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**Comparative Analysis of Transformational
Leadership: Václav Havel and Lee Teng-hui**

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Abstract

In recent years, the relationship between the Czech Republic and Taiwan has been getting closer. The two seemingly distant country however went through similar development at the end of 20th century - democratization. During the process, there are two significant champions of democracy: former president Vaclav Havel and Lee Teng-hui. This thesis will have two main objectives: first, to provide an overview of the lives of Havel and Lee Teng-hui; second, to conduct a comparative analysis of both using the transformational leadership theory to explore whether they align with Bass's definition of a transformational leader.

Keywords

Václav Havel, Lee Teng Hui, Transformační vedení, Demokracie, Tchaj-wan

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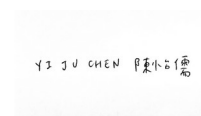
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Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.
2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.
3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

Prague ... **01.08.2023**

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Terminology

In the existing literature, there are numerous English translations available for 中國國民黨. However, for consistency and clarity, this thesis has elected to use the term “Kuomintang” in this thesis.

Introduction

The Czech Republic and Taiwan are geographically distant and have notable disparities in culture and language. As a result, historically, there has been limited mutual interest and minimal interaction between the two countries. However, Havel himself once concluded that the Czech Republic and Taiwan share similar aspects,

I am sure that there are links or similarities between the Czech Republic and Taiwan in spite of the geographical distance between our two countries and our different cultural and civilisational roots. They are based on the attitude of the mind of citizens of a small state that has a dominant world power as a neighbor, one towards which they are constantly obliged to adopt an attitude, whether they like it or not. They are feelings of people who are forced again and again to reflect on, define and review their national, cultural and civilisational roots. It is a conflict between preserving one’s own identity in spite of pressures that cannot be permanently avoided, a conflict between resistance and resignation. The Taiwanese probably find themselves in such a situation. Central-European culture and Czech distinctiveness evolved in a similar cultural and political gravitational field. So if Czech culture is something interesting and familiar to the Taiwanese, it could be that this attitude of mind plays a subconscious role.¹

On the one hand, the escalating tensions across the Taiwan Strait and recent geopolitical developments have prompted Taiwan to pursue expanded diplomatic efforts actively.

On the other hand, the issues between Taiwan and China are not only a matter of human

¹Gao, Songming 高嵩明. *捷克經典：5 星級的捷克文化深度導遊 [Czech Classics: 5-Star In-Depth Czech Cultural Tour]*. Taiwan: Shi zhi wen hua 柿子文化, 2017.

rights but also have long served as a significant factor in Czech domestic politics, underscoring its importance as a gauge for political positions.² The interests and objectives of both countries are aligned. As a result, Czech-Taiwan relationships are on the rise, with both sides exploring possibilities of mutual engagement in trade, technology, and culture.

In August 2020, a significant event took place amidst the ongoing global pandemic, as the President of the Senate of the Czech Republic, Miloš Vystrčil, led a delegation of nearly one hundred individuals on a visit to Taiwan. This visit holds great significance for various reasons. Firstly, it signifies a notable diplomatic breakthrough between the two countries, particularly given the Czech Republic's previous inclination towards China under President Zeman. Additionally, it marks the first instance of Taiwan hosting a high-ranking political figure from the Czech Republic, as Vystrčil's constitutional position is second only to that of the president. Notably, this visit was conducted openly, disregarding objections raised by China.

The visit reached its pinnacle during Vystrčil's speech at the Legislative Yuan, where he delivered a statement in both Mandarin and Czech, proclaiming, “我是台灣人，Ja jsem Tchajwanec” (I am Taiwanese).³ This declaration not only garnered an extended standing ovation from legislators across party lines. Furthermore, during his less

²Šebok, Filip. “Why Taiwan Matters for the Czech Republic.” MapInfluenCE, July 1, 2020. <https://mapinfluence.eu/en/why-taiwan-matters-for-the-czech-republic/>.

³In 1963, US President John F. Kennedy gave a speech in West Berlin in which he said: “Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was civis Romanus sum. Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is 'Ich bin ein Berliner'... All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words 'Ich bin ein Berliner!'” Vystrčil's speech at the Legislative Yuan borrowed the same concept to express the solidarity of the liberal democratic world.

publicized speech at National Chengchi University (NCCU), Vystrčil referred to the former Czech Republic President Vaclav Havel, who was honored with an honorary doctorate from NCCU in 2004. In doing so, he drew a parallel between Havel and former Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui:

Despite the fact that Václav Havel was no longer in the President office back in 2004, when he visited this university, he still is and always will be our Czech President and the father of the Czech modern democracy and freedom just like president Lee Teng-hui was the father of the origins of your democracy and freedom.⁴

The comparison between these two figures was a tribute to the late Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui, who passed away at the age of 98, shortly before the delegation's visit.

The parallel between Havel and Lee is an intriguing one. Havel and Lee share notable similarities upon initial examination. Both held presidential positions during the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Additionally, they have been connected to peaceful and nonviolent events that led to democratic transitions, namely the Velvet Revolution and the Quiet Revolution. In summary, both individuals demonstrated their leadership abilities during challenging periods in their respective countries.

