PREFACE
Studies in American History and Institutions have only recently been undertaken in India. In 1955 a department of American History and Institutions was established in the Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi. Persons, like the present writer, who had some interest in undertaking study and research in American History and Institutions, at last had a place where they could pursue their work. While the School has been steadily building up its library facilities, they are still, understandably enough, far too inadequate for completing a Ph.D. thesis.

To deal adequately with the material on Woodrow Wilson available in the Library of Congress and other libraries throughout the United States would necessitate at least two years of work. That the present writer could attempt this work at all was due to a grant made by the Indian School of International Studies for field research in the United States for a period of six months. In view of the time available, it seemed necessary to concentrate mainly on the personal manuscripts of Woodrow Wilson at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.

There are many published works on Wilson. An invaluable source, second in importance only to the Wilson manuscripts, is the collection of Wilson materials by the late Ray Stannard Baker
and William E. Dodd, The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Baker also compiled the authoritative biography of Wilson which remains the best work of this nature on Wilson.

The main contemporary writer on Wilson is Arthur S. Link who has written a three volume historical-biographical study of Wilson and his times. Although there are interpretive background chapters, essentially Link begins his study from 1802 when Wilson became President of Princeton University. A great body of new material, previously unavailable has been used as well as a vast array of newspaper reports not used by other biographers.

August Heckscher, in his book, The Politics of Woodrow Wilson attempts to show the development of Wilson's ideas. This book is mainly selections from Wilson's speeches and writings with brief introductions. Heckscher points out that most of Wilson's speeches and writings were shaped under the compulsion of events, with particular ends in view. Heckscher, however, does not include material from manuscripts covering the earlier period of his writing.

S. K. Padover, in his book, Wilson's Ideals, has compiled, in historical sequence, some of the highlights from the writings and speeches of Wilson with a brief introduction.

An authoritative collection of Wilson's works including the still unpublished letters and manuscripts, revealing his whole thought, awaits to be made. This work is a modest study of Wilson's thoughts as revealed in his manuscripts, books and the collections of his letters and speeches.
The present writer was introduced to Wilson as a teacher-
statesman and not as a political theorist. Indeed, Wilson did not
regard himself as a theorist; he strongly felt that there was more
need for practical statesmanship than abstract theorizing.
Nevertheless, he did have a political philosophy of his own—a
consistent interpretation of the nature and functions of society,
state and government which unified all his writing.

At one time Wilson planned a major work on the philosophy
of politics. Though he never wrote the book, he considered his
text book, *The State*, as a preliminary to that work. Despite the
fact that many of the ideas in *The State* are borrowed from German
sources, the book clearly is an expression of Wilson's own point
of view. Almost all of the notes for *Philosophy of Politics* have
been incorporated in *The State*.

In this study I have attempted to show that Wilson's ideas
on *The State*, his notes for *Philosophy of Politics*, and his other
writings are all characterized by the interpretation of the
government as an organ of society, gradually evolving as the needs
of the society change. All of his political writings, I have
argued, illustrate the fact that Wilson's basic approach to
political philosophy was pragmatic,* while he believed in certain
enduring principles—for instance, that the state exists for the

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* I am using pragmatic in the sense in which it is defined
in Webster's *New Collegiate Dictionary*. . . that the meaning of
conceptions is to be sought in their practical bearings, that the
function of thought is as a guide to action and that the truth is
pre-eminently to be tested by the practical consequences of belief.*
mutual welfare of the individual and society—he recognized that no system of law or form of government was ultimate; even democracy he called only one stage in political development.

Wilson's ideas on government are, of course, especially significant because he had an opportunity to implement them as Governor of New Jersey and President of the United States. Though Wilson's achievements during this period have been discussed by many other writers, I have briefly dealt with some of his major administrative actions in order to show how they were consistent with his political philosophy.

Since Wilson stressed the fact that statesmanship offers a leader an opportunity to leave the impact of his own personality on society, I have given a brief biographical sketch in the introduction, pointing out some of the major influences on his character and thought.

The study is confined to the development of his political ideas and his views on American government. No attempt is made to examine the details of his record as Governor of New Jersey and as the President of the United States. Examples from his administration have been used merely to throw light upon his ideas as they evolved.

With regard to a study of his foreign policy the same approach has been maintained, keeping in view merely his ideas on war, peace, diplomacy and international organization. No attempt has been made to evaluate critically the events leading to the peace conference nor the details of the treaty of Versailles that followed World War I.
This study has been made under the supervision of Dr. I. S. Venkataraman, Head of the Department of American History and Institutions at the Indian School of International Studies. I am deeply indebted to him for his sincere and invaluable guidance and encouragement.

During the course of my study suggestions from visiting professors to the Department benefitted me in clarifying my thoughts. I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to the late Dr. J. P. Cogourn, Chicago University, Dr. Vera H. Dean of the Foreign Policy Association, New York, Dr. Phillips Bradlow, Syracuse University and Dr. Fredrick Ogden, Alabama University. I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to the Director of the Indian School of International Studies, Dr. A. Appadorai, for granting me the necessary finances for a field trip to the United States for six months.

I am grateful for the unstinting assistance given to me by the Librarian and staff of the Indian Council of World Affairs Library, New Delhi in particular, and the Librarian and staff of Columbia University Library, New York and to the Library and staff of the Library of Congress, Washington D.C. and to Mrs. Woodrow Wilson for giving me permission to look into the Wilson Papers.

New Delhi,
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