President Woodrow Wilson's American Stewardship: Reforms at Home, Isolationism Abroad

Abidah & Ikram Badshah

Abstract

This review article analyzes the 28th US President, Woodrow Wilson's domestic and foreign policies during his term prior to the First World War. In both domestic and international affairs, Wilson's efforts and policies were focused on internal reforms and world peace, which demonstrates the spirit of US selfdeterminism. In terms of the domestic policies, President Wilson was devoted largely to social reforms that could have a positive impact on the lives of American people. With regards to the foreign policy, Wilson tried his utmost to avoid US entry into WWI; however, he did not succeed. Nevertheless, during the War, Wilson was more invested in domestic issues, targeting his efforts on the New Freedom ideals, despite massive resistance from the Congress. The article concludes that President Wilson stands out as an American head of state who was focused on improving the lives of middle-class Americans grounded in his faith that the latter could uniquely contribute to the economic progress of the country.

Keywords: Woodrow Wilson, Isolationism, Interventionism, domestic affairs, foreign affairs

Introduction

This review paper critically analyzes the presidential tenure of Woodrow Wilson, the 28th President of the United States of America, prior to a major world war. In both the spheres of domestic and foreign affairs, his policies were in line with the spirit of American self-determinism. As a democrat elected

Abidah is Assistant Manager for USAID Pakistan Capacity Development Services, Islamabad.

Dr. Ikram Badshah Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

President, Wilson worked for social change in America through an emphasis on improving the lives of the middle-class Americans. This focus on the domestic affairs also explains his reluctance to join the war. Although Woodrow Wilson introduced many reforms during his tenure, the one that stood out as the most important was the New Deal, which had a longlasting impact on the people of America through addressing some of the issues in the country's economy. Indeed, the effects of the reforms that Wilson introduced can be perceived till today. For instance, the Federal Reserve Act that was amended to give a secure foundation for the banking system of the United States that allowed the country's economy to be stabilized. In a time when people had no governmental assistance, especially the retired citizens, the act was and continues to be a blessing today. In general, Woodrow Wilson's policies were focused on making businesses fair; curtailing excessive taxes on the people; fixing the monopolistic practices in business; and ensuring healthy competition in the market.

In dealing with foreign affairs, especially with regards to European politics, Wilson faced many challenges. During World War I, he tried to stay out of war at all costs. Despite an attack on the citizens of America, Wilson did not want to send American troops to war, but the pressure kept building to assist Europe against the common enemy, Germany. For Wilson, loss of American lives, economic deterioration, and social costs were the considerations that contributed to his wish to refrain from the conflict in Europe. Despite Wilson's conviction that any conflict happening outside America should not concern America, Germany's constant pushing of boundaries especially in the attack on the merchant ships of America and in reaching close to the Mexican border left Wilson with no option but to react to the German aggression. Finally, Wilson requested the Congress to declare war on Germany by stating so: "The world must be made safe for democracy." The participation of America helped the allied power in gaining victory as in November 1918 Germany signed an armistice. Afterwards, a peace conference was held in Paris in January 1919 which included heads of states from France, Italy and Great Britain. Wilson also helped the European countries in negotiating the Treaty of Versailles, which included the charter of the League of Nations. The league was to play a role of arbitration in disputes between countries and prevent wars in the future. In his famous speech to the Congress, Wilson gave his fourteen points for the postwar settlement of Europe. However, the Senate voting in 1919 and 1920 failed to gain the 2/3 majority which was required for the ratification of the treaty. As a result, the U.S decided that they will never compromise their autonomy by joining the League of Nations.

Research Questions

- What reforms did Woodrow Wilson introduce into the domestic affairs of the US?
- How did the US experience progressive change during Wilson's Presidency?
- How did President Wilson manage to adopt isolationist policy at the beginning of WWI?
- What were the reasons that compelled Wilson to participate in WWI?

Research Methodology

The research is descriptive and analytical in nature. To answer the research questions, the study uses qualitative research methodology and relies on secondary sources like books, research papers, newspaper articles, journal articles, official documents like US domestic policies and reforms deals, and President Wilson's speeches.