Upon closer examination, differences emerge in the political trajectories of Havel and Lee. Firstly, despite both countries having the position of presidency, the extent of power and symbolic importance attached to the presidential role differs due to variations in their political systems. In the Czech Republic, a parliamentary system is in place,

⁴Vystrčil, Miloš. 2020. "Nejlepší Slova Jsou Činy." Transcript of speech delivered at National Chengchi University, August 31, 2020. <https://www.vystrcil.cz/web/clanky/projevy/nejlepsi-slova-jsou-ciny-p17362/?fbclid=IwAR3xCYXHzGfbk8NE6DHSWaZK408hutes68cycy4h6E2JpY0GLycdoX3cGgE>.

where the president's role primarily holds symbolic value and possesses limited political authority in comparison to the Prime Minister.⁵ Conversely, Taiwan follows a presidential system, wherein the directly elected president wields substantial political power. Consequently, while both individuals held the title of president, their influence and exercise of power differed significantly due to the contrasting political contexts in which they operated.

Additionally, it is important to note that despite both the Velvet Revolution and the Quiet Revolution⁶ sharing the goal of challenging authoritarian regimes, they originated from distinct starting points and adopted different approaches. The Velvet Revolution emerged as a spontaneous grassroots movement, gaining momentum swiftly following a peaceful student demonstration that turned violent and successfully effected change within a relatively brief timeframe. Conversely, the Quiet Revolution primarily involved gradual reforms initiated from the top down within the existing system, spanning across several years to achieve its objectives.

Despite the differences mentioned above, at the end of the day, it is evident that both Havel and Lee Teng-hui are perceived as iconic figures who symbolize certain values.

⁵The position of the president in the Czech Republic has a long-standing and distinctive role in the country's politics and society. Until 2013, the president was elected by the Parliament. Since then, the president is directly elected by the citizens of the Czech Republic.

⁶The Quiet Revolution refers to a series of political reforms and democratization movements led by the Lee Teng-hui government, against the backdrop of growing social expectations for political system reform and democratic development in Taiwan. The revolution began in 1987 with the announcement by Chiang Ching-kuo of the lifting of martial law and ended with the first power transition. It was generally considered to have ended with the first direct presidential election in 1996 and the transition of power in the 2000 presidential election. The revolution was multifaceted. It included the dismantling of one-party rule and the establishment of party pluralism and electoral systems, accompanied by constitutional reforms, the liberalization of the media, judicial reforms, and the rise of civil society. The Quiet Revolution derived its name from the fact that it did not involve bloodshed or military coups, despite the challenges of party interests, growing social polarization, and the complexities of cross-strait relations.

For example, both share labels such as “father of democracy”. Although subject to debates and criticism, the political legacies they have left behind are cherished and remembered by many, with their influence extending beyond their respective countries and inspiring people worldwide.

Having transcended the conventional norms associated with bureaucrats and politicians, these two leaders exemplify a unique “philosopher-king” leadership characterized by solid core values. This thesis seeks to explore the similarities and differences between the two leaders, particularly in the context of Transformational Leadership, considering the significant moral dimension inherent in their leadership styles.

State of the art

Research on the Czech Republic in Taiwan and Taiwan in the Czech Republic are relatively niche areas of study. Consequently, it is not surprising that while numerous academic and non-academic publications explore various aspects of Havel and Lee Teng-hui individually, there is a need for more specialized comparisons that place the two figures on a parallel level. Aside from a preliminary comparison found in the appendix of *Havel: A Simple Complex Man* published by Bei Ling⁷, there is a dearth of dedicated comparative analyses between the two individuals. In conversation with several Taiwanese intellectuals, Bei Ling contemplates the intriguing prospect of a dialogue between Havel and Lee, acknowledging their backgrounds and roles during

⁷Bei Ling 貝嶺, also known as Huang Bei Ling (born 1959), is a Chinese dissident poet, writer, and journalist. He was authorized by Václav Havel to translate several of his works into Mandarin and publish them in Taiwan, including notable titles such as "Disturbing the Peace" (Czech: Dálkový výslech), "Letters to Olga" (Czech: Dopisy Olze), and "The Power of the Powerless" (Czech: Moc bezmocných).

their respective societies' transitions to democracy. On the other hand, when it comes to individual accounts on Havel and Lee, there is a wealth of resources. Both Havel and Lee are avid writers and have left autobiographical works. *Disturbing the Peace: A Conversation with Karel Hviždala* is an exchange between the two, which also serves as a biography and confession of Havel's relationship to people, art, and politics. In *Summer Meditations*, Havel communicated his takes on the political events during his first presidential tenure and expressed his observations, philosophical thoughts, and beliefs. It is a perfect lens through which we can enter the politician Havel's inner world. *To the Castle and Back* is a collage of Havel's first-hand account of his work in the Prague Castle.

With the background of a scholar, Lee Teng-hui holds the record for the most published works among all the presidents in Taiwan's history, with 13 oral history books. In 2015, he published *New Perspectives on Taiwan*, which expounded his views on the future direction of Taiwan after 16 years of democratization. The following year, he released *My Remaining Years: A Journey of Life and Taiwan's Democratic Road*, a comprehensive autobiography covering his life philosophy and East Asian politics. Lee Teng-hui as a subject is attractive to Taiwanese scholars and international scholars, especially the Japanese. After Lee's passing, Ritoki Hiroku published *The Secret Records of Lee Teng-hui*, transcending the domestic Taiwanese political context and delving into various aspects of Lee Teng-hui's life that were previously unknown to the public. In the same year, *Studying Lee Teng-hui, Lee Teng-hui-ism: The Spirit of*

Democratic Taiwan, Historical Consciousness, and Political Leadership was a collection published by Taiwanese scholars, offering multifaceted explorations of Lee's political legacy.

