seeking nationalist activity.

Also, code SSNM=1 if the news report does not directly mention A1-5 as described above but mentions:

6. a state's or any other (geo)political actor's attitudes or reactions towards state-seeking movements as described in A1-5 above [indirect mention].

CODE SSNM=0 if the news report

7. does not actually mention any state-seeking nationalist activity as defined in 1-6 above although the news article contains the keywords used in the search string. If there is no direct or indirect mention of an SSNM activity, the article will be coded as a 0 (false positive), even though it mentions
 - i. state-led nationalist activities (political activities of nationalist groups) or organizations belonging to nations that already identify themselves with an existing state, OR
 - ii. disputes, clashes, fights, or (civil) wars between ethnic, racial, or cultural groups (without mentioning actions of or attitudes towards secessionism, separatism, or demands for the formation of a new state), OR
 - iii. nationalist actors (without mentioning actions of or attitudes towards secessionism, separatism, or demands for the formation of a new state), OR
 - iv. economic or cultural autonomy, territorial expansionism of existing states, state or great-nation chauvinism, territorial disputes, and nationalist warfare between sovereign states, OR
 - v. activities and struggles of nationalist groups in existing states (if there is no mention of demands for independence, secession, self-determination, or extension of political autonomy), OR
 - vi. Independence Day celebrations, commemorations, and anniversaries of nationalist uprisings.

B- DETERMINING TRUE POSITIVES FOR CURRENT EVENT BOX

CODE CURRENT=1 if the reported SSNM activity

1. takes place within one year of article publication date, OR
2. is rumored, threatened, or planned [check the RTPC box]. OR
3. was planned but cancelled [check the RTPC box], OR
4. is ending because end of an action tells us about its existence.

CODE CURRENT=0 if

5. there is no reported SSNM activity, OR
6. the reported SSNM activity occurred more than one year prior to the article's publication date.

C- DETERMINING TRUE POSITIVE FOR INTERNATIONAL EVENT BOX

CODE INTERNATIONAL=1 if

1. The newspaper is NEW YORK TIMES and the reported SSNM activity occurs OUTSIDE the incorporated territorial boundaries of the USA, OR
2. The newspaper is NEW YORK TIMES and the reported SSNM activity occurs in a colonial possession or unincorporated territory of the USA (e.g., Puerto Rico, American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, U.S. Virgin Islands); OR
3. The newspaper is THE GUARDIAN/OBSERVER and the reported SSNM activity occurs OUTSIDE the territorial boundaries of the United Kingdom,
 - a. [Note: from 1923 to present, Ireland is OUTSIDE the territorial boundaries of the United Kingdom], OR
4. The newspaper is THE GUARDIAN/OBSERVER and the reported SSNM activity occurs in a colonial possession of the United Kingdom.
 - a. [Note: National liberation movements against the British Empire that take place outside the United Kingdom (i.e., in Africa, Asia, etc.) are counted as true positives].

CODE INTERNATIONAL=0 if

5. The newspaper is NEW YORK TIMES and the reported SSNM activity is INSIDE the incorporated territorial boundaries of the USA (as of 2001).
6. The newspaper is THE GUARDIAN/OBSERVER and the reported SSNM activity is INSIDE the territorial boundaries of the United Kingdom (as of 2001)
 - a. Note from 1801 to 1922, the island of Ireland was INSIDE the territorial boundaries of the United Kingdom.
 - b. From 1923 to present, Northern Ireland is INSIDE the territorial boundaries of the United Kingdom.

D. LOCATION BOX:

TYPE the location where the SSNM activity takes place.

- Choose the location name/code from the dropdown menu where the SSNM activity is taking place.
- Any SSNM that takes place in a historical empire or a multinational federation that no longer exists in 2001 will be coded as the location of the existing sovereign state in 2001. (For example, an Estonian state-seeking nationalist movement against USSR will be coded under "Estonia" not as "Russia").
- If the article does not mention the location as it is provided in the dropdown menu, do not use your own pre-existing geography knowledge since territorial boundaries change over time. If the article does not present the name of the country but mentions it as a broad region, type the name of the region in OTHER_LOCATION box as it is written in the article. If only city names are written, then type the city names in OTHER_LOCATION box.

