

“The Role of Leader’s Personality and World Order on Foreign Policy Decision Making: Comparison between Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Era and Sheikh Hasina Era”

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Abstract: Leader’s personality traits and existing strategic world order gambit a pivotal role on foreign policy decision making. Coordinating with world order, state leader’s power of imagination, emotionality, prudence, strategic crisis management and negotiation ability maximize highest national interest of a country. This paper endeavors to make a connection among leader’s personality traits, existing world order and foreign policy decision making by a comparative analysis between Sheikh Mujibur Rahman era(1972-1975) and Sheikh Hasina era (1996-2001; 2008- till to date). Personality traits models like 16 Personality Factor model and Big 5 Personality model are used here as a tool of examining leader’s personality. Besides, to what extent the world order (Uni-polarity, Bi-polarity, Non-polarity, Multi-polarity or revival of any super power at international politics) can also influence in foreign policy decision making is also a matter of critical analysis? Heredity, grown up environment and genetics that interlinked between the personality traits and foreign policy decision making of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina is also reflected in this paper.

Key words: Personality traits, Foreign policy, World order, Realism, Heredity

I. INTRODUCTION

Leader’s personality traits like openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, emotion, stability, imagination, assertiveness, intelligence, self- sufficiency and knowledge play an instrumental role in foreign policy decision making. Similarly, states act or respond to the politico-economic events in the context of given world order to maximize own national interest. In other words, personality of a leader and the world order are prevailing in a given time influence on foreign policy decision making process of a state. Bangladesh is no exception in this regard. This paper focuses on the influence of personality of leaders and world order in the foreign policy decision making of Bangladesh. For doing so, this paper picks Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina- the president and prime minister of Bangladesh in two different eras representing the same political party, Bangladesh Awami League. More interestingly one is father and the other is his daughter and the party chiefs.

More so, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman’s era witnessed the Cold War period of bipolarity featured with a communist and capitalist blocs led respectively by the former Soviet Union and the USA. When Sheikh Mujibur Rahman took over the leadership, Bangladesh was just a new born state. Under the influence of charismatic leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Bangladesh got its independence and sovereignty in 1971. On the other hand, Sheikh Hasina’s coming to power in 1996 and in 2008 coincided with some specific events that came into being in the last two decades. First is the end of military rule at the domestic political front of Bangladesh, second is the emergence of a New World Order after the demise of the Communist Soviet Union, and third is the post-9/11 era currently witnessing the dominance of identity-based security politics and cooperation in this Multipolar world. Against this backdrop, this paper reflects on some key foreign policy decisions taken by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina in two different eras and examines whether their personality traits or the prevailing world orders or both were influential in making those foreign policy decisions.

II. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

This research paper gradually endeavors along with its core objective to weigh the role of leader’s personality and world order on foreign policy decision making. Via showing a comparative analysis between Sheikh Mujibur Rahma era and Sheikh Hasina era, it clarifies the influence of heredity, genetics and grown up environment in foreign policy decision making that will be an intellectual property in foreign policy studies.

III. METHODOLOGY

The nature of this research is very much a qualitative one and mainly based on secondary data analysis. Data for this paper were collected from standard published materials, such as books, newspapers, journals, and official reports on foreign policy decision making. This paper employs the method of structured and focused how leader’s personality and world order influence on foreign policy decision making comparing Sheikh Mujibur Rahman era and Sheikh Hasina era. It also

examines how nature of foreign policy decision making are different from cold war period to post cold war period. For examining how leader's personality influence on foreign policy decision making author uses 16 personality factor and Big five factor model. The structure of this paper is arranged by four sections- a) Setting the context with proper literature review, critical analysis, theoretical grounding of foreign policy and personality traits influence on decision making; b) The prevailing world order, personality traits and some selected foreign policy decisions of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (1972-1975); c) The prevailing world order, personality traits and some selected foreign policy decisions of Sheikh Hasina (1996-2001; 2008- till to date) and concluding remarks.

IV. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: PERSONALITY INFLUENCE AND WORLD ORDER IN FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING

Foreign policy is an extension version of domestic policy. In other words, objectives of domestic policy are to be pursued through foreign policy. Domestic and foreign policies are two sides of the same coin. Padelford, Lincoln and Olvy mentioned that, foreign policy is the overall result of the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into specific courses of action in order to achieve its objectives and preserve its interests.

According to Merriam Webster dictionary foreign policy indicates, the policy of a sovereign state in its interaction with other sovereign states. Otto von Bismarck explains "The extension of domestic policy is foreign policy." Foreign policy is constructed with two elements namely fixing national goals and the medium through which the goals will be fulfilled. Foreign policy decision making means how to handle crisis and how to make decision to maximize national interest. Various subject matters of foreign policy are key determinant of foreign policy decision making. If we analyze the subject matter of foreign policy from Bangladesh perspective it makes us clear that some more key determinants play a crucial role on foreign policy formulation of Bangladesh. Geo-strategic location of Bangladesh, great powers interest on this region and international politics influence on foreign policy decision making. As we know that, Bangladesh is located in South Asia. This region is war torn from 1947. Peace and stability is very little in this region. Bangladesh is influenced by two rising Asia's giants India and China. India is the hugging neighbor and China is also close to the Himalayas. Bangladesh stands as a bridge between South Asia and South East Asia. Foreign policy is based on certain ingredients such as, history, geography, religion, culture, natural resources, ideological environment, and quality of government, national leadership and diplomacy. Foreign policy of small states is a difficult process. It is more difficult in the contemporary world situation. Bangladesh belongs to the category of small states in terms of its size, population, natural resources, state economy and military capability. For instant Bangladesh behaves differently with

other state and organization towards security, prosperity, status and global environment. The two important area of Bangladesh Foreign Policy are security and development.

There are some more existing models that explain foreign policy decision making. Classical democratic model, power elite model, rational actor model, Bureaucratic model and institutional model are key foreign policy decision making models. By these models states government can influence on foreign policy decision making. Besides this foreign policy decision making model this paper relates big five personality factor model and 16 PF model. Big five personality factor model is explained to examine personality of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina. In the discipline of Psychology, Robert McCrae and Paul Costa, Psycho analyst, once observed that the personality is modeled through the OCEAN; the five-factor model of personality is openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness and emotionality. This model is applied to the participants is the OCC Ortony, Clore and Collins that defines several criteria representing the human emotional structure.¹ This paper follows "Big five personality traits" and provides how do human personality is a matter of great influence on all kinds of decision making. It also covers leader's personality influences on foreign policy decision making.

Some more limitations of big five personality model is also explained here, only by the means of OCEAN is not good enough to explain human personality that influence on foreign policy decision making. These descriptors are grouped together using a statistical technique called factor analysis. This widely examined theory suggests five broad dimensions used by some psychologists to describe the human personality and psyche. The five factors have been defined as openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism, often listed under the acronyms OCEAN or CANOE. Beneath each proposed global factor, a number of correlated and more specific primary factors are claimed. For example, extraversion is said to include such related qualities as gregariousness, assertiveness, excitement seeking, warmth, activity, and positive emotions.

Openness is to appreciation for art, emotion, adventure, unusual ideas, curiosity, and variety of experience. Openness reflects the degree of intellectual curiosity, creativity and a preference for novelty and variety a person has. It is also described as the extent to which a person is imaginative or independent, and depicts a personal preference for a variety of activities over a strict routine. High openness can be perceived as unpredictability or lack of focus. Moreover, individuals with high openness are said to pursue self-actualization specifically by seeking out intense, euphoric experiences, such as skydiving, living abroad, gambling. Conversely, those with low openness seek to gain fulfillment through perseverance,

¹ Duane P. Schultz and Sydney E. Schultz, "Theories of Personality," Edited by Michele Sordi (10 Davis drive: Wadsworth, USA, 2009),P.278

and are characterized as pragmatic and data-driven sometimes even perceived to be dogmatic and closed-minded. Some disagreement remains about how to interpret and contextualize the openness factor.