In the existing literature that links the two political leaders with leadership theory, *Lee Teng-Hui: Transformational Leadership in Taiwan's Transition* explores Lee Teng-hui's significant role in Taiwan's transformation across various aspects. The article describes Taiwan's democratization process, includes an analysis of public opinion about Lee Teng-hui's performance based on surveys, and highlights his lasting influence in the post-Lee Teng-hui era. However, the authors did not explicitly reference Bass's Transformational Leadership theory or analyze how Lee Teng-hui aligns with its definition. On the other hand, Hauser's bachelor thesis titled *Transformational Leadership: A Case Study of Vaclav Havel* examined Havel's life and attempted to explain how he exemplified three major components of transformational leadership. However, the basis for how Hauser came up with the three components remains unclear, especially considering that Bass's original work on transformational leadership identifies four key components.

1 Research Framework

1.1 Theoretical Framework

Leadership theories were developed in the field of leadership studies. There are numerous approaches to understanding leadership, including examining traits, behaviors, and the dynamics between leaders and followers. One particular lens through which we can analyze leaders like Havel and Lee is Transformational Leadership theory.

James MacGregor Burns, a historian and political scientist, made a significant contribution to leadership theories with his book *Leadership* in 1978. In this influential work, Burns introduced two types of leadership: transactional leadership and transforming leadership. Transactional leadership involves an exchange-based relationship between leaders and followers, focusing on mutual benefit and meeting predetermined goals. In contrast, transforming leadership revolves around the leader's ability to inspire and motivate their followers to strive for higher moral ideals and a greater purpose. It aims to bring about positive change and improve the existing system. Transforming leadership, according to Burns, involves three key components: (1) raises the followers' level of consciousness about the importance and value of designated outcomes and ways of reaching them; (2) gets the followers to transcend their own self-interests for the sake of the team, organization, or larger polity; and (3) raises the

followers' level of need on Maslow's (1954) hierarchy from lower-level concerns for safety and security to higher-level needs for achievement and self-actualization.

In 1985, Bernard Morris Bass took the concept of transforming leadership further, he switched the term “transforming” into “transformational” and conceptualized four key components of such leadership, which are: Idealized influence, Inspirational motivation, Intellectual stimulation and Individual consideration. In 2015, the tool Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire developed by Bruce J. Avolio and Bernard M. Bass, which was used to identify leadership types went through a rebranding process and simplified the four components into five components, which are easier for non-academics to understand: Builds Trust, Act with integrity, Encourages Others, Encourages Innovative Thinking and Encourages Innovative Thinking. Considering the academic nature of this thesis, the four original components will be used to analyze.

1.2 Research Question and Hypothesis

The research question this thesis posed are:

1. Are Václav Havel and Lee Teng-hui transformational leaders according to Bass' definition?
2. If yes, how are Václav Havel and Lee Teng-hui exhibiting qualities of transformational leaders?

My hypothesis is that both Havel and Lee are transformational leaders according to Bass' definition. And they exhibit all four components of transformational leaders.

1.3 Methodology

Before diving into a comparative analysis of Havel and Lee's exhibition as a transformational leader, this thesis will first briefly introduce their backgrounds, upbringing and life before ascension to presidency. Then, the exact definition of the four components of Transformational Leadership as defined by Bass will be explained. The last part will be analyzing Havel and Lee's literary work, biographies, interviews, speeches and accounts from third person to find evidence that they exhibit the four components of Transformational Leadership.

Background

2.1 Upbringing

Although born worlds apart, the early lives of Havel and Lee were similar in terms of their upper-middle-class family backgrounds. Havel's family had a strong entrepreneurial legacy, with his grandfather being a successful developer responsible for constructing the renowned Lucerna complex in Prague, which remains standing today as one of the first reinforced concrete buildings. Havel's father and uncle continued the family's entrepreneurial pursuits by establishing the Barrandov Terrace and the Barrandov Film Studios. Similarly, Havel's mother came from a bourgeois background, with her family having a history of involvement in the first Czechoslovak Republic government.⁸

In terms of economic background, the Lee family did not possess the same level of influence and resources as the affluent Havel family, which held significant sway in society. However, taking into consideration their status as Taiwanese under Japanese rule, Lee's family can indeed be regarded as part of the elite class of that time. Lee's grandfather was a landlord, and the family owned extensive land in the Tamsui and Sanzhi regions. Lee recounted witnessing tenant farmers visiting his grandfather each year, presenting gifts and pleading for the opportunity to continue cultivating the land - an experience that instilled in him a deep awareness of social injustices.⁹ Lee's father served as a criminal investigator and belonged to a select few Taiwanese individuals

⁸Žantovský Michal. *Havel: A life*. London, UK: Grove, 2015.

⁹Kawasaki, Masumi 河崎真澄. *李登輝秘錄 [Secret Records of Lee Teng-hui]*. Translated by Zhao Xun Gong 龔昭勳. Taipei, Taiwan: Qian wei 前衛, 2021.

who had the opportunity to study at a police academy during the Japanese rule. Lee's mother, on the other hand, was the daughter of a local village chief and operated a grocery and butcher shop. This background provided Lee with a financially stable upbringing.¹⁰

2.2 Engagement with politics prior to presidency

Perhaps one of the greatest distinctions between Havel and Lee is the fact that before becoming president, Havel, as a playwright and dissident, not only lived outside the regime system, but was technically excluded from public life altogether - to an extent that he even experienced imprisonment for his beliefs. During his second visit to the United States, Havel, having observed the operational mechanisms of experienced politicians in Washington DC, arrived at the discernment that his ascent to the presidency, which had merely spanned two months, had not been preceded by formal enrollment in any institution specifically designed for presidential education. Instead, he asserted that the fabric of his education lay woven within the tapestry of life itself.¹¹ Lee Teng-hui, on the other hand, has always been involved with the regime. He often claimed himself as a student of the "Chiang Ching-kuo School," a time where he diligently cultivated his governance skills through working alongside Chiang Ching-kuo, the descendent of Chiang Kai-shek. Although according to Peng Mingmin¹², Lee

¹⁰Lee, Teng Hui 李登輝. *餘生：我的生命之旅與台灣民主之路* [*The Rest of My Life: My Life Journey and Taiwan's Road of Democracy*]. Taipei, Taiwan: Metropolitan Culture Enterprise Co 大都會文化, 2016.