Literature Review

Lloyd E. Ambrosius (2002) wrote Wilsonianism, which presents in detail Wilson's isolationist standpoint during the onset of World War I. Wilson did not want the US to become

involved in the war and tried to isolate from the ongoing conflict in Europe. Ambrosius explains in detail Wilson's opinions on his own administration and World War I prior to the United States' entry in the war. Wilson believed that international law must be followed even during the war and disapproved of the contrary incidences. For instance, during wartime Wilson expected vessels on the seas to be left alone if they were from a neutral country. Likewise, international law stated that those who were neutral in the war could not be attacked.

Arthur Link has written numerous books and articles about Woodrow Wilson's tenure. Link can be seen as one of the leading historians to study Wilson. He wrote a book called, Wilson the Diplomatist: A Look at his Major Foreign Policies (1974) in which he reviews Wilson's ideologies, political views, and his lack of interest in foreign affairs. There are parts to this book that significantly back the idea that Wilson was not concerned about the world as a whole when World War I was happening. Link writes: "Wilson remarked to a friend prior to taking the oath that as a scholar and analyst, he had been almost exclusively concerned with domestic politics in the Anglo-American tradition and interested only casually in the mechanisms and history of foreign relations."ii Wilson was worried about events at home, but was not concerned with the events unfolding abroad despite the fact that there was a major world conflict evolving in Europe.

August Heckscher is another historian who has written extensively on Wilson. Heckscher's work focuses on the growing tension between the United States and Germany. In Heckscher's book, *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (1991), he writes about Wilson's preference to remain out of World War I despite Germany's effort to involve the US. This book reinforces the idea that Wilson was an isolationist and that his priority was not expanding relations with other countries. Heckscher offers important information about German

submarine warfare. The communication between Germany and the British regarding the waters being a dangerous place for American merchant ships and vessels carrying citizens is also elaborated in detail in this book. The fact that the Germans did not follow international law when it came to the seas is something that Heckscher presents. One major part of the 14 points speech President Wilson presented also addresses this. This paper further expands this area of research by arguing that a deeper study of Wilson's isolationist policy manifests his commitment to the people of the United States, especially his desire to improve the lives of middle-class Americans as an attempt to diversify and improve the economic standing of the US.

Theoretical Framework

This research article uses theories of public administration and isolationism as a theoretical framework to analyze Wilson's presidential tenure with respect to both domestic and foreign affairs policies. Theory of public administration analyzes Wilson's performance at home including his progressive reforms and his policy of isolationism in the early twentieth century and during WWI. Max Weber, a renowned German political economist, philosopher and social scientist is known as the pioneer of the theory of public administration bureaucracy. Weber has done an extensive research study on ancient and modern states to gain a better perspective of bureaucracy in different periods of time in his famous work Magnum Opus Economy and Society which was published in 1922. This work contributed enormously to the field of public administration. Weber believes that bureaucracy is the most rational form of public administration devised by humans. Weber in his famous writings contends that domination is employed through administrative setup and that for legal domination to take place, bureaucracy is necessary.

Woodrow Wilson, an American politician, academic and former president of the US also defined public administration as a systematic and detailed implementation of public law. Wilson divided governmental institutions into two distinct sectors: public administration and politics. Wilson explains that politics deals with questions related to policy formulation whereas public administration is equipped with carrying out the formulated policies. In his essay "The Study of Administration" (1887), iii he argued that it is much more difficult to implement a constitution than to frame one. Wilson tried his best to establish the difference between administration and politics. Wilson saw administration as a field of business which is outside politics. Wilson thought that the theory of public administration exists because of the technicalities and is there for behind-the-scenes business features of politics. Both Weber and Wilson are often situated in the arena of classical public administration. While Weber is considered the pioneer of the public administration bureaucracy theory, Wilson is regarded as the forerunner of public administration policy in the US. Their work has been a source of influence for various politicians and administrators in the U.S. This article, therefore, draws on their work to review the domestic and foreign policies of Woodrow Wilson during his presidential tenure.