Conscientiousness a tendency to be organized and dependable, show self-discipline, act dutifully, aim for achievement, and prefer planned rather than spontaneous behavior. High conscientiousness is often perceived as stubborn and obsessive. Low conscientiousness is flexible and spontaneous. Extraversion is energy, positive emotions, surgency, assertiveness, sociability and the tendency to seek stimulation in the company of others, and talkativeness. High extraversion is often perceived as attention-seeking, and domineering. Low extraversion causes a reserved, reflective personality, which can be perceived as aloof or self-absorbed.

Neuroticism is the tendency to experience unpleasant emotions easily, such as anger, anxiety, depression, and vulnerability. Neuroticism also refers to the degree of emotional stability and impulse control and is sometimes referred to by its low pole "emotional stability". A high need for stability manifests as a stable and calm personality, but can be seen as uninspiring and unconcerned. A low need for stability causes a reactive and excitable personality, often very dynamic individuals, but they can be perceived as unstable or insecure.

To justify personality traits and world order we see that some more personality traits are key determinant; on the other hand sometimes personality in decision making may also be influenced by world order. Raymond Cattell, a famous Psychologist, developed several variations of the 16 PF Test. Scales have been prepared to measure specific aspects of personality—such as anxiety, depression, neuroticism, intelligence, emotional stability, dominant, sensitive, imaginative, shrewd, self-sufficient and controlled.²

Now question is that- what is the relevance of 16 PF model of this research? This model is used to calculate personality traits and scores. By these traits this paper compares between personality of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina on foreign policy decision making.

Author uses 16 personality factor model to examine personality of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina on decision making. It also examines personality traits score on decision making.

As author uses big five personality model and 16 PF model to examine leaders personality, here some more limitations of 16 personality traits that has linkage with the decision making of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina. Environment and genetics are key factor at personality development. Now question traces do genetics or environment influence on personality deployment? Allport and Cattell used to

investigate personality, a significant genetic component must be considered. They were first to suggest that inherited factors shape personality and rank in importance with environmental factors. They have also pursued this causal connection between genetic inheritance and personality.³ This paper compares with personalities between sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina, makes a conception whether is it genetic or not? Is there any linkage with heredity and environmental factor?

This paper uses "Big five factor" and "16 PF model" to examine leader personality. It also examines how do these types of personality behave and take decisions. Carlos Ramos, a world leading Psychologist, states that Emotion has proven effects on cognitive processes such as action selection, learning, memory, motivation and planning.⁴ Agreeing with this intelligence this paper covers how emotionality and rationality influence on foreign policy formulation from antagonistic aspect. It also focuses on how rational behavior is more privileged rather than leader's emotion. This paper examines it by comparing personality of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina on foreign policy decisions making.

Jose Bulas, another scholar of Human Psychology, emphasis much on human interaction and decision making. He notes that "The interaction layer is responsible for the communication with other agents and by the interface with the user of the group decision making system. All the messages received will be sorted, decoded and sent to the right layer based on their internal data"⁵. Dignifying this scholarly writing, this paper examines here that interaction layer is interacting with only either Ministry of Foreign Affairs or Prime Minister's office. Besides this domestic agent it makes clear that how interaction with international agents also key factor at foreign policy decision making.

Margaret G. Hermann raised question that Do the personal characteristics of political leaders affect their governments' foreign policy behavior? On this question he tries to convince that "aggressive leaders are high in need for power, low in conceptual complexity, distrustful of others, nationalistic, and likely to believe that they have some control over the events in which they are involved."⁶ This paper critically analyzes to the personality of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina on foreign policy decisions making over time and how do state's interests are maximized.

He adds that Conciliatory leaders are high in need for affiliation, high in conceptual complexity, trusting of others, low in nationalism, and likely to exhibit little belief in their

³ Duane P. Schultz and Sydney E. Schultz, "Theories of Personality," edited by Michele Sordi (10 Davis drive: Wadsworth, USA, 2009), P.327

⁴ C. Ramons and R. Santos, "Using Personality types to support argumentation," (Berlin Heidelberg, 20010), P.404

⁵ Ibid, Pp. 203-205

⁶ Margaret G. Harmann, *Political Psychology, The Oxford Handbook of Political Leadership*, edited by R. A. W. Rhodes and Paul 't Hart, (Oxford, 2013), p. 36

² Ricardo Santos and José Bulas-Cruz, "Using Personality types to support argumentation," (Berlin Heidelberg, 20010), Pp. 292-304

own ability to control the events in which they are involved. He also identifies four types of personal characteristics, those are beliefs, motives, decision style, and interpersonal style. This paper links up these types of personal characteristics with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina on foreign policy decisions making.

Fred Greenstein makes a framework of six qualities that relate to presidential job performance includes emotional intelligence, cognitive style, organizational capacity, public communication, vision, and political skill.⁷ This paper uses this framework to make a linkage between domestic field and international arena on policy making process. It also shows how Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's intelligence and vision was matter of blessing to new born Bangladesh at cold world period.

Robert Cox, a world famous scholar, critically analyzed the conception of world order. He described World Order "mean a system of structures sustained by various rules and norms regulating international economic and political cooperation and transactions. Structure is a concept used to describe the pattern of thoughts and actions which constitute the framework within which people, states, companies, civil society organizations and multilateral institutions are acting." A World Order and its structures are shaped according to the values and belief systems of the dominant powers as well as of the short-term and long-term security interests of the dominant actors.⁸ Taking some more inner core idea this paper makes a critical perception on foreign policy formulation. It focuses much on new born Bangladesh at cold war period, former world politics and charismatic leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on foreign policy decision making. Author tries to convince here how world order influences on foreign policy decision making process.

Samir Amin, a Marxian Economist, writes on end of Colonialism and societal formation of newly independent countries. He once observed the peripheral social formations have four major characteristics. These are- the predominance of agrarian capitalism in the national sector; the advent of a local bourgeoisie in the wake of dominant foreign capital; a trend of peculiar bureaucratic development; and the incomplete pattern of proletarianization.⁹ This paper examines how newly born Bangladesh faced some more difficulties on foreign policy decision making. Sheikh Mujib observed the competition between Capitalist bloc and Socialist bloc on cold war period. He was at a dilemma whether he would go under Soviet -India bloc that supported to the liberation of Bangladesh or the United States and West bloc. This paper

makes clear that how external factors and world order were key determinant of foreign policy decision.

Andreas Wenger writes on end of cold war and world transaction from bipolarity to unipolarity. He adds that the early 1990s that growing international economic interdependence would provide the basis for a peaceful world order have not come to fruition. Instead, international Politics it has become highly complex and is marked by continuous change and a pervading sense of insecurity.¹⁰ This paper connects this with world transactions and countries' foreign policy shifting. States are not making alliances only on the basis of ideology; states interest and rationality are the determinants of alliance building. This research shows here how present interest based world order influence on Sheikh Hasina's foreign policy.

After cold war period, 9/11 is an example of fourth wave terrorism what is red signal to world peace loving people. US declared War on Terror, another key influencer on foreign policy decision making. Doron Zimmerman raised question, which was the event of September 11 indeed the ultimate expression of fundamental change in the international system? In light of the cultural origins and religio-political motives of the suspected culprits, did the tragedies consequently act as a harbinger of a return to the "clash of civilizations," enunciated by the political scientist Samuel P. Huntington in 1993, with its concomitant religious and ethnic determinants? Or were the attacks not so much connected to the resurgence of old civilizational fault lines and their underlying antagonisms in the absence of bipolar ideological conflict but rather the consequence of a palpable U.S. unilateralism and, by extension, Western military and political preponderance in the decade after the Cold War¹¹. This paper examines here how post 9/11 world order influence on Sheikh Hasina's (2008-on going) foreign policy.