¹¹Havel, Václav. *To the Castle and Back*. Translated by Paul Wilson. New York: A.A. Knopf, 2007.

¹²Peng Ming-min 彭明敏 (1923-2022), is an internationally renowned expert on international law and former professor at National Taiwan University. He is one of the most prominent leaders of the Taiwan independence movement. During his time at National Taiwan University, he formed a close friendship with Lee Teng-hui, who also studied at the Japanese Imperial University. Peng Ming-min went into exile overseas due to his involvement in drafting the "A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation." He returned

Teng-hui originally had no interest in politics but was driven by anger towards the exploitation of farmers. He cared about social issues and class inequality but sought to initiate reforms within the system, which ultimately led him to the decision of entering the government. Lee's career involved several significant roles over a span of more than a decade. In 1971, he became a member of Kuomintang and began working as an agricultural economist for the then Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, nowadays Council of Agriculture. A year later, in 1972, he joined Chiang Ching-kuo's cabinet as a Minister without Portfolio. His political ascent continued when, in 1978, Chiang appointed him as the Mayor of Taipei. Lee's influence within the government grew further when he assumed the role of Chairman of the Taiwan Provincial Government in 1981. His rise culminated in 1984 when he became the Vice President of Taiwan. The swift progression can be attributed in large part to the support of Chiang Ching-kuo, who held a deep appreciation for Lee Teng-hui. In his diary, Chiang mentioned their first meetings with words of high regard, stating that Lee was an excellent scientist and expressing their congeniality. Lee Teng-hui believed that Chiang Ching-kuo's admiration was stemming from his “Japanese qualities” - meaning, strong work ethic, commitment to honesty, and lack of excessive ambition or sycophantic tendencies.¹³

to Taiwan after Taiwan's democratization in 1992. In 1996, he competed as the Democratic Progressive Party candidate for the presidency, challenging Lee Teng-hui, who represented the Kuomintang party at the time.

13 Lee, Teng Hui 李登輝. *餘生：我的生命之旅與台灣民主之路* [The Rest of My Life: My Life Journey and Taiwan's Road of Democracy]. Taipei, Taiwan: Metropolitan Culture Enterprise Co 大都會文化, 2016.

One thing to note, however, is that this does not mean that Lee has been absolutely out of touch with the dissident movements or that he has never been on the other side of the regime. As a member of Taiwanese elite educated under the Japanese educational system, Lee was also a potential target for the Kuomintang regime during the 228 incident¹⁴, he recalled: “If my good friend in the rice business in Wanhua hadn't hidden me in the barn, I suppose the gendarmes would have arrested me”. In addition, several documents from the 1960s showed Lee's interaction with regime dissidents - including secret visits to members of the Taiwan independence movement in Japan during the White Terror¹⁵, by which time Lee was already working in the government as an adviser on agricultural policy.¹⁶

¹⁴The 228 Incident, or 228 Massacre, denotes a series of widespread uprisings in Taiwan in 1947 resulting in significant loss of life. It was sparked by a dispute between a cigarette vendor and a government official, leading to mass protests driven by public dissatisfaction with the authoritarian rule of the Kuomintang (KMT) party. The authorities responded with a violent crackdown, marking a pivotal moment in Taiwan's history. This event ushered in a period of martial law and political repression known as the White Terror.

¹⁵The White Terror in Taiwan refers to a period of intense political repression and state-sponsored violence that occurred from the late 1940s to the 1980s. It was characterized by systematic suppression of political dissidents, human rights abuses, mass arrests, torture, and executions. The main perpetrators of the White Terror were the ruling Kuomintang (KMT) party and its security apparatus, aiming to maintain their authoritarian control over the island. This period had a profound impact on Taiwanese society, instilling fear and silencing dissent.

¹⁶Kawasaki, Masumi 河崎真澄. *李登輝秘錄 [Secret Records of Lee Teng-hui]*. Translated by Zhao Xun Gong 龔昭勳. Taipei, Taiwan: Qian wei 前衛, 2021.

Lee Teng-hui's party affiliation presents an intriguing perspective, wherein his status as a benshengren¹⁷ rendered him an outsider within the predominantly mainlander-controlled Kuomintang.

2.3 Unexpected entrance to Power

The engagement with politics for both Havel and Lee Teng-hui is marked by three main characteristics. Firstly, engaging in political endeavors was never part of their originally planned life trajectories, let alone eventually becoming head of state. Secondly, the pivotal moments when they ascended to the presidency were characterized by a certain unexpected nature. Both described their political journey as something “assigned” or “happened” to them. Thirdly, when faced with unexpected demands brought about by the transformative periods they lived in, both Havel and Lee did not shy away from the difficult tasks. Instead, they accepted these challenges, a response that ultimately enabled them to facilitate positive change.