Isolationism is another theoretical idea this paper deals with. Isolationists believe in non-interference and non-involvement in world affairs and conflicts. The US took all the measures to sidestep military and political conflicts across the oceans, US continued to expand its economy and protect its interest in South America. iv The pioneers of the isolationist movement drew upon past experience to sustain their position. President George Washington in his farewell speech advocated non-interference in wars and politics of Europe. In most of the nineteenth century, the cost of Pacific and Atlantic oceans made it possible for the US to enjoy free security and remain isolated from old world disputes. Prior to WWI, Wilson made the case for his country's involvement in conflicts due to its

desire to maintain peace in the world and foster a peaceful world order for all nations. Nonetheless, the US experience in WWI served to strengthen the case of isolationism; they argued that the interest of the US did not justify the number of casualties that the US suffered. During WWI, Senator Gerald P. Nye from Republican Party shared a report that reinforced this by claiming that bankers and arms manufacturers pushed the US to become involved in WWI for their own profit. The 1934 publication of the book Merchants of Death by H.C. Engelbrecht and F. C. Hanighen, followed by the 1935 tract "War Is a Racket" by decorated Marine Corps General Smedley D. Butler, served to increase popular suspicions of wartime profiteering and influenced public opinion in the direction of neutrality. Lots of people in America decided not to be fooled by bankers and arms manufacturers in making such great sacrifices again. The reality of the great economic depression and the need to enhance attention to internal issues served to strengthen the belief that the US should isolate itself from the conflicts in Europe. From WWI to WWII American officials continued to adopt a non-interference policy over intervention as the suitable response to international affairs. After the end of WWI, the Congress disapproved of the US entry into the League of Nations because some Congressmen believed that the membership of the League would once again embroil the US in European conflicts.

Wilson's Personality and Presidency

Woodrow Wilson was a Democrat and was elected President for the office in 1912 and 1916. Wilson's leadership and methodology both evolved over the period of his Presidency. Beginning his career as the president of Princeton University and moving on to become the governor of New Jersey, Wilson continued to hone his skills, knowledge, and expertise until he became the twenty-eighth president elect in 1912. His love for the United States and his passion to bring about positive change, drove him to introducing a number of reforms

domestically. He strove to improve life for the American people by passing acts that would help the middle-class people. He also introduced legislation that dealt with issues concerning big businesses.

Wilson started his career as a faculty member at Princeton University, an Ivy League institution and went on to become the president of Princeton University. Wilson joined the faculty at Princeton University in 1890, but it would not be until 1902 that he would accept the presidency. His twelve-year tenure as a professor gave him the necessary knowledge regarding the issues faced by the university faculty, student body, and the administration. Therefore, during his tenure both as a faculty and as president, Wilson introduced a number of reforms at various levels such as the struggles over the clubs and graduate college convinced him that privileged wealth threatened economic opportunity and social democracy. Indeed, his first action was the creation of departments of instruction with heads. vi In the course of a few years, Wilson had introduced changes within Princeton University's administrative system that were to build the foundations for making Princeton a top University: the vision of Woodrow Wilson for the American colleges was that the colleges would equipped the students meaning of life for themselvest. vii He had worked to create a university that would function to the standards he believed would help the youth and later the country.

A leader must be strong in order to make sure that necessary reforms take place. Wilson was one such leader who rallied his presidential campaign on a platform demanding, principally, tariff reform and legislation to destroy industrial and financial monopoly—as Wilson put it, a "new freedom" for the American people. Republicans appreciated the ring of this tune; this, coupled with their confusion regarding who to vote for led Wilson's way into the office as the president of America in 1912. The president was driven and committed; he identified the areas within the American government that

needed improvement and set out to make the necessary changes.

Wilson's Reforms at Home and Isolationism Abroad

Wilson's Presidency is characterized by two dominant factors; the reforms that he introduced at home and his wish to keep the US out of World War I. Indeed, he would go on to be reelected on that particular platform. Wilson was known as an isolationist during the onset of World War I and for good reason. There were issues with the German government challenging the United States on more than one occasion. Wilson's overall goal to remain neutral was for good reason. He did not want the country to be pushed back to its former state after all of the work he had done. He believed that war would take the country a couple of decades back; the democratic process would be strained; and innocent people will pay the price in the form of casualties. Wilson feared that war will divert attention away from the work he had done to break business monopolies. Therefore, his focus was on furthering domestic reforms.