- Note: After data collection is complete these locations will be converted into territorial clusters as of 2001.
- Add a new record if the news article reports more than one SSNM activity that takes place in more than one country. You should create a new record for each country.
- Add a new record for each country is one SSNM is targeting multiple countries at the same time. (For example, if the news report mentions that a Kurdish independence movement is targeting Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Iran at the same time, create a new record for each existing country as of 2010)
- If there are diaspora or other forms of solidarity movements with an existing SSNM in another country (pro-Tibet independence protests against China in France), use the country where the SSNM takes place (country= “China”) and write in NOTES section (solidarity country= “France”)

E. STATE-SEEKING NATION BOX:

TYPE the name of the state-seeking national community that engages with the SSNM event. (Example: for pro-Tibet independence protests against China in France; state-seeking nation= “Tibet”)

- Note: Use the national identification terms as they are provided in the article. Do not use your own preexisting knowledge about these stateless nations.
- Note: If the news report does not mention the name of the proposed state, then type the name of the proposed/would-be state name in the state-seeking nation box.
- Note: If the news report does not mention the name of the state-seeking nation but merely mentions it as “secessionists”, “separatists” etc., write “N/A” in the state-seeking nation box and type whatever word is used to describe these groups in the “Notes” box.

F. DATE

DATE of the event will be automatically retrieved from the article’s date.

EXAMPLES OF TRUE POSITIVES FOR SSNM

Figure A1. Some News Report Examples from New York Times for SSNM=1 (Based on Rule A1-5)

Eight Basque Nationalists Arrested by Spanish Police

BILBAO, Spain, Oct. 3 (AP)—The police said today that they had arrested eight Basque nationalists, including José Luis Arceche Orejón, described as the political leader of the E.T.A. guerrilla organization in Vizcaya and Alava provinces.

The police said the 25-year-old Arceche, arrested after a shooting in Bilbao, was behind a series of holdups and other terrorist activity this summer in the Basque country.

E.T.A.—the initials stand for Basque Nation and Freedom—seeks independence of the three Basque provinces—Alva, Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa.

SEPARATISTS STAGE MARCH IN SAN JUAN

Special to The New York Times

SAN JUAN, P. R., April 16—More than 5,000 independence advocates marched through the streets of historic Old San Juan today as part of a celebration marking the 101st anniversary of the birth of José de Diego, a fiery orator who fought for the island's independence and Hispanic heritage until his death in 1918.

YOUNG QUEBECKERS AIDED SEPARATIST

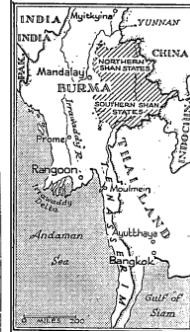
They Said Levesque's Party Stood 'for Change'

By EDWARD COWAN
Special to The New York Times

MONTREAL, May 2—A 21-year-old French-speaking electronics technician said this week as he emerged from a polling place in downtown Montreal that he had voted for the Parti Québécois because it was "for change."

His friend, a 25-year-old computer operator, agreed. "With the old parties, it's always the same to vote for the one or the other," he said.

Secession Called Aim In Burma's Shan States



The New York Times Jan. 9, 1987
RANGOON, Burma, Jan. 8 (Reuters)—Burma faces a new problem on her border with Communist China.

Independent Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea, an area with a rich and varied philatelic history, is issuing this Wednesday a pair of commemoratives to celebrate its becoming on Sept. 16 the world's newest independent nation.

The end of Papua New Guinea's last colonial ties to Australia is the culmination of a process toward freedom that has taken less than a quarter of a century—barely a moment in the more than 10,000-year past of the large tropical island, much of it unchanged in centuries.

The island, 100 miles north of Australia, actually has three parts. The western half was once Netherlands New Guinea and is now part of Indonesia. The northeastern part is New Guinea. The southeastern part is Papua. The two have since 1962 been combined in a joint



Issue hails newest independent nation

protests and is giving back local postmarks to many communities throughout the country. The retreat means that postmarks on outgoing mail at mail processing centers will include the actual name

letters and transatlantic mail are among the areas covered.