Foreign policy is not created without parties or actors. It is created by a country's strengths and weaknesses. States' size, geographical location, ideology and resources influence on the directions of foreign policy decision making. Principles of foreign policy and key aim are also more relevant for foreign policy formulation of a country. Now we have to look over principles of Foreign policy of Bangladesh. As Bangladesh is a member of various international key organizations such as the UN, the NAM, WB, IMF, TI, AI so the principles of Bangladesh foreign policy cannot be controversial with the principles of these organizations. There are four basic principles of Bangladesh foreign policy. These are Friendship to all and malice towards none, respect to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of other states, non interval in the domestic matter of any state and World peace.

⁷ Fred I. Greenstein, "The Presidential Difference: Leadership Style, (Princeton University Press, Third Edition, 2009), P.235

⁸ John S. Moolakkattu, International Studies, *Robert Cox and Critical Theory of International Relations*, (SAGE Publication, 2011), p-167

⁹ Samir Amin, *The Political Economy of the Twentieth Century*, 2000, Volume 52,

¹⁰ Andreas Wenger and Doron Zimmerman, "International Relations: From the Cold War to the Globalized World" (Oxford University Press, 2014), P.142

¹¹ Andreas Wenger and Doron Zimmerman, "International Relations: From the Cold War to the Globalized World" (Oxford University Press, 2014), P. 145

These key principles are not changed by governmental changing, but if we critically examine aims of Bangladesh foreign policy we come to know that those are much volatile with regime change. Let's see the aims of Bangladesh foreign policy-To promote national interest, to ensure national security, to ensure development, to increase national dignity and to keep her Ideology alive. These are the key matters of Bangladesh foreign policy analysis. We see basically two types of ideological grounding at Bangladesh politics between Awami league and BNP -Jamaat alliance, first one is committed to Secular identity another one committed to revival of Islamic and ethnic identity in Bangladeshi politics. All of the analysis, it convinces that the aims of foreign policy of Bangladesh are changed by regime changing with an ideological contradiction between Awami league and BNP-Jamaat alliance. This research compare between Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina era based on foreign policy decision making.

Walter Russell Mead argues at his "The Return of Geopolitics" that The United States and the EU, at least, find such trends disturbing. Both would rather move past geopolitical questions of territory and military power and focus instead on ones of world order and global governance: trade liberalization, nuclear nonproliferation, human rights, the rule of law, climate change, and so on. Indeed, since the end of the Cold War, the most important objective of the U.S. and EU foreign policy has been to shift international relations away from zero-sum issues toward win-win ones.¹² Here we see integrated bargain behavior of the USA and EU countries. Its cover geo politics and international relations. Besides this Sarath Kumara states that Bangladesh has become the focus for increasing geo-political rivalry between China, India and Japan—the latter two backed by the US. Over the past two months, Chinese investment bids in Bangladesh reportedly have been outflanked by Indian and Japanese corporations over port and power plant projects.¹³ By examining the following statement, this paper shows increasing geopolitical interest of Bangladesh and how Bangladesh is going toward pro active foreign policy. Present world order and geopolitical revival brings some more opportunities to the foreign policy of Bangladesh that gives options and Bangladesh can choose.

The author also conducted an interview on leader's personality traits such as emotionality, aggressiveness, rational decision, imaginative quality are gained by heredity and environment that influence on decision making process. Two types of data are of particular interest here (a) From Psychological aspect- leader's personality and foreign policy decision making and (b) world order's influence on foreign policy decision making. The timeline covered in this paper

includes the initiatives introduced in the years between august 2016 and December 2016. This timeline enables us to look at three major parts of Psychology and International Relations, those are (a) Human Psychology to a leader's personalities; b) analyzing world order that means present world system or world structure that trace cold war period and post cold war period; c) Foreign policy decision making from Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to Sheikh Hasina era. This research covered with the post-9/11 world; that is shaking news for all over the world and how do world order influence on foreign policy decision making in Bangladesh.

From theoretical aspect on foreign policy decision making and world orders influence we see that states are the key actors at international system. Foreign policy is determined by domestic policies and international environment. States pursue to its own interest to survive in this competitive arena. As Bangladesh is smaller power, its foreign policy is much influenced by external environment. Geo-strategic location of Bangladesh and world powers key interest at Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean is creating a strategic significant image of Bangladesh. So Bangladesh is in dilemma because all world powers showing interest on Bangladesh. As I want to examine how do leader's personality and world order influence on foreign policy formulation by comparing Sheikh Mujibur Rahman era and Sheikh Hasina era, it must have to link with a theoretical grounding that influenced on foreign policy decision making in Bangladesh.

Realism is the overall theoretical ground that can highly relate with world order and foreign policy decision making. Kenneth Waltz states that international structure defines states behavior whether it will be defensive or offensive.¹⁴ Analyzing cold war to post 9/11 foreign policy of Bangladesh, it shows world order and rational decision are the key determinant of foreign policy formulation. New born Bangladesh and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's first action was politics of recognition.¹⁵ Sheikh Mujib negotiated with countries those were against liberation war of Bangladesh only for getting recognition and making Bangladesh more stable. Economic aid was also necessary for a war thorn country. As world power and international organization was key aid provider, former world order influenced Bangladesh to maintain good relations with all countries of the world.

Present world order plays a key role on foreign policy decision making in Bangladesh. As America diverted its intention from Pacific and Atlantic to Indian Ocean for strategic interest it is showing much interest on Bangladesh. China, a major player at this region, intended to make a warm relation with Bangladesh. India, an influential actor at South Asia, has a historical relation with Bangladesh. As Bangladesh is India locked and most of the unsettled issues with India, Bangladesh has to follow flexible policies with

¹² Walter Russell Mead, *Order and Change in Global Politics: Assessing the "Return of Geopolitics"*, (Roberto Orsi, November, 2014), P. 67

¹³ Sarath Kumara, "Indian power deal with Bangladesh highlights geo-political rivalry," (Published by the International Committee of the Fourth International, 5 March 2016), P.12

¹⁴ Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Relations*, (McGraw-Hill, 1979), P. 139

¹⁵ Imtiaz Ahmad, "Politics of Recognition," Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, 2005, P.12

India. India's key interest on Bangladesh at many aspects those are insurgency issues, transit, safe border, and strategic deterrence to China. Russia and Japan also want to make a good relation with Bangladesh for their own interest. Analyzing world powers interest in Bangladesh, this paper shows that present world order is influencing much on foreign policy formulation of Bangladesh. How world powers are influencing on foreign policy decision making in Bangladesh is given below with a diagram-

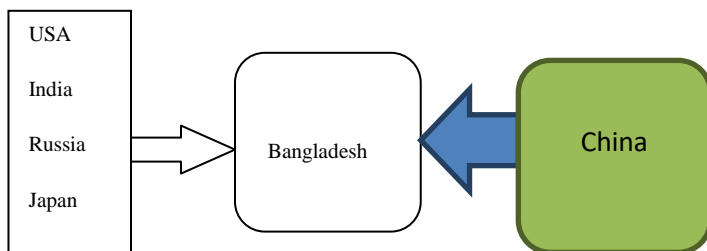


Figure-1: World powers' interest and influence on Bangladesh

Source: Author's construct

The above mentioned figure shows that The United States of America, India, Russia and Japan are deterring China from their own strategic point of view. The USA deters to China because of world completion and hegemony. India counters against China because of regional rivalries. Bangladesh sees its national interest so its policy makes balance with all powers.

Allison, Graham & Phillip states that- 3 lenses of Foreign policies those are rational actor, Organizational behavior and governmental politics.¹⁶ What is rationality is depends on state interest and world order. At present world, states make alliances on interest rather than ideologies. Governmental politics at foreign policy decision making is based on rationality rather than ideology and emotionality. Phil Scraton argues that Soft power and hard power states follow arrogant foreign policy, either hard power or soft power states follow flexible policy.¹⁷ As Bangladesh is smaller power it must follows flexible policies.