The era of reforms that Wilson is known for is the Progressive Era. During this era, which lasted from 1896 to 1916, those that followed the idea of progressivism wanted to renew American society by finding areas that needed to be remodeled by the government. Wilson followed in the footsteps of Theodore Roosevelt and then William Howard Taft who were progressive Presidents before him. Like Wilson, Roosevelt and Taft wanted various parts of the government to work together, and when they found areas that were not functioning correctly, they demanded change. Progressivists were working to improve all areas of the government from education to child labor laws, regulation of big businesses, and banking insurances. Wilson, like the progressives, also wanted to destroy monopolies because there was a fear that they would ruin the American economy. He believed that fair business practices were required for healthy competition. Wilson wanted to regulate how

companies were running and the effect they had on the American society and the economy. The laws that Wilson advocated are indicative of his views on large, dominating companies. He worked on laws to regulate child labor and created the Federal Reserve Act. The progressive era was a time of change in the United States. His focus on domestic reforms was the impetus for avoiding involvement in the conflicts of foreign countries. He feared that the projects that he had embarked on would be halted or retracted if there were to be an involvement in war.

Indeed, Wilson was perceived as a unifier of the Congress. He was the first president to address a joint session of the Congress in person, and he helped refine the relationship between the executive and legislative branches of the government. Wilson was concerned that the President and Congress were not working effectively together. He felt that he needed to take down the barriers that had been built up and work with party members in Congress. Wilson also strove to build a stronger and more positive relationship with his own party members in order to make way for the reforms he wished to introduce.

In order for both the executive and legislative branches to function smoothly for the benefit of the people, they have to work in collaboration. As such, Wilson knew that in order to have the reforms passed he must cultivate a good relationship with those working in Congress. Wilson's leadership was that of a man who was driven to improve the United States by making sure that the American people as a whole were protected. His antitrust legislation and reforms dealing with children's working conditions demonstrate his ability to see where he needed to safeguard and improve American lives. Although keeping track of world affairs and events was important to maintaining security in the United States, Wilson's main focus was on the domestic affairs. While he wished for the United States to become a world power, he wanted to start

that struggle at home by addressing the issues facing the United States.

Wilson's ideology became well known during his presidency and was nicknamed as Wilsonianism. It was mainly "an examination of both Wilson's statecraft and the American political culture from which it came".xi Wilsonianism grew out of the fact that Wilson took an isolationist standpoint during World War I. He felt that the US must stay out of the war going on in Europe. His platform of New Freedom during the election also shaped his ideas during the presidency. He focused on business, banking, and tariff reforms: "He articulated the principle of national self-determination and the closely related concept of collective security". xii Wilson studied United States history and used that knowledge to review the contemporary events: "His vision of the League of Nations expressed his hope that the world could achieve the same kind of organic unity which was gained during the Civil War by America, and it too could overcome its division".xiii

Wilson wanted to review past wars and their outcomes, particularly the Civil War as an example to learn from. He felt that he could reunite the world just as the North and South had done after the Civil War. Although he wanted the world to work together, he did not reach out to Europe at the onset of World War I: "To solve the nation's and the world's problems as he understood them, he advocated the concentration of power in the presidency at home and the extension of American control abroad".xiv

Not only did Wilson look at the history of the United States to help guide him, but his ideas and beliefs were also formed based on his religious affiliation. He consulted the Bible for guidance in how to live his life, which in turn helped him with his job as President. Wilson was a devout Calvinist whose religion drove him in his personal and professional lives. Regardless of his beliefs, Wilson's ideas were met with

admiration by some and critique by others. As Axton notes: "He was sometimes prejudiced, caustic, and impatient; too often unforgiving; but, on the other hand, relentless in pursuit of an object he believed was for the welfare of the larger community; fearless; devoted to the cause of democracy".xv

His goal was to be seen as a reformer and thus his platform was referred to as the New Freedom. He wanted to regulate businesses and work on banking and tariff reforms. Wilson worked to get important legislation passed during his first term; such acts as the federal reserve act which provided the country more elasticity in money supply and the federal trade commission which was formed in 1914 to prevent unfairness in business practices. During his second campaign for office, Wilson focused on what he had done in his first four years and most importantly how he had handled the war. In 1916, the campaign was was focused on the issue of peace and declared that Woodrow Wilson had kept America out of war. The fact that he had been able to keep the US out of war thus far was a huge factor for his campaign and ultimately helped him win another term in office.

