



Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY**9389/22**

Paper 2 Outline Study

May/June 2021**MARK SCHEME**Maximum Mark: 60

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Generic Marking Principles

These general marking principles must be applied by all examiners when marking candidate answers. They should be applied alongside the specific content of the mark scheme or generic level descriptors for a question. Each question paper and mark scheme will also comply with these marking principles.

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 1:

Marks must be awarded in line with:

- the specific content of the mark scheme or the generic level descriptors for the question
- the specific skills defined in the mark scheme or in the generic level descriptors for the question
- the standard of response required by a candidate as exemplified by the standardisation scripts.

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 2:

Marks awarded are always **whole marks** (not half marks, or other fractions).

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 3:

Marks must be awarded **positively**:

- marks are awarded for correct/valid answers, as defined in the mark scheme. However, credit is given for valid answers which go beyond the scope of the syllabus and mark scheme, referring to your Team Leader as appropriate
- marks are awarded when candidates clearly demonstrate what they know and can do
- marks are not deducted for errors
- marks are not deducted for omissions
- answers should only be judged on the quality of spelling, punctuation and grammar when these features are specifically assessed by the question as indicated by the mark scheme. The meaning, however, should be unambiguous.

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 4:

Rules must be applied consistently, e.g. in situations where candidates have not followed instructions or in the application of generic level descriptors.

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 5:

Marks should be awarded using the full range of marks defined in the mark scheme for the question (however; the use of the full mark range may be limited according to the quality of the candidate responses seen).

GENERIC MARKING PRINCIPLE 6:

Marks awarded are based solely on the requirements as defined in the mark scheme. Marks should not be awarded with grade thresholds or grade descriptors in mind.

1–12(a)	Generic Levels of Response	Marks
	Level 4: Evaluates factors Answers are well focused and explain a range of factors supported by relevant information. Answers demonstrate a clear understanding of the connections between causes. Answers consider the relative significance of factors and reach a supported conclusion.	9–10
	Level 3: Explains factor(s) Answers demonstrate good knowledge and understanding of the demands of the question. Answers include explained factor(s) supported by relevant information. Candidates may attempt to reach a judgement about the significance of factors but this may not be effectively supported.	6–8
	Level 2: Describes factor(s) Answers show some knowledge and understanding of the demands of the question. (They address causation.) Answers are may be entirely descriptive in approach with description of factor(s).	3–5
	Level 1: Describes the topic/issue Answers contain some relevant material about the topic but are descriptive in nature, making no reference to causation.	1–2
	Level 0: Answers contain no relevant content	0

1–12(b)	Generic Levels of Response	Marks
	Level 5: Responses which develop a sustained judgement Answers are well focused and closely argued. <i>(Answers show a maintained and complete understanding of the question.)</i> Answers are supported by precisely selected evidence. Answers lead to a relevant conclusion/judgement which is developed and supported.	18–20
	Level 4: Responses which develop a balanced argument Answers show explicit understanding of the demands of the question. Answers develop a balanced argument supported by a good range of appropriately selected evidence. Answers may begin to form a judgement in response to the question. <i>(At this level the judgement may be partial or not fully supported.)</i>	15–17
	Level 3: Responses which begin to develop assessment Answers show a developed understanding of the demands of the question. Answers provide some assessment, supported by relevant and appropriately selected evidence. However, these answers are likely to lack depth of evidence and/or balance.	10–14
	Level 2: Responses which show some understanding of the question Answers show some understanding of the focus of the question. They are either entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question or they may contain some explicit comment with relevant but limited support.	6–9
	Level 1: Descriptive or partial responses Answers contain descriptive material about the topic which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question. Alternatively, there may be some explicit comment on the question which lacks support. Answers may be fragmentary and disjointed.	1–5
	Level 0: Answers contain no relevant content	0