Although Havel regarded himself as a person who, to some degree, had always been concerned with politics or public affairs, he had never worked within the system in the sense Lee did as a technocrat. It was to his surprise when the fully Communist Federal

Assembly of the then Czech and Slovak Federative Republic unanimously elected him -

¹⁷The term "provincial complex 省籍情結" refers to the inter-ethnic disputes that arose in Taiwan following the country's takeover by the Kuomintang in 1945. The government of the Republic of China (R.O.C.) noted the place of origin for each individual on their identity card. Those registered as Taiwanese were called "benshengren 本省人," translating to "natives of this province." In contrast, "waishengren 外省人" are those who were registered in provinces of mainland China (previously under the jurisdiction of the R.O.C.) and non-Taiwan provinces prior to 1945. This applies to the descendants of mainland Chinese who migrated to Taiwan with the R.O.C. government following the end of World War II. Differences in lifestyles, historical memories, and allocation of social resources often led to exclusion between the two ethnic groups, effects of which can be felt to this day.

a former systems outcast as president at the peak of the Velvet Revolution. Reflecting on his election, Havel vividly described it as being “swept into office by the revolution.” He viewed his political career as a seemingly mystical journey, remarking that it felt like “a diabolical trap set for me by destiny” and that overnight he was catapulted into a world of enchanting tales.

Lee, on the other hand, assumed the presidency as an interim measure in accordance with constitutional provisions following Chiang Ching kuo's sudden death. Reflecting on the night he assumed presidency, Lee recalled:

Upon the sudden passing of Chiang Ching-kuo, there was no opportunity to have a final meeting or receive any last words. At 8 p.m. that evening, as the Vice President at the time, I assumed the presidency in accordance with constitutional succession. It was unforeseen that influential figures within the Kuomintang would be bypassed, resulting in my ascension to the presidency as a native Taiwanese. Furthermore, I also became the acting chairman of the Kuomintang. These developments were perhaps unexpected by anyone involved, including myself.¹⁸

In response to these unforeseen circumstances, both Havel and Lee Teng-hui assumed a sense of responsibility: Havel declared, “You can't spend your entire life criticizing something and then, when you have the chance to do it better, refuse to get involved.”¹⁹ As for Lee Teng-hui, as soon as he unexpectedly became the president, he was faced with an overwhelming tide of hostility and political strife within the Kuomintang. Nevertheless, he did not back down.

¹⁸Lee, Teng Hui 李登輝. *餘生：我的生命之旅與台灣民主之路* [*The Rest of My Life: My Life Journey and Taiwan's Road of Democracy*]. Taipei, Taiwan: Metropolitan Culture Enterprise Co 大都會文化, 2016.

¹⁹Havel, Václav. *Summer Meditations*. Translated by Paul Wilson. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1992.

2.4 After their death

Václav Havel passed away in 2011 at the age of 75, while Lee Teng-hui, on the other hand, lived for nearly a century before his death eight years later. Despite facing criticism during their lifetimes, both leaders have received positive evaluations regarding their political legacies in later years. So much so that even Havel's most prominent political adversary, Klaus, offered the following assessment of him: “Václav Havel has become a symbol of our modern Czech state. He has had merit in our modern statehood by his fearless fight against the communist totalitarianism and as a leading personality of our Velvet Revolution and as the first President of our free country. His personality, his name and his work substantially contributed to the Czech Republic's fast joining the community of free and democratic countries.”²⁰

Lee Teng-hui's legacy evokes divergent views among different political factions. The Kuomintang perceived him as a traitor, while some hard core members of the Democratic Progressive Party criticized him for his perceived shortcomings in terms of transitional justice and his stance on Taiwanese independence, considering it not strong enough. However, it is noteworthy that politicians from across the political spectrum attended Lee's funeral upon his passing. This signifies that despite differing political leanings and opinions on Taiwan's status, Lee's impact on the island is widely

²⁰“Statement by the President of the Czech Republic reflecting the death of former Czech President Václav Havel | Václav Klaus.” n.d. Václav Klaus. <https://www.klaus.cz/clanky/3002>.

acknowledged as having a positive influence that transcended political boundaries and benefitted all.

Václav Havel's popularity rating underwent a notable shift during his time in office.

When he initially assumed the presidency, his rating stood at an impressive level of over eighty percent.²¹ However, over the course of his tenure, it gradually declined to approximately fifty-five percent. Despite this decline, Havel's legacy continues to be highly valued in Czech society, even decades after his passing. According to surveys conducted by the agency STEM/MARK in 2019 and 2020, Václav Havel was considered the best president in the history of the post-1993 independent Czech state, surpassing both Václav Klaus and Miloš Zeman. More than 55% of respondents expressed this sentiment, emphasizing the enduring appreciation for Havel's contributions to the nation.²²

In a survey conducted by the Taiwanese Public Opinion Foundation in 2020, respondents were asked about the contributions of directly-elected presidents (Lee Teng-hui, Chen Shui-bian, Ma Ying-jeou, Tsai Ing-wen) to promoting democratic development and expanding civic participation in Taiwan. Lee Teng-hui was identified as the president who made the greatest contribution, surpassing the rest. Similarly, when respondents were asked about the leadership qualities among the four presidents who served after Taiwan's democratization, Lee Teng-hui was again ranked the highest

²¹Remnick, David. "Václav Havel Takes a Bow". The New Yorker, February 9, 2003.