Wilson believed that the mission of the United States was not to attain world's wealth and power but to serve the humankind and ensure world peace. Wilson's religious affiliation and his political ideology shaped his presidency. His Calvinist Christian worldview inspired his desire to improve the lives of common Americans. Developments such as the creation of the Federal Reserve Act or the Federal Trade Commission had lasting effects on the economy and country as a whole. Indeed, Wilson's upbringing, background, values, and vision contributed to how he viewed his job in office.

During Wilson's prewar period there were several reforms that he is noted for having passed. When he ran for the 1912 election, he campaigned using the terminology "New Freedom." These were a set of ideas to force big businesses and monopolies to favor the American people. Wilson's plans with the New Freedom were to go up against the banks, big businesses, and high tariffs. The theory behind this platform was that the banks, big businesses, and productive tariffs were not supporting the common good for all Americans. Since the trusts controlled the market of the business they were in, Americans did not have an opportunity to have fair business offers. The size of many of these trusts eliminated competitors. Wilson wanted to break apart these monopolies in an effort to allow a fair market economy so that all business owners would have an opportunity to compete.

Once in office, Wilson kept his promise by promoting the following acts: The Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act of 1913, the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, the Clayton Antitrust Law of 1914, and the Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914, which were all very important to Wilson's vision of success for the United States. The Federal Reserve Act can be viewed as one of the most beneficial reforms because it dealt with a lack of competition within the banking system. Just as Wilson did not like the monopolies in the business world, he was also concerned about the banking system. The act itself gave a brief synopsis of what it was designed to do in its outline: "This is the act which provide for establishing the federal reserve bank for an elastic currency and to establish and ensure more stable and effective banking supervision in America". xix The act can be viewed as one of the most successful reforms that Wilson created. The Federal Reserve Act established a Reserve Bank Organization Committee, which would create Federal Reserve cities that would in turn have a Federal Reserve Bank in them. There would only be a certain number of cities that would have banks, and this new system would eliminate the control that some of the monopolies had over the banking system.

The Federal Trade Commission helped to oversee things protected through the Clayton Antitrust Act, Five commissioners were composed by this commission, who

should be appointed by the President and with the advice of the Senate. The main goal of this commission was to "promote export trade and to prevent unfair methods of competition".xx The commission comprised people from both political parties in an effort to keep the practice fair. The commission was made up of five people with no more than three of those people from the same political party. The goal was to make sure that a board was keeping an eye over business practices in the United States. A group of people, instead of the court, would make sure that business practices were acceptable. For example, if someone had a complaint, the Federal Trade Commission would listen and decide if it was an unfair business practice. The Commission also followed what was happening in the American economy to make sure that businesses were following proper laws.

After Wilson had successfully introduced these four acts, he moved on to focus on reforms for the benefit of the common people. In 1915, the Seaman Act was passed which regulated the treatment of sailors. In 1916, the act of Keating-own child labor, the act of Adamson, and the act of workingmen were passed. Thus, in addition to helping the middle class through regulating business practices, Wilson also sought to make lives better for the working class: "Wilson supported the bill of rural credits, the prohibition of child labor bill, the bill for working men, the eight hours as a day as working standard on interstate railroads" (Alsop, 1956).**xi Many of these reforms had a profound effect on the lives of the working-class American people.

Thus, Wilson's focus even during the war was on domestic reforms. In 1917, however, the United States decided to take part in the war. Wilson's attention to reforms in the US was put on hold as he had to focus on where the country was headed with respect to the war. Indeed, Wilson's stance as an isolationist had now changed due to the turn that the war was taking in Europe, which had come to be a concern for the US.

Generally, many of his reforms prior to World War I can be viewed as a success; however, there were some delays in the start of these reforms because of American involvement in World War I. The Federal Trade Commission which was to regulate the banking system had a tough beginning, the FTC was slow to organize and then WWI swept the FTC away from close investigation of domestic corporations, in part because the mobilization of industry by the War Industries Board relied heavily on corporate voluntarism and encouraged collaborations, among corporations, large and small.xxii Likewise, once the US was involved in the war, Wilson's focus shifted towards drafting the Fourteen Points, which he hoped would help end the war.