Section A: European Option: Modern Europe, 1789–1917

Question	Answer	Marks
1(a)	Why did French revolutionaries between 1789 and 1795 find it hard to agree on what kind of government they wanted? Several factors explain the disagreement. They could include: - Disagreement over role of the King/Monarchy, whether to retain the autocracy, reform it, or get rid of it altogether. - The reluctance of the King to give a clear lead and his unwillingness to compromise. The flight to Varennes and his links with foreign powers caused further problems. - The large range of legitimacy issues after the execution of the King. Where did/should power lie? Where should sovereignty lie? - Major class issues- how far down the social scale should participation go? The huge splits between the various factions/clubs as well as between the regions and Paris, and town and country. - Huge divisions over the role of the Church and its wealth and position in society.	10
1(b)	‘Napoleon’s domestic policies brought great benefits to France.’ How far do you agree? In support of the statement arguments might identify that he dealt with many of the outstanding problems left over from the revolutionary period and made the Concordat with the Papacy – ending the huge disagreement over the Church which had dogged the revolutionary process since 1789 – while at the same time separating the church from the state. Napoleon also brought in a degree of both political and religious toleration and eliminated the worst features of the Ancien Régime. Major educational reforms such the Lyceés were introduced and there was major local government reform with the relationship between the centre and the locality being rationalised. He reformed the entire legal system and there was also intelligent regulation of issues like food prices. The idea of careers open to talents developed. However, in challenging the statement arguments might suggest he re-created a hereditary system and involved France in a series of ultimately destructive wars where most colonies were lost. There was overregulation of industry and commerce, with micromanagement from the centre, including censorship and a deprivation of civil liberties. Fouché created a police state.	20

Question	Answer	Marks
2(a)	Why was industrial growth rapid in this period? Several factors explain why there was rapid growth. They could include: • Substantial technological development throughout the period. • The growth of industrialisation led to a whole new class of entrepreneurs whose main focus was profit. • The government sought to encourage private enterprise by adopting laissez-faire policies which gave businesses the opportunity to pursue profit unencumbered by restrictions. • Colonial expansion provided ready markets for manufactures.	10
2(b)	Evaluate the importance of international trade to the development of industrialisation in this period. Refer to any two countries from Britain, France or Germany in your answer. It was of major importance for a variety of reasons, including the suggestion that international trade enabled raw materials to come to Britain – notably cotton and sugar. Also, a large degree of overseas demand was vital for the development of major manufactures like textiles for example, as well as railroads, investment, munitions and all types of machinery. International trade also led to huge incentives for technological innovation which assisted prices' reduction which further increased demand at home and abroad. Large scale importing and exporting also had a large impact on communications, particularly the development of canals, ports and shipping. However, while international trade was critical for Britain, it was of much less importance initially in both France and Germany. It was only post-1880 that it became a significant factor in German industrialisation where home demand had been more important than was the case in Britain. In France, the internal market was most important throughout the entire period. Wine and high-quality textiles were the traditional exports and pre-dated the industrialisation period. N.B. Zollverein might be argued to be an international treaty which facilitated trade between independent German states and thus promoted industrialisation.	20

Question	Answer	Marks
3(a)	Why was there a growth in expenditure on armies and navies in this period? Several factors explain why there was so much expenditure on armies and navies in this period. They could include: • Fear of attack or encirclement, especially the case of the Triple Alliance. • The dominance of militarism in society, especially in Germany and Austria-Hungary. • The French desire for revenge after 1871. • The Russian anxiety to deal with the humiliation of the war with Japan. • The British concern with a potential threat to their empire. Initially their concern was with the French, but then the Naval Race with Germany started. The military conversations with the French led to substantial increase in spending on the army as well. • The Austro-Hungarians were anxious to expand into the Balkans and were also anxious to retain their great power status. • Public opinion in all countries tended to be supportive of aggressive/jingoistic attitudes, e.g. the Navy League in Germany and the pro-Dreadnaught expansion programme in Britain.	10
3(b)	‘Members of the Triple Alliance joined in order to expand their empires.’ How far do you agree with this view? There tended to be different motives at different times for membership of the Alliance. Germany feared encirclement – a war on two fronts with Russia and France. They always knew that the French were determined on revenge. Germany also wanted its ‘place in the sun’ and world power status and felt that the alliance, certainly with Austria, would assist this. It was looking for commercial as well as territorial expansion and felt that the alliance would also promote this. Austria was anxious to retain its status as a major power and wished to retain and expand its empire and felt that an alliance with Germany was vital. It also needed an ally against a potentially superior enemy, Russia, who also had expansionist ideas in the Balkans. Therefore, it was looking for support in its anti-nationalist policies within its own empire and in the Balkans generally. Most of its foreign policies and its strategies were strongly influenced by possible German support- as the black cheque later showed. Italy was probably the most strongly influenced by expansionism of the three. It was determined to expand in both the Balkans and in East Africa and North Africa and needed all the support it could get to fend off hostility from France and Britain. It also wanted, as a ‘new’ nation, to be recognised and accepted as a major power. Accepted wisdom now is ‘It saw the alliance as a means of using other powers purely to further Italian interests.’ There were no defensive ideas there at all.	20