In addition to articles by Mr. Ter Braake, there are contributions by Mark W. Martin, William G. Goddard, Eric P. Newman, Robert L. Berthelson, Alvin R. Kantor, Susan M. McDonald, D. Homer Kendall and Charles F. Meroni.

The cloth bound 762-page book is available for \$15 postpaid from the American Philatelic Research Library, P. O. Box 358, State College, Pa.

Popularity

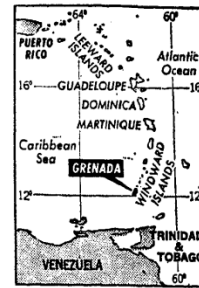
The Mineral Heritage block of four was overwhelmingly selected as the most popular U. S. issue of 1974 in a poll by Linn's Stamp News, more than doubling the number of votes for the second-place Skylab stamp.

Grenada to Get Full Independence

LONDON, July 30 (UPI)—Britain has agreed to give the Caribbean island of Grenada full independence on Feb. 7 next year.

The Foreign Office said today that the date was agreed on at talks here last week with Grenada's Premier, Eric M. Gairy, subject to approval by the British Parliament.

Since 1967 Grenada has been an associated state in the Commonwealth with full internal self-government but with Britain responsible for her foreign relations and defense.



The New York Times/July 31, 1973

Figure A2. Some News Report Examples for SSNM=1 (Based on Rule A6)

PATHAN ROW HELD BREWING CONFLICT

Afghan Envoy Hits Pakistan's Refusal to Recognize Tribes' Independence

By ROBERT TRUMBULL
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

NEW DELHI, India, Dec. 25—A warning of impending conflict in the tribal area of the Northwest Frontier Province between Pakistan and Afghanistan was sounded here by Sardar Najibullah Khan, Afghan Ambassador to India.

In an interview, the ambassador—a relative of the Afghan royal family—said tribal patience with

diplomatic negotiations to obtain their freedom was running low. Pakistan now claims the tribes as an integral part of the dominion. Afghanistan supports the demand of the tribes for a separate state but Pakistan dismisses this movement as inspired by Afghan and Indian interests.

There are no neutral observations available from this barren, craggy land where strangers always move at their peril and a conducted tour by either party to the dispute would be suspect. Recently there have been reports that some tribal leaders have formed a "Pushtunistan" (land of Pushtu-speaking people) Government claiming independence. This reported regime also is known as "Free Pakhtunistan."

Central Body Planned

Sardar Najibullah Khan, who recently returned from Afghanistan, corroborated these reports. He said

Mrs. Meir Opposed to Any Plan For Separate West-Bank State

By JAMES FERON
Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, April 18—The Israeli Premier, Mrs. Golda Meir, indicated today that she would reject any proposed independent Palestinian state in the occupied area on the west bank of the Jordan River.

Speaking to a small group of political reporters at a luncheon in Tel Aviv, she expressed doubt that any such state could exist unless it was closely linked to either Israel or Jordan.

Mrs. Meir also frowned on such a link, especially with Israel. "Those who talk of a Palestine state have not considered it thoroughly," she said.



EXAMPLES OF FALSE POSITIVES FOR SSNM

Figure A3. Some News Report Examples from New York Times for SSNM=0 (Based on Rule A7)

INDEPENDENCE SAILS SO MARY CAN ARRIVE

The huge aircraft carrier Independence put to sea yesterday, one day ahead of schedule, so the Cunard Line's Queen Mary could dock at the next pier.

The carrier, which is 1,064 feet long and displaces 80,000 tons, is slightly longer than the passenger liner, which is 1,019 feet 6 inches long and is listed at 81,237 gross tons. The carrier had spent the Fourth of July weekend on the north side

GREENLAND FOUND DIVIDED

French Expedition Says Region Consists of 3 Separate Islands

GODTHAAB, Greenland, Oct. 23 (P)—A French scientific expedition says it has found that Greenland, regarded as the world's largest island, consists of three separate islands bridged by an icecap.

This was one of the results of a twenty-six-man expedition led by Paul Emile Victor. The scientists have returned to France after several years' research in the Greenland wilderness.