Wilkinson describes that Foreign Policy should base on Globalization and state interest that beneficiary to all what is good for one sate is good for others.¹⁸ This statement really depends on states moral negotiation strategy. Great powers deal distributive bargaining with great powers or established powers on the other hand it may also make an integrative bargaining with smaller states. It is up to states inherent interest and warm relations.

¹⁶ Allison, Graham and Philip, "The new international relations; theory and Practice," edited by Marie Claude Smouts,(Hurst and Company, London, 2001), P.79

¹⁷Phil Scraton , "Power, Conflict and Criminalization," (Routledge Taylor and Francis group, London and New York , 2007), P. 134

¹⁸ Paul Wilkinson, "Identity and foreign policy,"(Cornell University press, London, 2002), p. 56

Scholars of International Relations have debated the sources of state foreign policy behavior, but have yet to reach a consensus on the issue. Some scholars argue that domestic factors determine a state's international behavior; they are known as the *Innenpolitik* school of thought. A second group—the *Aussenpolitik* school—holds that the external environment is the key determinant of a state's foreign policy behavior.¹⁹ Scholars of the *Innenpolitik* school of thought argue that a state's foreign policy is determined by the forces and pressures of domestic politics. Although opinions vary among the scholars within this school on the relative importance of various domestic variables, such as political and economic ideology, national character, partisan politics, socio-economic condition, state institutions, the existence and strength of interest groups, bureaucratic politics, the configurations and preferences of domestic actors, they all share the common assumption that a country's foreign policy is primarily driven by internal political factors. The roots of foreign policy of a state must be located in the social, economic and political structures of states and their configurations and dynamics.²⁰ The *Aussenpolitik* School argues that the primacy of foreign policy in states is influenced by international behavior.

So this paper relates to neo-classical realism and foreign policy of Bangladesh by comparing Sheikh Mujibur Rahman era and Sheikh Hasina era that shows how internal and external environment influence on foreign policy decision making.

As this paper explores how leader's personality and world order influence on foreign policy decision making author uses "Big five Personality model" and "16 Personality Factor model" to analyze the personality of Sheik Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina. Those models help to understand how human personality plays a key role on foreign policy decision making. It also shows how emotionality influences on decision making, how rationality and state interest overthrow leaders emotion. It is also notable that a leader sometimes becomes a model. If we critically examine the personality of Sheikh Hasian we see that she accepted her father as a model at politics and other fields. Heredity plays a little role on personality making. Environment and Modeling are key determinant of personality factor and Sheikh Hasina does so. At this paper, realism and personality factors model are driving force to explore how leader's personality and world order influence on foreign policy decision making.

Question is-why does this paper compares between Sheikh Mujibur Rahman era and Sheikh Hasina era? Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is the founder of independent Bangladesh and pioneer of foreign policy of Bangladesh. He represented the

¹⁹ *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, Edited by Steven E. Lobell , Norrin M. Ripsman, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro,(Cambridge University Press.2010) P. 77

²⁰*Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, Edited by Steven E. Lobell , Norrin M. Ripsman, Jeffrey W. Taliaferro,(Cambridge University Press.2010) .p 140

Awami League, a leading party of independent Bangladesh. This paper compares both two leaders era and examines how world order influence on foreign policy decision making. Author shows legacy of Awami League and Sheikh Hasina's decision making strategy with changing world order. As Sheikh Hasina, daughter of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, this paper shows how she gets her father as a model of personality traits.

The key discussion of this paper is- whether personality were more influential in taking those decision or world order or both played equally important role. The later chapter finds the answer of this question.

V. THE PREVAILING WORLD ORDER, PERSONALITY TRAITS AND SOME SELECTED FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS OF SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN (1972-1975)

This paper compares Sheikh Mujibur Rahman era and Sheikh Hasina era, using personality traits of two leaders. It also examines how bipolar world order at Sheikh Mujibur Rahman era and multi polar world order at Sheikh Hasina era influence on foreign policy decision making. Besides, world order influences on foreign policy decision making this paper shows leader's personality also influence on foreign policy decision making.

Key argument of this research is that how do leaders' personality and world order influence on foreign policy decision making by drawing a comparison between Sheikh Mujibur Rahman era and Sheikh Hasina era. Now question is that what is world order and how do it influence on foreign policy. World Order means a system of structures sustained by various rules and norms regulating international economic and political cooperation and transactions. Structure is a concept used to describe the pattern of thoughts and actions which constitute the framework within which people, states, companies, civil society organizations and multilateral institutions are acting. A World Order and its structures are shaped according to the values and belief systems of the dominant powers as well as of the short-term and long-term security interests of the dominant actors.²¹

The modern structural frame of the world order and its international relations have until now been based upon the Westphalian nation-state building project. As this paper examines Sheikh Mujib era 1972-1975, it is cold war period. What was happened on this time? Between 1947 and 1991, the world witnessed a struggle between two fundamentally opposed value and social systems: socialist communism and liberal democracy. The two protagonists of this struggle, which in time would engulf the entire globe, were the Soviet Union and the United States. We see that the Sheikh Mujib was influenced by Communist bloc to make states principle. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman guided Bangladesh foreign policy by

Bangladesh constitution mentioned that, Principle of liberation war such as Nationalism, Socialism, Secularism and democracy, these were main state policies.²² From this above mentioned principles of Bangladesh we see that the communist bloc influenced the foreign policy of Bangladesh.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's socialist domestic policy and international alignment with the Soviet Union made seriously disappointed the US policy makers and also Mujib's anti - American policy and support towards Vietnam War and trade with Cuba hindered the Bangladesh-USA relations. At that time Bangladesh-Soviet Union relation was good because Soviet Union recognized Bangladesh as an independent state where Mujib's Socialist policy was similar to USSR. But that time China did not recognize Bangladesh where there was not any diplomatic relation with China and China vetoed the admission of Bangladesh into the UNO in 1974. Muslim world did not recognize Bangladesh as a state because of his secularism and socialism in the state constitution as a basic state principle but later it recognized Bangladesh by considering of Muslim majority in the world. Bangladesh wanted its ideological goals to be reflected in its foreign policy through adopting the policy of non-alignment and establishing warm relations with the Islamic world.²³ This paper covers 3 events- those are given below

A. Bangladesh - Cuba relations: The US influence:

As a new born Bangladesh acknowledged to Indo- Soviet bloc because of assisting at the liberation war, it had an ideological relations with Socialist countries. The bipolar world influenced on foreign policy decision making. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was at a dilemma. How world order influence on foreign policy decision making is given with a single example. The USA threatened to stop PL- 480 because Bangladesh made trade relation with Cuba. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman faced a critical situation on decision making. This decision shows rationality of leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Examining this rational choice this paper links rationality and emotionality of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. If we deeply go through Sheikh Mujib's autobiography "Unfinished Memoir" we can realize that he was emotional from his childhood. That's why he declared in his 7th March speech—"Ami Pradhan Montrytta Chai na, Ami aadesh-er manusher Mukti chai". No other leader but the charismatic leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had consistently championed Bengalese right for self-determination. He was the fearless fighter of the Language Movement of 1952; the pioneer of the democratic movement of 1962; the architect of the Six-point Movement of 1966; the life force of the Mass Movement of 1969; the enviable victor of the election of 1970 and, above all, the greatest hero of the Liberation War of 1971. He is

²² Rounaq Jahan, "Bangladesh Foreign Policy Frameworks toward Security, Prosperity, Status, and the Environment" (San Francisco state University, 2006,) P.95

²³ Sazzad H. Siddiqui, "The changing pattern of Bangladesh foreign policy in different political regimes," Institute of Peace and conflict studies, 2011, P. 36