Question	Answer	Marks
4(a)	Why was Stolypin unpopular? Several factors explain the unpopularity of Stolypin. They could include: • He was considered a ‘reforming conservative’. Both parts of the title caused problems for him. • He re-wrote the rules on the franchise, giving increasing dominance in Duma voting to the gentry as opposed to the peasantry. • There was a lot of compulsion over his land reforms- which although were basically sound agriculturally- were deeply unpopular with a highly conservative peasantry. • He upset the landed aristocracy, always powerful at court, with his land reforms. • His russification policy was loathed in the areas to be russified, especially Poland. • He was seen by the Court as hostile to it and the aristocracy generally. • He was hated by the Left for his repression and the ‘Stolypin neckties’. • He was disliked by liberals for the failure to make full use of the Dumas and the lack of progress towards a constitutional monarchy.	10
4(b)	‘The Provisional Government lost the support of the army.’ How far does this explain its overthrow? Arguments supporting the statement might include how the constant series of military failures succeeded in alienating all ranks of the army where there was a subsequent lack of any loyalty at any level and many just went home. There was also not the means to deal with the threat from either the right or the left, as the Kornilov affair and the events of October 1917 showed. Additionally, there was minimal resistance in Petersburg or any major centre in Russia to the Bolsheviks, until it was far too late. Arguments challenging the statement might consider how bad leadership and economic mismanagement by the Tsarist regime had given the Provisional Government an impossible task. Equally important was the decision to continue the war which was a major error resulting in considerable disapproval across the whole of Russia. There was also inflation and starvation which added to the challenges it the Provisional Government faced. The Tsar had succeeded in alienating almost everyone and the Provisional Government, certainly before Kerensky, was perceived as an upper-class body which was closely linked to the Tsar.	20

Section B: American Option: The History of the USA, 1840–1941

Question	Answer	Marks
5(a)	Why did American attitudes change towards China between 1911 and 1922? The 1911 Chinese Revolution caused the collapse of the Qing dynasty and the establishment of a Chinese Republic (ROC). This state was very unstable – rule by the warlords – until 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek became ruler. China joined the First World War on the side of the Allies. • Woodrow Wilson, on becoming President in March 1913, was quick to give formal recognition to the new Republic of China having become acquainted with the country through his students while teaching at Princeton. • He also had contact with missionaries working in China and saw the US's role as spreading democratic principles in that country. • The US maintained the Open Door Policy developed in 1899. This policy was the basis of the 1922 Nine Power Treaty with China. • China supported the Allies during the First World War. • When Japan made its 21 Demands on China in 1915, the US saw this as excessive and acted to support China. • The Nine Power Treaty of 1922 showed the United States taking further diplomatic steps to help the Chinese Republic.	10
5(b)	‘The policy of “dollar diplomacy” was largely a failure.’ How far do you agree? ‘Dollar diplomacy’ is a policy primarily associated with President Taft and his one-term presidency of 1909–13. It was based on a policy developed by Taft's predecessor, Theodore Roosevelt, with regard to the Dominican Republic. There, US private banks had paid defaulted loans in return for a US-led body to collect customs duties which would in turn repay the bankers. Therefore, US loans – not US government loans – could encourage better financial and fiscal housekeeping and thus ensure greater political stability. ‘Dollar diplomacy’ would seem to be a more subtle way of extending US influence than military intervention, but it had several weaknesses. Taft applied the policy to Nicaragua between 1912 and 1914. However, the US-backed regime faced opposition from Nicaraguan rebels, which meant that US troops had to be sent in, thus undermining a key feature of ‘dollar diplomacy’. Taft also tried to apply dollar diplomacy in Honduras and Haiti, each time with little success. The concept of ‘dollar diplomacy’ soon became a term of criticism of US foreign policy. It was financial imperialism rather than economic. Despite these weaknesses, ‘dollar diplomacy’ had some strengths. As an action associated with the Roosevelt Corollary the actions of ‘Dollar Diplomacy’ did strengthen the power of the US in Central America and the Caribbean. This was seen in 1912 when a Japanese corporation was in talks with Mexico to buy large sections of strategic land. The Lodge Corollary tried to deal with this by banning foreign powers (apart from the US) from buying land for strategic use. This moved the ideas of the Roosevelt Corollary on from colonial power to corporate power.	20