PARIS WOULD WIDEN RADIO-TV AUTONOMY

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 22—A new statute designed to give more autonomy to the state-owned radio and television networks was completed today by the Government and sent to Parliament.

The networks are the subject of a major controversy in France because of alleged control by the Government, to its own benefit, of radio and television news. No privately owned transmitters are allowed on French soil.

MARCOS PONDERES INDEPENDENT LINE

Talks of Coexistence With China if U.S. Withdraws

By PHILIP SHABECOFF

Special to The New York Times

MANILA, Nov. 21—President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines said today that his Government was assessing a new foreign policy to prepare for a possible withdrawal of United States power from East Asia.

SMITH STRESSES DIVISION OF RACES

Rhodesian Sees 'the Ideal' in 'Separate Development'

Special to The New York Times

SALISBURY, Rhodesia, Feb. 17 — Prime Minister Ian D. Smith said today that he believed some system of separate development for the races would be "the ideal" in Rhodesia.

"Without separate development the African can live under the wing of the European," Mr. Smith said in an interview on the Rhodesian radio. "But if the African is expected, for example, to develop his own areas, the tribal trust areas, then surely all the greater need is to educate him."

LINK OF SCLEROSIS TO VIRUS IS HINTED

3 Research Teams Report Independent Findings

By LAWRENCE K. ALTMAN

Three teams of medical researchers have independently reported the first isolations of a virus from the brains of patients with multiple sclerosis, a nervous system disease that is common in temperate areas of the world.

Detection of the virus by the teams, comprising American, West German, British and Australian scientists, is regarded as being important scientifically. But its potential application to medical care is yet unclear.

Figure A4. Some News Report Examples from New York Times for SSNM=0 (Based on Rule A7i-v)

Bulgarian Nationalism Colors Macedonian Issue

Sofia Marks 1878 Treaty That Assigned Area to It

By JONATHAN RANDAL
Special to The New York Times

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, July 10—An upsurge of Bulgarian nationalism has reintroduced a long-submerged element into the dispute over Yugoslav Macedonia, which Bulgaria claims on ethnic grounds.

In the 20 years since Bulgaria became Communist, occasional reiterations of her claim to Macedonia have been interpreted by some observers here as Soviet maneuvering against Yugoslavia, which was



The New York Times July 11, 1968
Shaded area shows Yugoslav Macedonia; dark line marks Greater Bulgaria as defined in 1878 Treaty of San Stefano, which was never put into effect.

Celebrations Appear Aimed at Yugoslav Control

Macedonian writer, believes that the new Macedonian culture is the best guarantee of the Macedonian nation's survival.

"An independent economy, or administration are the usual trappings of an independent state," he said in a recent interview, "but they can be erased overnight."

"What bothers Bulgaria is that we have created a literature, a school of thought and cultural institutions that cannot be created by state order," he added.

But what he and other Yugoslav Macedonians construe as

NEW PARTY LIKELY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Rightist Expected to Act—Ousted by Nationalists

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa, Oct. 5—The expulsion from the governing Nationalist party of Dr. Albert Hertzog, a right-wing rebel Member of Parliament, is expected to lead this week to the formation of a Christian National party.

As the Nationalist party council in his constituency—he represented Ermelo in eastern Transvaal for the last 21 years—voted 64 to 23 in a closed session yesterday to oust him from the party, Dr. Hertzog,

3 Men Convicted of Murder In Black Nationalist Feud

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 10 (AP)—Three men were convicted of second-degree murder today in a double slaying apparently stemming from a bitter feud between two black nationalist groups at the University of California at Los Angeles.

The men were George Stiner, 22 years old; his brother Larry, 21, and Donald Hawkins, 20. They were also convicted of conspiracy to commit murder. The jury deliberated 24 hours in the five-week-old trial.

The three men face possible sentences of five years to life imprisonment. They were accused of first-degree murder.

Zambia

Kaunda Treads a Cautious Path to Economic Independence

LUSAKA, Zambia—Consider the problems of struggling young Zambia: She faces the difficulties of all emerging African states, with half her four million people under 20 years of age, her educational system undeveloped, her population split into a welter of sometimes hostile tribes, her resources of trained manpower pathetically small and her rural areas still living amid the poverty and disease of the sixteenth century.