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2003/02/17/exit-havel>

²²"58 percent of Czechs believe Václav Havel was best president of Czech Republic." Radio Prague International. November 16, 2020.

among the options.²³

23“人民眼中的李登輝：「李登輝學」民調記者會系列之3～民主憲政及公民參與- 會後新聞稿 [Lee Teng-Hui in the Eyes of the People: ‘Lee Teng-Hui Studies’ Poll Press Conference Series No.3 ~ Democratic Constitutionalism and Civic Participation-Press Release after the Conference].” Taiwan Think Tank 台灣智庫, May 7, 2021. <https://www.taiwanthinktank.org/single-post/20210113>.

3 Empirical part

Schedlitzki and Edwards²⁴ concluded the definitions of the four components according to Bass (1998) which are listed below:

3.1 Definition: Idealized influence (Or Builds Trust and Act with integrity)

- **Leaders demonstrate high standards of ethical and moral conduct.**
- **Leaders are perceived as having extraordinary capabilities, persistence and determination. They are also willing to take risks and are consistent.**
- **Leaders serve as role models for their followers. They are admired, respected and trusted.**

Both Burns (1978) and Bass (1998) argue that moral components are inseparable with transformational leaders. In order to be defined as authentically transformational, leaders had to be morally uplifting, transcending their own self-interests for utilitarian or moral reasons.²⁵

If utilitarian, their objective is to benefit their group or its individual members, their organization, or society, as well as themselves, and to meet the challenges of the task or mission. If a matter of moral principles, the objective is to do the right thing, to do what fits principles of morality, responsibility, sense of discipline, and respect for authority, customs, rules, and traditions of a society. There is belief in the social responsibility of the leader and the organization.²⁶

²⁴Schedlitzki, D. and Edwards, G. *Studying Leadership*. 2nd edn. SAGE Publications, 2017. Available at: <https://www.perlego.com/book/1431659/studying-leadership-traditional-and-critical-approaches-pdf> (Accessed: 1 July 2023).

²⁵Bass, Bernard, and Ronald Riggio. 2006. *Transformational Leadership*. 2nd ed. Taylor and Francis. <https://www.perlego.com/book/1546534/transformational-leadership-pdf>.

²⁶ibid

In contrast to a transformational leader, a pseudo-transformational, or inauthentic transformational leader may exhibit many transforming displays but on the long run, cater to their own self-interests. Pseudo-transformational leaders are self-concerned, self-aggrandizing, exploitative, power oriented and believe in distorted utilitarian and warped moral principles.²⁷

- “Some say I’m a naive dreamer who is always trying to combine the incompatible: politics and morality.”²⁸
- “Whatever the People desire, the realm must follow.” My criterion for serving as president is that I do it with the people in my heart.”²⁹

Both Havel and Lee share a profound recognition of the utilitarian and moral aspects of politics. Havel so often talks about bearing personal responsibilities as a way for the civil society to reach higher moral ground. In the chapter Politics, Morality and Civility in Summer Meditations he especially comments on the responsibilities of politics:

Genuine politics, politics worthy of the name, and in any case the only politics that I am willing to devote myself to, is simply serving those close to oneself: serving the community, and serving those who come after us. Its deepest roots are moral because it is a responsibility, expressed through action, to and for the whole, a responsibility that is what it is—a "higher" responsibility, which grows out of a conscious or subconscious certainty that our death ends nothing, because everything is forever being recorded and evaluated somewhere else, somewhere "above us," in what I have called "the memory of Being," an integral aspect of the secret order of the cosmos, of nature, and of life, which believers call God and to whose judgment everything is liable. Genuine conscience and

²⁷ibid

²⁸Havel, Václav. *Summer Meditations*. Translated by Paul Wilson. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1992.

²⁹Lee, Teng Hui. 1995. “Always in My Heart.” Transcript of speech delivered at The Spencer T. and Ann W. Olin Lecture, Cornell University Alumni Reunion, June 9, 1995. <https://china.usc.edu/pres-lee-teng-hui-cornell-university-commencement-address-june-9-1995>.

genuine responsibility are always, in the end, explicable only as an expression of the silent assumption that we are being observed "from above," and that "up there" everything is visible, nothing is forgotten, and therefore earthly time has no power to wipe away the pangs brought on by earthly failure: our spirit knows that it is not the only one that knows of these failures. If there is to be a minimum chance of success, there is only one way to strive for decency, reason, responsibility, sincerity, civility, and tolerance: and that is decently, reasonably, responsibly, sincerely, civilly, and tolerantly.³⁰

In a similar vein, Lee also connects the philosophy on mortality as a breeding ground of utilitarian and moral leadership:

From ancient times in Europe, there has been an important saying that expounds the significance of the view on life and death, called "memento mori" (remember death). It encourages contemplation that "life is only once, and the destination after death is heaven," urging everyone to embrace the mindset of living a meaningful life with love. This perspective is not just for individuals but also for "the public's well-being." It embodies the European view on life and death, rooted in the spirit of Christianity, where one seeks redemption by dedicating themselves wholeheartedly to the public's welfare. In other words, as long as leaders take a serious attitude towards death, they naturally approach life with equal seriousness, thereby cultivating good governance.³¹

In an interview with Hidenori Ijiri in 2010, Lee outlined five key elements he believed were fundamental to leadership.

1. Faith, not only in personal beliefs but also in divine guidance, with a particular focus on social justice as a fundamental principle. This faith must be upheld despite any challenges or difficulties.
2. An awareness of their position and a readiness to relinquish power any time.
3. The ability to distinguish clearly between public and private matters.
4. The willingness to proactively address issues others might avoid due to fear or reluctance.
5. Avoidance of a false charismatic image or personality cult. Rather than using the media to create an illusion of charisma, leaders should be honest, truthful, and refrain from deception. Recognizing the potential harm in creating such an

³⁰Havel, *Summer Meditations*. 1992.