²¹ John S. Moolakkattu, *International Studies, Robert Cox and Critical Theory of International Relations*, (SAGE Publication, 2011), p-158

undisputedly the founder of independent Bangladesh and, therefore, the Father of the Nation. As anger, aggressiveness and happiness also part of emotionality, this research proves Sheikh Mujib was an emotional leader. How rationality of Leader Sheikh Mujib played an important role to the foreign policy formulation of Bangladesh is a matter of discussion. Isaac Goldberg states that Sheikh Mujib tried to maintain close relation with those countries who helped Bangladesh in the time of war. He made a good relation with USSR and India. He was very grateful to India. This was emotional Sheikh Mujib but for the time being Mujib rationally formulated foreign relations of Bangladesh. He maintained good relations with world powers. It was a rational decision for the recognition of new born Bangladesh. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman declared Bangladesh's commitment to the promotion of Islamic solidarity and cooperation. He emphasized the need for united efforts of the Muslim countries to ensure welfare of the people and establish peace in the world. This was rational Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, main intention was achieving recognition and balancing good relations with all countries of the world. Most of Mujib's official visit was to Middle Eastern countries so that Bangladesh can get aid and loan from those Muslim countries. He maintained a good relations with the USA and China those played an anti role at the liberation war of Bangladesh, forgetting all hostilities. All of this decision was rational and most crucial for new Bangladesh. Here we notice emotional and rational leader Sheikh Mujib. Those two qualities were important for Bangladesh. Emotionality was important for the independence of Bangladesh and rationality was important for new born Bangladesh. Rationality played an important role to the foreign policy formulation. If these personalities along with emotionality and rationality of Sheikh Mujib with 16 PF model I see it is a high scored personality of a leader. At last, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman curtailed trade relations with Cuba. By this example we see that how world order influences on foreign policy formulation. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman understood that Bangladesh needs balanced relations with all countries of the world. It provided a balanced account that reflects the shift away from the classical bipolar perspective of the Cold War. We incorporate the view from the Soviet side of the Cold War, as well as events in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East. This paper examines innovative situation with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's decision making process at where he faced high threat- extended time-surprise. Rivalry of bipolar world order influenced Bangladesh to stay at equal distance from two super powers. As a member of the Non-Aligned Movement, Bangladesh has tended not to take sides with major powers. Since the end of the Cold War, the country has pursued better relations with regional neighbors. Inspired by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's vision for a Switzerland of the East, the Bangladesh government has begun to translate the ideal into a foreign policy that pursues regional economic integration in South Asia and aims to establish Bangladesh as a regional hub of transit trade in Asia.

From this event we see that in some cases world order becomes much influential rather than leader's personality. Sometimes both leader's personality and world order influence on foreign policy decision making.

B. Participation in the OIC Summit:-

This paper examines Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's participation in the OIC summit, his personality and former world order. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's politics was to make a good relation with Middle Eastern countries for politics of recognition and getting foreign aid. Bipolar world order and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's foreign policy closely relevant rationality that can be examined by above mentioned world politics and leader's decision making policy. Analyzing the above study, it shows that at Sheikh Mujibur Rahman era in newly born Bangladesh faced a serious influence on foreign policy formulation. Sheikh Mujib took rational decision at Bangladesh foreign policy. Had there any linkage with personality traits of the father of the nations? His attend to Lahore made a historic event for world politics. It was only possible because of his charismatic leadership and charming personalities. This paper shows a linkage between personality traits of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and attending at OIC summit. 16 PF Test profile is for a hypothetical airline pilot. This paper examines how Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's personalities influenced on foreign policy decision making by this model.

Examining Sheikh Mujib's personality testing this paper sees, it scores high and low points of the plot of test, test proves that this person is emotionally stable, conscientious, adventurous, tough-minded, practical, self-assured, controlled, and relaxed. The pilot is not tense, apprehensive, or timid.

As this paper examines whether world order or leader's personalities influence on foreign policy decision making. Bangabandhu's participation in the OIC summit shows- world order's much influence on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's era.

C. Sending back Indian soldiers:-

The boldness of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's personality was conscientious and expediency. Only by the means of strong personality he took some more courageous initiatives in newly born Bangladesh such as- Returning of refugees and ensuring shelter for them, reconstruction of devastated economy; collecting weapons from freedom fighters which are used in war, send back Indian soldiers to their own country. He is the only leader at world history that could send back the foreign soldiers. He analyzed the critical situation of new born Bangladesh. Availability of weapons might create any kinds of occurrence on this time. Indian soldiers could do any unexpected events. That's why this paper convinces expediency of Bangabandhu influenced on foreign policy decision making. How Sheikh Mujibur Rahman convinced Indira Gandhi to send back Indian soldiers is also a matter of great analysis. This was possible because of his boldness. Bangabandhu's imaginative personalities impressed most of

the leader's of the world. From his childhood he was bold, fearless and imaginative. Before many years of liberation war of Bangladesh he imagined an independent and sovereign Bangladesh. Pak Military restricted declaration of independence at 7th March, 1971 but Sheikh Mujib indirectly declared Independence of Bangladesh. He imagined that he would send to prison but he systematically arranged the people of Bengal to fight against Pakistan. He created the divine courage of victory to Bengali people. Only great and imaginative leader can take this decision. Some more examples are very relevant with this great leader such as- after independent Sheikh Mujibur Rahman returned from Pakistan jail. First of all he emphasized on the reconstruction of the country as well as achieving international recognition as an independent state. During the Liberation War, India and Eastern blocks countries supported Bangladesh. As this paper examines a fearless Mujib an example is mentioned here- History tells us that, Sheikh Mujib never fled, hid, or surrendered to anybody in his entire life. Sheikh Mujib was a lion-hearted Bangle who never knew how to hide himself from anybody; he never got out of his home through the back door, not even at the crucial moment when assassins armed with Stan-guns entered at August 1975. This black night not only killed him but his entire family members who were with him on that fateful night. This shows a fearless leader. Political skill is the president's ability to maneuver through the various institutional and political constraints of the office, and to garner support for his policies from the public, international community and even his inner decision-making circle. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's fearless personality impressed all other leaders at cold war period that influenced on foreign policy decision making. At this cases feature some similarities that have significant differences, as it ranges from the early outset of the Cold War to all the way to the post-9/11 anti-terrorism world. Those are Cognitive style, Public Communication, Vision, Political skill. Vision and cognitive public communication of Sheikh Mujibur Rahmnan influenced on foreign policy decision making.

This research examines Sheikh Mujib's fearless and imaginative decision by using Big Five personality factor model. The above mentioned personality of the father of the nation sheikh Mujibur Rahman we see that his openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness and neuroticism are closely relevant with this model that shows how leader's personality is also a key factor at foreign policy decision making.

Key argument of these context shows- Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's personality traits were much influential rather than world order on sending back Indian soldiers. At the above cases this research concludes-both leader's personality and world order are key factor on foreign policy decision making. In some cases leader's personality becomes much influential rather than world order, in some more aspects world order becomes more influential on foreign policy decision making.

At sometimes both leaders' personality and world order influence on foreign policy decision making simultaneously.

VI. THE PREAVILING WORLD ORDER, PERSONALITY TRAITS AND SOME SELLECTED FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS OF SHEIKH HASINA (1996-2001; 2008-TILL TO DATE)

Sheikh Hasina's personality and foreign policy decision making model can be divided into two sections. Leader's personality model and foreign policy decision making model. Foreign policy decision making has a linkage with party based ideology. Leader's personality is also influential on foreign policy decision making. This research examines how Sheikh Hasina's personality influences on foreign policy decision making by 16 PF Model and Big Five model. As this research compares personality of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina, it uses the same tool to examine leader's personality.

A. *Multipolar world order:*

At cold war period it is visualized that most of the alliance was based on ideology. That means states alliance and relations were on the basis of ideological connection. But for the time being states are making alliance on the basis of economic and other interest. At once time the USA has good relations with Pakistan, but latter we see the USA maintains a warm relation with India. India China had rivalry but for the economic interest they are now working at same economic forum BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). At cold war period the world was bipolar world, after collapse of Soviet Union world shows unipolar world. As a multi polar world now, here interest based alliance is key factor. As we analyze Sheikh Hasina's foreign policy we see that it is interest based and based on some more external influence. This paper relates with power elite model that is linked here on state and regime based interest. At present we observe that Bangladesh makes a deal with India on Rampal Power plant, Ruppur nuclear power deal with Russia, TICFA treaty with the USA. This all prove that Bangladesh maintains a strategic relations with major powers. Multi polar world system and states own interest is influencing foreign policy formulation of a country. Major Powers influence on foreign policy formulation.