The fourteen points in which Wilson addresses the Congress to voice his concerns about the war were focused on highlighting a program of world peace. These included a demand for transparency; end of British blockades; end to unrestricted submarine warfare; free trade; disarmament; anti-colonialism; self-determination of states; exit from Belgium and Italy; selfgovernance of states especially allowing Austria and Hungary to decide their own fates; and democratic governance for Balkan states including Yugoslavia, Turkey, Polish states, among others. Most importantly, Wilson argued that "[a] general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike". xxiii This fourteenth point was the birth of the League of Nations. Wilson's aim was to make the world safe for democracy, commerce, and open agreements.

Wilson wanted to stay out of the war and hoped that the United States would be viewed as a neutral country. He, therefore, focused on trying to get Germany to follow the international law. It was crucial for Wilson to try and keep the United States out of the war, and he felt that if he continued to keep communication open with Germany, the latter would abide by

the international law when it came to submarine warfare and the question of waters in the enemy territory. Wilson viewed international law as non-negotiable and expected Germany to respect neutral nations while on the seas. Although there was a war going on, Wilson saw no reason why Germany could not adhere to a safe passage for those countries not involved in the war. Wilson believed that neutral countries during wartime had rights and demanded that Germany understand that.

Although Wilson's goal was to maintain neutrality, the United States increasingly found itself in direct confrontation with German policy. Wilson continued to try and make Germany see that neutral ships and in this case, vessels carrying American citizens, were to be treated as per the laws. There was to be no negotiation when it came to the protection and neutrality of American vessels and American citizens on board. Wilson tried his best to keep the Germans at bay and the British contented. He looked to maintain neutrality at all costs: "Wilson with passionate sincerity, was trying to keep the nation neutral, and aiding the Allies only to the extent that neutrality was not threatened".xxv

Wilson viewed the war not as a matter of winning or losing based upon what had been gained in terms of land or leverage over the opponent, but rather he looked at the ultimate cost to each country regardless of who was winning or losing: "For him the horror and danger transcended the issues, which was why he exasperated the Allies again and again by refusing to see the war in the purely moral light of right against wrong".xxvi Instead Wilson saw the war in terms of the loss of human lives on both sides. The fact that World War I was a different war with its deployment of trench warfare and advanced weapons, the cost of human life was much higher.

Wilson had been known as the President who had kept the US out of the war; however, now he had to become complicit in US involvement in the war. The year 1917 brought the United States closer to a direct entry in the war; in the month of March

a number of American ships were sunk, economic frustrations were intensified by the reluctance of American ship-owners to breast the dangers of the high seas, and there was a revolution going on in Russia. xxvii Germany was determined to win the war and felt that they would have better success if they continued to use submarine warfare. When Germany issued the War Zone Proclamation stating that they would continue with their submarine warfare, Wilson was forced to break off all relations. The United States could no longer attempt to correspond with the German government and would be forced to prepare for war. In April, Wilson called the Congress to an extra session to outline the terms for going to war. He spoke to the Congress about the importance of staying neutral and also went on to explain why in some cases, it was necessary to become involved. There were reasons that the United States should enter the war, for things like democracy, rights and liberty of small countries, universal human rights, and peace and prosperity of all the countries.

Although Wilson had tried at all costs to stay out of the conflict in Europe and attempted to maintain communication with Germany in an effort to remain neutral, Wilson was left with no choice but to enter the war. Germany was not willing to respect the neutrality of the United States, and this was made evident repeatedly as they attacked vessels carrying Americans. Wilson felt that if he did not participate in the war, he would be forced to compromise on his ideals and completely shut off the US from the rest of the world. This would not be in the best interest of the country and would further give the impression that Germany violate the sovereignty of other countries. There may have been an ocean between the two countries, but Germany posed a threat to democracy, and they did not adhere to international law. Therefore, the United States entered World War I despite Wilson's promises against it.

Conclusion

President Woodrow Wilson was a devoted and committed leader. During his presidency, he introduced domestic reforms for the social betterment of the people of the US. He tried his best to keep his country out of a direct involvement in WWI which shows American self-determinism. Wilson was a democrat, and he was more concerned about the internal issues facing the American people than external affairs or European politics. Wilson worked very hard to bring social change and positive reforms in the US such as the New Freedom ideals despite facing resistance from Congress. Wilson believed that the New Freedom ideals would help the people of America and would bring positive change into the lives of the middle-class people, which would ultimately help them contribute to the economic development of the US. Wilson believed that this could only be possible if the US steered clear of the conflict in Europe and focused its attention on domestic issues. However, once Germany came to defy the international law which had implications both for the US and other European countries, Wilson's isolationist stance shifted, and the US entered the war for preserving its principles of democracy, equality, and selfdetermination.