³¹Lee, Teng Hui 李登輝. *餘生：我的生命之旅與台灣民主之路* [*The Rest of My Life: My Life Journey and Taiwan's Road of Democracy*]. Taipei, Taiwan: Metropolitan Culture Enterprise Co 大都會文化, 2016.

illusion, they should prioritize authenticity and honesty as key leadership qualities.³²

In Lee's outline, leaders are the opposite of Bass and Riggio's definition of a pseudo-transformational leader. By avoiding building a false charismatic image in front of the public, they are not self-concerned or self-aggrandizing. They are not power oriented since they are aware of the temptations of power. They do not exploit their position and use it for their private gains. Lastly, they have strong faith and respect for higher powers that prevents them from being delusional.

Apart from beliefs, the way Havel and Lee led their life is a real demonstration of upholding high standards of ethical and moral conduct.

Havel's renowned motto, "living in truth," epitomizes acting with integrity, a principle that profoundly shaped his remarkable life journey. Throughout his life, he consistently challenged the oppressive Czechoslovak Communist regime, using his skills as a playwright to craft politically charged plays such as *The Garden Party*(1963) and *The Memorandum*(1965) as a criticism of the regime. The period following Prague Spring's failed attempt at political reform, known as normalization, was one of the darkest in Czechoslovak history. However, it was during this very time that Havel emerged as an active and vocal dissident. In 1975, he authored an open letter to Gustav Husák, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, warning of the impact of

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“李登輝的實踐哲學-領導者的條件.[Lee Teng-hui's Philosophy of Action - Conditions of Leadership]”
 Lee Teng Hui Foundation 財團法人李登輝基金會. <https://presidentlee.tw/26-%E6%9D%8E%E7%99%BB%E8%BC%9D%E7%9A%84%E5%AF%A6%E8%B8%90%E5%93%B2%E5%AD%B8-%E9%A0%98%E5%B0%8E%E8%80%85%E7%9A%84%E6%A2%9D%E4%BB%B6/>.

enduring humiliation and suppressing one's genuine opinions and emotions in a repressive society. In 1977, together with others, he played a significant role in drafting *Charta 77*, a courageous declaration advocating for human rights and calling on the Communist government to uphold international agreements such as the *Helsinki Accords*. The following year, Havel authored the renowned political essay *The Power of the Powerless*, offering profound insights into the nature of living under a totalitarian regime. In 1979 he co-founded the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted. However, Havel's unwavering dissent came at a tremendous personal cost. As a result of his courageous stand, he endured three times of imprisonment. Despite these hardships, Havel remained persistent in pursuing a free and just society. The pinnacle of his journey came during the Velvet Revolution, a non-violent uprising that led to the fall of the Communist regime in 1989. Presented with the choice of running for the presidency, Havel took the opportunity to steer the country towards democracy, becoming Czechoslovakia's first post-Communist president.

One of Lee Teng-hui's most famous life mottos 我不是我的我, which can be translated into "The Me that is not my own," came from enduring contemplation on the questions of mortality since his youth. Additionally, he had experienced the realities of life and death many times - not only when he was fighting in the Second World War, but also when experiencing the closest and loved ones around him passed away: his brother died during the Second World War, and later on in his life, his son died of cancer at the age of 32. All of these contributed to his deepened quest for the meaning of life. Known for

being intensely curious and an avid reader, he turned to philosophical works from Eastern and Western traditions extensively; European thinkers such as Nietzsche, Heidegger, and Carlyle stood side by side with Japanese thinkers Nishida Kitaro and Nitobe Inazō on his bookshelf. Later on, influenced by his wife, Lee Teng-hui also began to find solace in Christianity to help him through the turbulent life of politics. Ultimately, these various influences culminated in his famous statement, which embodied his life philosophy, “The Me that is not my own.” The motto conveys a sense of serving a higher purpose, that one should strive not only to live for oneself but also embrace a more meaningful life that can positively influence as many people as possible. The philosophy materialized throughout his lifelong devotion of propelling Taiwan into the direction of democracy and further deepening it. As a person that was born under Japanese colonization, and experienced the terror of the authoritarian rule of Kuomintang era, Lee wrote: “My lifelong dream is to liberate Taiwan from foreign rule and to move towards a free country; I hope to change the "sorrow of being born a Taiwanese" to "happiness of being born a Taiwanese", this is my life goal.”³³

Lee demonstrated extraordinary capabilities through navigating the deep and dangerous waters of democratic transformation in Taiwan. Having taken over the presidency by accident due to the sudden death of Chiang Ching-kuo, it was by no means a smooth start for democratization when he assumed office. On the contrary, the young bensenreng had to be very careful in the politically dominant Kuomintang with its

³³Lee, Teng Hui 李登輝. *餘生：我的生命之旅與台灣民主之路* [*The Rest of My Life: My Life Journey and Taiwan's Road of Democracy*]. Taipei, Taiwan: Metropolitan Culture Enterprise Co 大都會文化, 2016.

many intra-party camps and various entangled interests. Still, his determination led him to accomplish the Silent Revolution - namely, abolishing Temporary Provisions against the Communist Rebellion, carried out a complete reelection of the National Assembly, pushed for six constitutional amendments, promoted direct election of the president, helped strengthen the opposition Democratic Progressive Party, and achieved the transition of power.

In summary, through examining Havel and Lee's life philosophy and deeds, we can ascertain that they fulfill Idealized Influence - the first component of a transformational leader.