Question	Answer	Marks
6(a)	Why did the North fail to win the Civil War quickly? • The North had over-cautious military leaders following inconsistent military strategies in the first two years of the war - leaders included Winfield Scott and, for the 1861–62 winter, George McClellan, before Lincoln himself took over for a few months. • The First Bull Run battle in July 1861 and Second Bull Run in August 1862 were significant defeats for the North. On the other side, the South had skilful military leaders who followed a more aggressive strategy, taking the fight to the North. General Lee led Southern armies into Northern territory in 1862, to fight the bloody battle of Antietam, and in 1863 to fight at Gettysburg. • The main reasons for this poor record, despite a great superiority of men and resources, were the inexperience of Lincoln as US president and the reluctance of the Northern leadership to fight a more dynamic and aggressive war, allowing the South to gain the upper hand.	10
6(b)	To what extent did the Compromise of 1877 prove that Reconstruction had been successful? The Compromise was an informal deal in February 1877 between the Republican Party and Southern Democrats. In return for the Republicans (a) aiding various infrastructure projects and (b) withdrawing federal troops from the South, those Democrats would accept the Republican, Rutherford Hayes, as President. The Democratic candidate, Samuel Tilden, had not only clearly won the popular vote but more narrowly led the Electoral College vote. The 1877 Compromise proved that the country could be governed as one and that agreements between different factions could be made. By 1877 progress had also been made with Southern acceptance of constitutional Amendments 13–15 and thus their reintegration into the USA. The constitutions of the rebel states had also been revised by the end of 1870. The New Departure, also known as the Redeemers, after 1870 in which (some) Southern Democrats abandoned the old order and tried to act as a modern opposition to Republican governments in the South. There were many indications that the real project of Reconstruction had not been successful including the continued use of violence by groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the White League and the Red Shirts which opposed Reconstruction. There was also the need for President Grant to impose military rule on the South in the early 1870s, while the economic and social conditions of many ex slaves in the South had not improved. The Economic Crisis of 1873–5 gave the government more serious problems to deal with and thus the continuance of the Reconstruction policies became less important. NB Jim Crow laws were passed after 1877 and are therefore not strictly relevant in answering this question.	20

Question	Answer	Marks
7(a)	Why did large corporations form in the United States in the late nineteenth century? • A corporation is an organisation formed with state governmental approval that is owned by many people but treated by law as though it were a single person that has its own powers, duties, and liabilities. Corporations issue stocks to shareholders as a way of raising money. • Corporations can spread the risk involved in business and because they are so big can purchase and sell goods at a cheaper price often through negotiating discounts with other businesses. • In the late 19th century the forming of corporations was popular because it was free to do and required minimal registration. • In 1896, New Jersey was the first state to adopt an ‘enabling’ corporate law, with the goal of attracting more business to the state. As a result of its early enabling corporate statute, New Jersey was the first leading corporate state. • Expansion westwards created an increasingly large market. • Individuals faced limited liability for company policies.	10
7(b)	‘Prohibition was the most important aim of the Progressive movement.’ How far do you agree? The ultimate failure of prohibition during the 1920s might make it easy to dismiss it as a political aim but this does not take into account the importance of temperance to many of the great Progressive thinkers and how it tied in with other policies. The benefits of prohibition (less alcoholism and violence) fitted well with the Progressives’ aim of improving the lives and prospects of American people. It was also significant in that it attracted a wide range of support from groups both left and right, business and labour. The Anti-Saloon League gained a lot of publicity, even in Northern cities where it was not as successful as in the South, and the Prohibition Party won the occasional Congressional seat. Additionally, helped by the war, the 18th Amendment was passed. However, there is an argument to be made that prohibition remained a fringe feature for many progressives. Prohibition did not feature prominently on party platforms, if at all. Neither Theodore Roosevelt, nor Taft, nor Wilson made Prohibition part of their campaigns. All three focused on other aspects of Progressivism. Wilson vetoed the Volstead Act. Arguably making amendments to the Constitution and passing legislation to regulate business were more important to national progressive politicians. These ideas may be discussed by candidates. It was the effective work of the Anti-Saloon League on Congressional candidates and the unusual context of the First World War which brought a rather marginal issue to the centre of US politics and government.	20