Some US writers hold the view that the power of the US has peaked and with the rise of Europe and Asia it becomes clear that America's unipolar moment is not long for this world. While the US is clearly too strong to stay on the sidelines of world affairs, it is too weak to implement an agenda without wide international support. That is why the US had to negotiate with North Korea and seems to be powerless to stop Iran's nuclear programme. Scholars argue that the world order is in transition because there is no power at the moment including the US that can force an issue to its wishes and satisfaction. An awkward truth is that the world is neither dominated by a unipolar power nor multipolar powers. Currently we live in a non-polar world and the balance of

power is going through an evolution period.²⁴ So this paper shows world powers influence on foreign policy decision making.

This paper covers Geopolitical significance of Bangladesh and its foreign policy decision making. It was assumed that end of cold war means end of geo-politics. At recent time the concept has changed - as geopolitical rivalries have stormed back to center stage. Whether Russian forces seize Crimea, China making aggressive claims in its coastal waters, Japan responding with an increasingly assertive strategy of its own, or Iran is trying to use its alliances with Syria and Hezbollah to dominate the Middle East, old-fashioned power plays are back in international relations.²⁵ Bangladesh and its geopolitical location attract world powers concern. To examine how Bangladesh is a strategic pivot of Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean is given below -

Map-1: Location of Bangladesh and geo-strategically pivot



Source: World map

As a result of geo-political location, all major powers of the world attract to Bangladesh for their own national interest. The USA, NATO countries, Russia, India, China and Japan are key actors here. The USA and EU countries are focusing much on Indian Ocean rather than Pacific and Atlantic. Major interest is that countering China and India. As India is key actor at South Asia she wants total domination over Indian Ocean. Indian major interest is deterring China; the US major interest also deterring China, Russia is playing anti-Chinese role from regional perspective. Japan is also anti-Chinese. As this research shows how world order influence on foreign policy formulation it can connect here with an example of Bangladesh Chinese deals on Sonadia deep sea port. Bangladesh made a deal with China to construct a Sonadia deep sea port. It becomes shock to India because India is key player of this region. Besides, this deal violates Indian interest. All mentioned power influence Bangladesh to curtail this deal with China. Bangladesh's planning minister, A.H.M. Mustafa Kamal, however, admitted that the port deal would

not proceed because "some countries, including India and the United States, are against the Chinese involvement."²⁶ At last Bangladesh postponed this deal. This single example shows how interest based present world order influence on foreign policy formulation of Bangladesh.

At cold war period Bangladesh had a little bargaining power so its negotiation behavior was more integrative. As Bangladesh was a smaller power at International arena bipolar world influenced much on foreign policy formulation at Sheikh Mujibur Rahman era. He had no other options but accepting this. It was urgent for the new born Bangladesh. As a result of geographical location and world powers major concern on this region, Bangladesh is no more bottomless basket. That's why Bangladesh is following a well-established distributive negotiation behavior. It shows stability and rationality of Sheikh Hasina. If we link between Sheikh Hasina's personality traits and personality model (16 PF and Big Five model) we can notice it scores high stability and rationality. Rationality and stable personality traits influence on foreign policy decision making.

B. Post 9/11 and Pax Americana's Influence on foreign policy:-

Bangladesh was originally founded on secular-socialist principles and firmly grounded in an ethnic Bengali nationalism as opposed to a Muslim religious identity. Some have attributed the rise of Islamist influence in Bangladesh to the failure of Bangladeshi political elites to effectively govern. This has been described as a crisis of hegemony of the rulers who have failed to provide moral leadership or effectively represent the interests of the masses. Many believe this has created political space for the Islamists to gain influence. After 9/11 we see that Bangladesh takes anti-terrorist foreign policies. As Bangladesh's moderate Muslim voice and developing democracy Washington concerns much on Bangladesh. American interests with Bangladesh include promoting development, trade, and energy; democracy support; countering militant Islamists; and working together in peace operations. Bangladesh is also of interest to the United States for the role it plays in the larger geopolitical dynamics of South Asia.

Due to the moderate form of Islamic belief that is prevalent in Bangladesh, the country is valued for its strong secular and democratic heritage and is a key state in Asia where the United States can try to engage the Muslim world in its struggle against militant Islamists.²⁷ Bangladesh and the United States have a common interest in working to counter extremist Islamists and their ideology. Bangladesh is a very active participant in international peace operations. At the beginning of 2010 it was the second-largest contributor of

²⁴ Harun Ur Rashid, *Bangladesh Foreign Policy: Realities, Priorities and Challenges*, (Academic Press and Publishers Library, 2005), P. 43

²⁵ Walter R. Mead, "Order and Change in Global Politics: Assessing the "Return of Geopolitics", *e-International Relations*, (2014), P.15

²⁶ Sarath Kumara, "Indian power deal with Bangladesh highlights geopolitical rivalry," *WSWS*, Published by the International Committee of the Fourth International, 2016, p.24

²⁷ Bruce Vaughn, "Bangladesh: Political and Strategic Developments and U.S. Interests," (DIANE Publishing, 2011), P.18

military and police contingents to United Nations Peace Operations with 10,427 personnel involved in such operations.²⁸ This analysis shows that post 9/11 world order influence on foreign policy decision making in Bangladesh.

C. *Sheikh Hasina's volatile foreign policy:-*

Understand Sheikh Hasina's foreign policy shifting it is noticed how she bears the legacy of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Bangladesh Awami league. Tracing brief history it is known that Assassination of Father of the nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his family member was a black history of Bangladesh. It made Sheikh Hasina dismay. Sheikh Hasina was banned to return in Bangladesh before 1981. After returning in Bangladesh at 17 May 1981 she reorganized Awami league and intended to hold on power. Sheikh Hasina led Awami league became winning party at 1996, 2008 and 2014 election.

This paper covers Sheikh Hasina's foreign policy over time. Institutions and public opinions are the best suit for a democratic and welfare states. Most of the welfare and matured democratic states followed public opinions, civil societies' role and institutional mechanism. When Sheikh Hasina first time came to power at 1996, her foreign policy decision making was more suited with public opinion based. At first time Sheikh Hasina's power we see that interactions between public, parties and interest groups. Institutions and officials make policy on the basis of dealing with external environment and its influence on domestic settings.

This paper covers how Sheikh Hasina's foreign policy is shifting towards some more characteristics such as –a) some elite class people formulate the foreign policy; b) National interest and regime interest are focused much; c) civilian government, the corporate world and elite class are interlinked, d) opposition party has a little role on foreign policy decision making; e) People's opinions are neglected; f) information and intelligence may be manipulated.²⁹

Now question is that why this shifting toward public based interest maximization to regime based interest maximization? Has there any linkage with personality traits? Some more personality traits of Sheikh Hasina that influence on foreign policy decision making. From theories of personality we can get two types of emotionality one is positive emotion and other is negative emotion. Negative personality traits were created at Sheikh Hasina by assassination of father of the nation. It influences much of Sheikh Hasina's psychological trait. Winning at second time election, her government prosecuted Bangabandhu murder case against criminals and sentenced criminals. Some more countries of the world and human rights organization criticized on this trials but Sheikh Hasina was stable on her decision. Pakistan and Middle

Eastern bloc maintained a cold relation with Bangladesh. This relation influences on foreign policy decision making of Bangladesh.