ⁱ 1. "The World Must Be Made Safe for Democracy Definition & Usage Examples," Dictionary.com, accessed November 29, 2019, https://www.dictionary.com/browse/the-world-must-be-made-safe-for-democracy.

ii 1. Arthur S. Link, essay, in Wilson the Diplomatist: A Look at His Major Foreign Policies (New York: New Viewpoints, 1974), 5.

iii Wilson, Woodrow. "The Study of Administration." *Political Science Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (1887): 5. https://doi.org/10.2307/2139277.

iv 1. January 20, 2001.

v 1. Arthur S. Link and Stockton Axson, eds., "Brother

Woodrow": A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson by Stockton Axson (Princeton University Press, 2014).

- vi Alsop, Stewart. Nixon & Rockefeller: A Double Portrait. United States: Open Road Media, 2016.
- Alsop, Stewart. Nixon & Rockefeller: A Double Portrait. United States: Open Road Media, 2016.
- viii 1. Arthur S. Link and Stockton Axson, eds., "Brother Woodrow": A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson by Stockton Axson (Princeton University Press, 2014).
- ix 1. Em Bowles Alsop and Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The Greatness of Woodrow Wilson*, 1856-1956 (New York: Rinehart, 1956).
- xhttp://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/presidents/28_wilson/index.ht ml
- xi 1. Lloyd E. Ambrosius, *Wilsonianism: Woodrow Wilson and His Legacy in American Foreign Relations* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 21.
- xii 1. Lloyd E. Ambrosius, *Wilsonianism: Woodrow Wilson and His Legacy in American Foreign Relations* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 21.
- xiii 1. Lloyd E. Ambrosius, *Wilsonianism: Woodrow Wilson and His Legacy in American Foreign Relations* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 24.
- xiv 1. Lloyd E. Ambrosius, *Wilsonianism: Woodrow Wilson and His Legacy in American Foreign Relations* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 27.
- xv 1. Arthur S. Link and Stockton Axson, eds., "Brother Woodrow": A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson by Stockton Axson (Princeton University Press, 2014), 213.
- xvi 1. John Milton Cooper, "Taken At The Flood," essay, in Woodrow Wilson: A Biography (New York (N.Y.): Vintage Books, 2011), 305.
- xvii 1. Raymond A. Esthus and Arthur S. Link, "The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Volume 57: April 5-22, 1919.," *The Journal*

of Southern History 57, no. 2 (1991): 346, https://doi.org/10.2307/2210452.

- xviii 1. Arthur S. Link and Stockton Axson, eds., "Brother Woodrow": A Memoir of Woodrow Wilson by Stockton Axson (Princeton University Press, 2014).
- xix 1. "Federal Reserve Act" (Washington, March 10, 2017).
- xx 1. John Newman & Amy Ritchie and Nick Jones, "Federal Trade Commission Act," Federal Trade Commission, March 11, 2022, https://www.ftc.gov/legal-library/browse/statutes/federal-trade-commission-act.
- xxi 1. Em Bowles Alsop and Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The Greatness of Woodrow Wilson*, 1856-1956 (New York: Rinehart, 1956).
- xxii 1. John Milton Cooper, "Taken At The Flood," essay, in Woodrow Wilson: A Biography (New York (N.Y.): Vintage Books, 2011).
- National Archives and Records Administration, accessed May 7, 2019, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/president-woodrow-wilsons-14-
- points#:~:text=A%20general%20association%20of%20nations, great%20and%20small%20states%20alike.
- xxiv 1. August Heckscher, *Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Scribner u.a., 1991).
- xxv 1. Louis Auchincloss, *Woodrow Wilson* (New York: A Lipper/Viking Book, 2000).
- xxvi 1. Louis Auchincloss, *Woodrow Wilson* (New York: A Lipper/Viking Book, 2000), 35.
- xxvii 1. August Heckscher, *Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Scribner u.a., 1991).