Question	Answer	Marks
8(a)	Why did the New Deal receive criticism from both Left and Right? • The left saw the New Deal as too cautious, while the right saw it as too radical. • The New Deal was so large and tried to cover so much ground that different groups could criticise different aspects. • The New Deal could be seen as too ideological, too much based on the [successful] examples of Germany, Italy and the USSR, giving too much power to federal government and thus anti-American. • The ‘Roosevelt recession’ of 1937–38 seemed to show the New Deal was not dealing with the economic woes of the USA, leading to Republican gains in the House and Senate in the mid-term elections of 1938. • Candidates may use different examples of groups and individuals who opposed the New Deal to build an explanation. • Didn’t do enough for poor and minorities.	10
8(b)	‘The political impact of the Great Crash was as important as the economic impact.’ How far do you agree? The political impact might include the political innovation of the Roosevelt administration – attempts to deal with levels of Depression that were lasting longer than anyone (e.g. Hoover) expected meant that government could not continue as normal. There was also a political plan behind the New Deal to strengthen certain groups, e.g. labour unions and working people, even at the expense of employers. Additionally, it was a time when a significant number of Americans flirted with Marxist movements and ideas, as well as with the notion that the model for a more humane society could be found in the Soviet Union – this period was perhaps the closest the United States came to having a serious left wing threat. This was reflected on the other side of the political spectrum with far-right/fascist groups emerging. The impact on public opinion of political arguments (e.g. the court packing plan) was also significant. The economic impact might include the suggestion that the New Deal was planned to use the public sector to overcome the limitations of the private sector – in terms of both the economy and society. This was something new in US economic policy. Mass work programmes as part of the New Deal agencies were clearly an innovation in economic policy. There may also be some discussion here on the lack of economic impact until the late 1930s and the war economy. Furthermore, it could be argued that what actually came out of this period both politically and economically was a thirst for conservatism (small ‘c’) in American society. Although the 1930s are often seen as a time of domestic focus the public saw what was happening abroad and most chose to object to the extremes of both politics and economics.	20

Section C: International Option: International Relations, 1871–1945

Question	Answer	Marks
9(a)	Why was France isolated in Europe between 1871 and 1894? Factors may include: • Loss of the Franco-Prussian War and the Treaty of Frankfurt requiring France cede Alsace-Lorraine to Germany. • Germany had replaced France as the leading nation in continental Europe. • Bismarck's Alliance system aimed at isolating France until the early 1890s. • The Franco-Prussian War had highlighted France's weaknesses and France was considered a bigger threat than Germany to Britain's colonial ambitions. • Colonial conflict prevented closer ties with Britain. • May include explanation of how/why the situation had changed by 1894.	10
9(b)	To what extent did the wars in southern Africa in the late nineteenth century reveal the limitations of British power? Evidence of British weakness might include the British defeat in the First Boer War 1880–81 and difficulty in overcoming much smaller Boer forces in Second Boer War. Poor leadership and morale of British forces – poor quality/health of recruits might also be identified together with widespread disapproval of British tactics demonstrating the extent of isolation. Despite a global presence, Britain also showed difficulty in focussing on a specific conflict. In challenging the idea of British weakness, the success of British policy elsewhere in Africa, including resolution of Fashoda crisis, might be identified. Additionally, the maintenance of British naval supremacy and the adoption of the Two Power Standard – Naval Defence Act 1889, could be considered. British ability to adapt in the face of very different tactics by the Boers might also be singled out as a strength, while German support was limited to supply of some armaments to the Boers. Britain also won the war and absorbed the Transvaal and Orange Free State.	20