Besides assassination of father of the nation, Sheikh Hasina is very committed at War Crimes issues. As Awami League bears the legacy of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman it emphasize on War Crime Trials that passed a resolution to initiate prosecutions of war crimes committing crimes like genocide, mass destruction, and rape at 1971 in Bangladesh war of secession and independence. It helps the Awami League to further consolidate its political advantage, as it was largely members of the Islamist parties, who have previously been in coalition with the BNP, that were involved in the atrocities. An estimated 3 million people were killed during the 1971 war that was fought between independence forces in the East Pakistan, with assistance from India. After Independence it was claimed to prosecute war criminals. After the assassination of Mujib it was a silent issue at military led government. After long time of Independence, Sheikh Hasina government executes and sentenced criminal. BNP and Jamaat alliance protested against it. Some more countries and organization like Pakistan, Turkey and Human rights organizations protested against this execution. They claimed this ICT trial is biased and politically motivated. Sheikh Hasina was stable on her decision. It shows strong personality of Sheikh Hasina.

As we are examining personality traits of Sheikh Hasina on foreign policy decision making we see that India is a key factor. After becoming prime minister for the second time in January 2009, Sheikh Hasina radically overhauled Bangladesh's foreign policy approach toward India and brought Dhaka much closer to New Delhi. Why did Sheikh Hasina adopt an India-positive foreign policy orientation? Bangladesh-India relations and provides an in-depth analysis of the sources of Sheikh Hasina's India-positive foreign policy approach.³⁰ As Bangladesh's closest neighbor, India has been a dominant factor in the country's foreign policy as well as in domestic politics ever since Bangladesh emerged as an independent state in 1971. The Awami League (AL) governments (1971-1975, 1996-2001, and 2009- to date) have viewed India positively and pursued a positive foreign policy approach toward that country, while the non-AL government's military regimes or nationalist are anti Indian sentimental, the country's biggest neighbor primarily as a source of insecurity. Prime Minister Narendra Modi led government in India and the Sheikh Hasina regime in Bangladesh made it clear in 2014 that both the countries consolidated their bilateral relationship only to be cemented further. It is an excellent beginning in addressing each others' concerns and work together with the spirit of good neighborliness. Modi lauded the Bangladesh government's fight against terrorism as he said 'Bangladesh is a model for

²⁸ Bruce Vaughn, "Bangladesh: Political and Strategic Developments and U.S. Interests," (DIANE Publishing, 2011), P. 13

²⁹ Thomas Dye, *Foreign policy decision making and external factors, The Social Science Studies help centre*, 2008, P.32

³⁰ Bhumitra Chakma, "Bangladesh India relations: Sheikh Hasina's India positive policy approach," RSIS, 2012, Pp. 24-32

fighting terrorism.³¹ This paper convinces Awami League's India positive foreign policy.

Rampal issue is key example that Sheikh Hasina government prefers elite's model rather than public opinion. Though civil societies, international governmental and nongovernmental organizations are concerning to save Sundarban, government ignoring all suggestions and public opinion. That shows government's arrogant policy at dealing Rampal power plant with India. Prime Minister is the ultimate decision maker at present Bangladeshi politics. At present Sheikh Hasina era, besides national interest, regime interest is also a key factor on foreign policy decision making.

The supremacy of Prime Minister's office plays a key role on foreign policy decision making. Because of PM office's influence on foreign policy decision making the preeminent role of the Foreign Ministry in these three key areas was challenged and undermined in a variety of ways. Virtually every ministry went its own way in dealing with embassies and in some cases directly with their governments. The pivotal role played by foreign ministries in the world over, was absent in the case of Bangladesh. The Prime Minister's Office of Bangladesh is the governmental ministration office with the responsibility of coordinating the actions of the work of all governmental ministry offices, on various matters, and serving and assisting the prime minister of Bangladesh in her daily work. Reception of Foreign Heads of Government and dignitaries, arrangement of Protocol and Ceremonials, Tours of the Prime Minister inside country and Foreign tours to be organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Liaison with International Agencies and matters relating to treaties and agreements with other countries and world bodies relating to subjects assigned to this office. Prime Minister's office sometimes influence on foreign policy decision making.

From this above personality traits of Sheikh Hasina and changing world order, it is overlooked that some more personality traits score high at 16 PF and Big five personality factor model and some other traits scores medium. That reflects regime interest based calculation rather than national interest. Examining all the personality traits it convinces in sometimes leader's personality influence much on foreign policy decision making. World order is also a key factor on foreign policy decision making.

D. Sheikh Hasina's visions and Legacy of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman:-

Sheikh Hasina was much influenced by father of the nation Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Here is two factor heredity and environment. To support this emphasize on the uniqueness of the individual personality, Allport stated that we reflect both our heredity and our environment. Heredity provides the

personality with raw materials such as physique, intelligence, and temperament that may be shaped, expanded, or limited by the conditions of our environment. In this way, Allport invokes both personal and situational variables to denote the importance of both genetics and learning. However genetic background is responsible for the major portion of our uniqueness. An infinite number of possible genetic combinations exist, and, except for identical twins, the chance that someone else's genetic endowment will be duplicated in any one of us is too small to consider. Our genetic endowment interacts with our social environment, and no two people, not even siblings reared in the same house, have precisely the same environment. The inevitable result is a unique personality. Therefore, Allport concluded that to study personality, psychology must deal with the individual case and not with average findings among groups.³² This statement shows that genetic plays a little role on personality building, at the same time environment is a key player at personality building.

Erikson suggested that the developmental process was governed by what he called the epigenetic principle of maturation. By this he meant that inherited forces are the determining characteristics of the developmental stages. It confirms that psychological development depends upon genetic factors and environment. The social and environmental forces to which we are exposed influence the ways in which the genetically predetermined stages of development are realized. In this way, personality development is affected by both biological and social factors, or by both personal and situational variables. Both Allport and Erikson's perception shows that genetics, heredity and environment play a key role on personality making. Sheikh Hasina takes Bangabandhu as a model. So Sheikh Hasina's foreign policy and domestic decision making are influenced by Father of the Nations dream. So author links with this research how Sheikh Hasina's personality influences on foreign policy decision making. How Sheikh Hasina bears the dream of Bangabandhu- is given below with showing her visions. Today's world is Multi polar world. No single countries can influence much on another states foreign policies decision making. Major Powers influence on foreign policy decision making because of rational calculation and strategic dependence of states. International organizations can also influence on states foreign policy decision making. What is the vision of sheikh Hasina government? Do states have visions? State's foreign policy engagements and its vision for a sustainable future are increasingly governed by a wide range of competing factors and actors. On the one hand, conventional military powers and alliances continue to significantly dominate global security and foreign policy agenda. On the other, 'soft power tools' such as imposition of sanctions, global standards of democracy, freedoms, governance, and human rights affect developing country

³¹ Delwar Hossain," Bangladesh in 2015: Return to Political Violence? Continuing Thrust towards the East, Enhancing Global Image, Re-engaging the West?, Strong Ties with India," *IPCS Forecasts*, IPCS Special Report 177, 2015, Pp 12-21

³² Duane P. Schultz and Sydney E. Schultz, "*Theories of Personality*," edited by Michele Sordi (10 Davis drive: Wadsworth, USA, 2009),P.396-400