Her economy is dependent on rail lines that lead through white-dominated Rhodesia, South Africa, Angola and Mozambique to the sea, and on skills of white technicians many of whom feel more sympathetic toward the governments in Salisbury and Pretoria than toward Zambia's black regime.

The Assets

She must live and learn to overcome her problems in the hostile environment of southern Africa, where black power is still the exception and not the rule.

Against that staggering list of liabilities, Zambia is able to counterpose two major assets—a mining industry that produces more than \$300-million worth of copper a year and Kenneth D. Kaunda.

A few days ago, President

Kaunda's Government, which has managed to survive and even to prosper despite Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence, began negotiations with the copper producers that will—successful—lead to a takeover by the state of 51 per cent of the industry. The takeover would give Zambians for the first time a measure of the true economic independence which the 45-year-old President

has been promising them. At the moment the mines are controlled by the predominantly South African Anglo-American group, and the companies pay American Royalties Selection Trust, and though the companies pay Zambian taxes, the profits go into the hands of expatriates. President Kaunda has told several visitors that he plans to adopt a flexible attitude in the negotiations. He can scarcely afford to be too obstinate, because the present owners will have to manage the mines for decades to come.

For their part, the copper companies intend to drive as tough a bargain as possible. But it is significant that the chairman of American Metal Claims, the largest shareholder in Royalties Selection Trust, felt impelled to write a letter to Time magazine recently explaining that the Zambian nationalizing proposals were not as unrealistic as the magazine had suggested.

Nevertheless large questions remain: How much will be paid? Will the companies retain the incentive to operate mines efficiently? Will the Zambians, whose knowledge of business this big is limited, be able to foresee all the possible complications that might disrupt their calculations? Will the Government, once it becomes the majority shareholder, face a new onslaught of labor unrest in the Copper Belt?

The Goals

To cite just one example of the things that might go wrong, it is conceivable that the proposed management contract with the two companies could eat up so much of the earnings that not much would be left for the

Government. If the talks succeed, however, Mr. Kaunda will have won a hard-fought battle of statecraft neutralizing his own left which often accuses him of servitude to foreign interests providing new avenues for development of the country by taking the first step toward eliminating Zambia's dependence on foreign expertise for granted here.

Respected Leader

A successful copper deal sometime in 1970 would bring but apparently pleasant year for Mr. Kaunda whose intelligence and equanimity have made him the most respected head of state. Only a few years ago, people were talking rales about the head-on which many governments have found themselves a result of tribal and political enring. But Vice President Kapwepwe, whose no-Bernia tribesmen were a fair portion of the it has been stripped of his power without causing a riot, and the party apparatus within which much of the

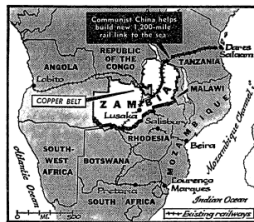


Figure A5. Some News Report Examples from New York Times for SSNM=0 (Based on Rule A7vi)

Independence Day Celebrations in City Featured by Program at Eternal Light

Praise for the defenders of the Republic in past wars will be mingled with prayers for the safety of its youth battling to preserve human freedom in Korea as the nation today marks the 174th anniversary of Independence Day.

The thirty-ninth annual Fourth Army, Navy, Marine, Air Force of July celebration will be held at and New York National Guard Soldiers and Sailors Monument, units along with military and patriotic societies will participate in the principal exercises at the national shrine of the Eternal Light University Forum, and Lambert in Madison Square Park where Fairchild will be co-chairmen.

11 A. M. and noon.

In the Bronx Representative

Greek Celebrations Mark 150 Years of Independence

ATHENS, Jan. 3 (Reuters)—Nationwide celebrations began today to mark the 150th anniversary of the Greek war of independence against the Turks.

The celebrations, scheduled to last throughout the year, began with a service at the Athens Cathedral officiated by Archbishop Ieronymos, Primate of Greece. Officials of the mili-