Question	Answer	Marks
10(a)	Why did the failure of the United States to approve the Versailles Settlement cause problems in Europe between 1919 and 1925? The Treaty of Versailles was built on principles established by the US and their failure to ratify the Treaty created problems because: • US had offered guarantees to support France but this was lost. • Britain was no longer able to support France. • The French adopted a more aggressive policy towards German reparations leading to the Ruhr Crisis. • The US refused to get involve in the Genoa conference; as a result, it failed to make progress. • Lack of support for the League weakened League in dealing with problems created by Treaties in Eastern Europe.	10
10(b)	How far did the Wall Street Crash bring about deterioration in international relations? In that the Wall street Crash caused the Great Depression there is a case to be made in support of this but there were also continued efforts to maintain and improve international relations despite the economic issues that increasingly led governments to adopt inward looking policies. Supporting the idea that it caused deterioration might be the idea that it destroyed the Young Plan, ended Franco-German co-operation, and led to the rise of extremist regimes and the policies of confrontation especially the rise of Nazism. Countries also withdrew from international relations in order to concentrate on their internal economic problems. Problems caused by Crash cause failure of democracy and rise of expansionist military in Japan. Challenging the suggestion that it brought about a deterioration might be the continued planning for the World Disarmament Conference and meeting from 1932. Also notable is perhaps the Manchurian Crisis and the failure of League to respond which damaged international relations but was not caused by the WSC. The withdrawal of Nazi Germany from the League of Nations was also responsible for increasing tension in international relations (October 1933). Also accept argument that it was not WSC but the underlying problems of the 1920s that really cause the deterioration and the WSC just acted as a trigger for subsequent problems and conflicts. However just describing problems of the post WW1 era is not sufficient, they must be clearly linked to what happened after the WSC.	20

Question	Answer	Marks
11(a)	Why did Mussolini form the Rome–Berlin Axis with Hitler in 1936? Responses may focus on either/both internal and/or external factors: • Decline in support due to the Great Depression and internal problems • Long term policy to ‘make Italy great’. • Disappointment with Allies response to invasion of Abyssinia. • Weakness of western democracies response to re-militarisation of the Rhineland and outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. • Growing admiration for Hitler.	10
11(b)	How far does military weakness explain Britain’s adoption of the policy of appeasement? Arguments in favour of the suggestion include military weakness; the country did not have sufficiently strong forces to challenge Hitler directly. In particular the 10 Year Rule, initiated by the government because they calculated that they would not face another major war for at least another 10 year after 1920 contributed significantly to British weakness as many new projects and developments were put on hold. The economic situation precluded increasing expenditure on armaments and the navy had been reduced in size, while little had been done to develop the potential for air warfare (some even questioned the continued need for an air force). No attempt at re-armament was made until the later 1930s while Hitler was re-arming strongly from 1934 onwards and had more up to date and efficient forces. Arguments against the importance of military weakness might consider the unfairness of the Treaty of Versailles; Hitler’s demands, at first, seemed reasonable adjustments to the Treaty, resolving significant issues. Britain was also isolated and without support from France and with the withdrawal of the US from involvement in Europe, Britain was in no position to take stronger measures against Hitler’s aggression. The loss of a generation of young men in the First World War also created a strong aversion to any future conflict that might have the same effect and this was evidenced by the strength of pacifism in Britain, notably the ‘King and Country’ debate in 1933 and the Peace Ballot in 1934–5.	20

Question	Answer	Marks
12(a)	Why did Mao emerge as leader of the Chinese Communist Party during the Long March? • The Fifth encirclement campaign and final destruction of the Jiangxi Soviet left the CCP with a lack of clear leadership. • Early stages of the Long March where Mao encouraged communist heroism and determination. • His decision to split communist forces during the march to confuse this enemy. • The Zunyi Conference and Mao's victory in the power struggle allowed him to emerge as a top military commander and take control of the party. • Establishment of new commune in Shaanxi confirmed Mao control and thousands of young Chinese came to join his Red Army.	10
12(b)	To what extent did the warlords control China between 1916 and 1928? Arguments supporting the suggestion that China was controlled by the warlords between 1916 and 1928 might consider how the death of Yuan Shih-kai in June 1916 left a power vacuum in China. Yuan Shih-kai's national army quickly disintegrated after his death because there was no-one to replace him so it simply divided into regiments and divisions supporting the nearest available warlord so no central government could enforce its decisions. Foreign powers were also happy to co-operate with local warlords as long as their economic interest were not jeopardised. Equally, the size of China made it difficult to govern from the centre and there was already a degree of division along regional lines under the last emperors, the warlords simply built on this regionalism. Some warlords were also popular and successful in governing their regions e.g. Yan Xishan in Shanxi. Arguments challenging the idea might include the suggestion that the warlords did not have any united policy; each was only concerned with their own interests, usually personal enrichment. Sun returned to China in 1918 and established a KMT government in the southern city of Guangzhou. Technically there was also still a republican government in Beijing but it was controlled by local warring factions. The KMT formed alliance with CCP and received Soviet support - 1926 launched Northern Expedition and by 1928 Chiang was in control of much of China.	20