foreign policy engagements. Control over strategic waterways or high seas to protect trade, navigation and energy interests increasingly dominate inter-state relations and negotiations. Different Non-State Actors significantly influence foreign policy discourse of States including Bangladesh's. International Organizations including the UN, WTO, ILO, the IMF and the World Bank, local and global NGOs, Civil Society Organizations and the media, significantly influence the State's foreign policy discourse and image. Moreover, influence of Regional and Economic Blocs and alliances, such as G-77 and China, the BRICS, the Group of 20, LDCs or the Group of 33 at the WTO negotiations, regional Free Trading Arrangements, all influence global trade, development or climate negotiations influence policy of States.³³ It makes clear that, forces of globalization and a State's own trade, economic, food, energy and water security all have profound influences on the foreign policy Vision for a sustainable future. Bangladesh's enormous resource, demographic, and environmental challenges, Bangladesh and its present government has set for Bangladesh a highly aspiration foreign policy Vision- "To be recognized as a regionally and globally influential Middle Income Country, with a democratic, secular and inclusive identity, contributing to global peace, progress and prosperity."³⁴ It is Mission at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to translate this Foreign Policy vision into reality with proactive diplomatic engagement bilaterally and multilaterally through Bangladesh Missions abroad and in close national policy coordination with ministries and agencies at home. The historic foreign policy postulated by the Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman which is 'Friendship to all and malice towards none', continues to provide the philosophical foundation of Bangladesh's pro-peace foreign policy and national security vision. This in itself ensures that Bangladesh as a state does not intend to go into war and pursues a 'peace and non-alignment centric' foreign policy towards all nations. Apart from this philosophical foundation, Bangladesh's Foreign Policy Vision is also grounded firmly in two foreign relations fundamentals of our Republic that has its rudiments in our 1971 war of liberation.³⁵ As Bangladesh a smaller power it is much influenced by UN so it makes full contribution to international peace and cooperation in keeping with progressive aspirations of mankind. Smaller countries like Bangladesh are depends on International governmental organizations for foreign aid and assistance. As West bloc uses international governmental organizations as a tool of political economy those influence on states foreign policy decision making. A single example is dawn here- On the Padma bridge issue, World Bank withdrawal its loan by

calming engagement of corruption. Strategically it influence on foreign policy decision making. Regional organization also powerful tools to influence on foreign policy decision making. Sometimes regional organizations like SAARC, BIMSTEC, and BCIM contribute to regional peace, stability, connectivity and integration that influences on foreign policy decision making. Sheikh Hasins's vision is to find newer markets and better terms of employment for skilled and semi-skilled workforce from Bangladesh and to promote, protect rights and welfare of all expatriate Bangladeshis abroad. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina is in her bold Vision for Bangladesh to transform it into a middle income knowledge-based country by 2021 or 'Vision 2021'.

National security has two aspects, one is internal and other is external. By the internal dimension, we understand the political and economic stability in domestic sphere. It does not mean that there is no turbulent situation in Bangladesh domestic sphere. At July, 2016 Golsan Holey Artisan restaurant attacks and various terrorist attacks violates internal sovereignty of Bangladesh. From these incidents we can observe a linkage between domestic militant and international militant though government always denies this linkage. On the other side by the external security, we understand the preservation of Bangladesh sovereignty from the external enemies. After 9/11 we see that states again go back to Westphalia security system at where states security is main factor. Sheikh Hasina's mainly emphasize on security aspect of Bangladesh. As Bangladesh is geo-strategically India locked it must have to maintain good relations with India for national security. Sheikh Hasina maintains a good relation with India. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, in her deliberations, focused on climate change, food security, the current economic melt-down and its global impact, especially on LDCs. Two joint declarations of intent, one on climate change adaptation and mitigation and the other on cooperation in the field of health were signed. The former Foreign Minister in her statement at the CICA Ministerial meeting called upon the CICA members and observer countries for working together in the pursuit of peace, security and stability in Asia through eradicating poverty, tackling climate change, playing effective role on counter-terrorism, and eliminating weapons of mass destruction.³⁶ Analyzing Sheikh Hasina's vision it makes confirm that all are relevant with present world order.

Bangandhu's vision was to create economically affluent Bangladesh. The third Bangladesh-US Partnership Dialogue was held in Washington DC on October 21, 2014, and it focused on the expansion of security, trade and development ties between the two countries. Bangladesh and the West have been moving forward to expand ties and rediscover the past warmth and depth as development partners. As RMG is common with export oriented commodities the external

³³ James M. McCormick and Young W. Kihl, "Intergovernmental Organizations and Foreign Policy Behavior: Some Empirical Findings," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (Jun., 1979), Pp 342-353.

³⁴ Speech by Mr. A. H. Mahmood Ali Hon'ble Foreign Minister of Bangladesh on Foreign Policy and a Vision for Bangladesh, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peoples Republic of Bangladesh, 2014, P. 23

³⁵ Speech by Mr. A. H. Mahmood Ali Hon'ble Foreign Minister of Bangladesh on Foreign Policy and a Vision for Bangladesh, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peoples Republic of Bangladesh, 2014, P.26

³⁶ Speech by Mr. A. H. Mahmood Ali Hon'ble Foreign Minister of Bangladesh on Foreign Policy and a Vision for Bangladesh, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peoples Republic of Bangladesh, 2014, p 45

factors have played an important role in the expansion of the garments industry. In the *European market Bangladesh enjoyed a quota free* and duty free export privilege under the Generalized System of Preference (GSP) agreement. GSP covers most of the low-income countries that gives an exemption of around 12% customs-duty³⁷. The MFA through its quota system paradoxically was favorable for Bangladesh garments. Bangladesh was able to successfully exploit the quota exemption facility for its apparel export and as well attract foreign investment in the country. Export promotion zones were set up. This all initiatives are taken to construct a positive image of Bangladesh at international market. So it concludes that present world formation and international governmental or non-governmental organizations influence on foreign policy decision making. Most of the treaties were signed at Cold war period at Bangabandhu era. But it is a matter of great regret that few treaties were implemented. The unsettled issues were also a matter of disputes. Internal and external factors are key barrier to settle the disputed issues. The Prime Minister highlighted a number of successful initiatives taken by her Government in the pursuit of peaceful means to resolve outstanding national and foreign policy issues. She made specific reference to, among others, the signing of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord in 1997 and the Ganges Water Sharing Treaty with India in 1996; resolution of the 40 year old land boundary and border demarcation issues with India, delimitation of the maritime boundary between Bangladesh and Myanmar, pending for over 50 years, through the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS). Present world order makes some more scopes to settle these unsettled issues. India is integrated on land boundary agreement because of its large interest. All of the study makes convince that besides world order, leader's personality influence on foreign policy decision making.

VII.CONCLUSION

This paper accomplished several tasks. First, it analyzed theories of personality, human psychology and its various personality traits. This paper examines how leader's personality influences on foreign policy decision making comparing Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Sheikh Hasina. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's imaginative, stable, assertive, shrewd, apprehensive, experimenting, controlled, more intelligent and self sufficient personality traits scores high at 16 PF model and Big five personality factor model that influenced on foreign policy decision making. New born and war thorn Bangladesh faced a lot of difficulties from external and internal factors. As soviet bloc supported at the liberation war of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was inherently positive to Soviet bloc. On the other hand nascent Bangladesh needed recognition and massive economic aid that's why Sheikh Mujibur Rahman maintained good relations with all countries of the world. He tried to maintain good relations with Middle Eastern countries and rest of the Muslim majority

countries. The USA made pressure to curtail trade relations with Cuba. By the above mentioned Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's personality, bipolar world order at cold war period, it makes points that leader's personality and world order influenced much on foreign policy decision making in Bangladesh. Sheikh Hasina's openness, extraversion, strong commitment, rationality, stability and fearless personality traits are examined by those described models. Assassination of the father of the nations created negative emotionality to Sheikh Hasina. It influences her on various decision making process. Post cold war, multi polar world order tried to influence much on foreign policy decision making. This research links Sheikh Hasina's foreign policy decision making with "Power elite model" and "Bureaucratic decision making model". As a result of increasing geopolitical importance of Bangladesh, most of the world powers influences on foreign policy decision making. Besides multi polar world order, international governmental organizations and various regional institutions also influence on foreign policy decision making. Post 9/11 world order also influence on foreign policy decision making. In conclusion, the above study in this paper offer a plausible explanation- changing world order influence on foreign policy decision making. This is shifting in Bangladesh with changing world order from Sheikh Mujibur Rahman era to present Sheikh Hasian era. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's foreign policy was based on bipolar war based. Present multi polar world order also influences on foreign policy decision making of Sheikh Hasina government at many issues. She is bearing the legacy of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, so Sheikh Hasina's policies and visions are reflecting visions of father. At conclusion this paper convinces- Sometimes world order is much influential than leader's personality, in some cases leader's personality is more influential and sometimes both leader's personality and world order influence on foreign policy decision making simultaneously.

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