3.2 Definition: Inspirational motivation (Or Encourages Others) :

- Leaders have a vision for a better future and are committed to such goals.
- Leaders motivate and inspire those around them by sharing their visions, which gives meaning and challenge to their followers' work.
- Leaders create team spirit, enthusiasm and optimism.
- Leaders communicate expectations that followers want to meet in a clear manner.

As an essayist and prominent public figure, Havel consistently employs publications and speeches as a means to articulate and communicate his vision of an ideal world. In *Summer Meditations*, Havel wrote:

... one thing seems certain to me: that it is my responsibility to emphasize, again and again, the moral origin of all genuine politics, to stress the significance of

moral values and standards in all spheres of social life, including economics, and to explain that if we don't try, within ourselves, to discover or rediscover or cultivate what I call "higher responsibility", things will turn out very badly indeed for our country.

Several third-person accounts show that Lee exhibits inspirational motivation. He is committed to his vision, and uses communication and encouragement to inspire others to follow suit. According to the account of Chang Rong Fong, former presidential advisor to Lee: "In order to smoothly propel the constitution amendment, President Lee paid personal visits to the old national representatives one by one. His request to meet was once rejected by a senior national representative and was "punished" by standing in the rainy night for more than 10 minutes before leaving."³⁴ The universal health care system is one of the things modern Taiwanese society is most proud of and have benefited from. Guo Xusong pointed out that universal health care was originally expected to be launched in 2000, despite the fact that Lee hoped to start earlier, but the backlash from the medical profession is very big. In order to convince the medical profession to accept the universal health care system, Lee Teng-hui not only sat down face-to-face with the medical profession in his capacity as president, but also personally visited Yang Ming University to cultivate talents for universal health care for the country".

34 Chang, Rong Feng 張榮豐. "張榮豐長文追憶李登輝 為順利修憲雨夜罰站 10 餘分"[Chang Rongfeng wrote a long article in memory of Lee Teng-hui, who was punished for standing in the rain for more than 10 minutes for the sake of a smooth constitutional amendment.]. NOWnews. August 1, 2020. <https://tw.news.yahoo.com/%E5%BC%B5%E6%A6%AE%E8%B1%907%E5%8D%83%E9%A4%98%E5%AD%97%E9%95%B7%E6%96%87-%E7%B4%80%E5%BF%B5%E6%9D%8E%E7%99%BB%E8%BC%9D-%E6%9B%B4%E6%8F%AD12%E9%A0%85%E9%81%8E%E5%BE%80%E5%9B%9E%E6%86%B6-082157076.html>

3.3 Definition: Intellectual stimulation (Or Encourages Innovative Thinking):

- Leaders encourage innovation and creativity by questioning status-quo, reframing problems and seeing old situations in a new light.
- Leaders do not publicly criticize individual members' mistakes, even if it differs from their own.
- Leaders include followers to come up with new ideas and creative solutions.

During their presidencies, both Havel and Lee Teng-hui confronted the pressing issue of defining the state's identity and composition amidst internal conflicts. For Havel, this challenge arose from the Czechoslovak state's complex relationship between the Czech and Slovak entities. Similarly, Lee faced the task of advancing democratization in Taiwan while navigating the intricate question of Taiwan's identity and its relation to China.

Both leaders demonstrated intellectual stimulation as they engaged in this process, presenting a vision of a "nation" that transcended the conventional form of Nationalism prevalent in modern history, which has historically been a source of significant conflicts worldwide.

After the Velvet Revolution, Václav Havel encountered the growing inclination of Slovakia to pursue separatism from the federation. Throughout the historical context of Czechoslovakia, the locus of political decision-making had consistently resided in Prague, leaving Slovakia, which had seldom experienced autonomy apart from a brief period during the Nazi era, to feel a sense of powerlessness over its own destiny,

determined by external forces. In *Summer Meditations*, Havel openly expresses his perspectives on nationalism, the movement for Slovak independence, and the fundamental question of whether Czech and Slovak should continue to coexist within the same entity. Being unequivocally in favor of the federal state, Havel considers its eventual collapse a grave misfortune for all Czechoslovak citizens and has made his opinion clear that “I don't think full statehood would bring anything good to Slovakia”, at the same time, in his essays he explained extensively the Slovak’s point of view and remains respectful towards the opinions that were different from his personal preference: “Still, I think the decision is entirely up to Slovakia”.

Havel explicitly lays out his national principles, stating that he supports a political system centered around citizens and acknowledges the universal validity of all fundamental civil and human rights. According to Havel, no individual belonging to a particular race, nation, gender, or religion should possess basic rights that differ from those of others. In essence, he advocates the participation and responsibilities of individuals in forming a civil society.

Similarly, Lee Teng-hui also advocates for establishing a nation that goes beyond historical divides between the "benshengren" and "waishengren". During his tenure as president, he was constantly met with doubts and criticism from both camps. Although he had largely opened up spaces for the political engagement for benshengren through the process of democratization, and had started the first step of transformative justice in

Taiwan by apologizing for the collective trauma caused by Kuomintang's authoritarian rule in the past, he had not shown strong inclinations towards Taiwanese independence, either. Moreover, in a seeming proactive move to work towards unification with China, he established the National Unification Council in 1990, which angered the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP).³⁵ It is important to take into account the then political atmosphere in Taiwan, the infightings within the Kuomintang and the fact he was a member of Koumintang and leader of the country. After stepping down from the presidency, Lee was finally able to express his personal preferences and had developed a more consistent set of ideas related to the identity of the country and its intricate relationship with China. In 2005, he introduced the concept of the "New Era Taiwanese," which heavily echoes Havel's aforementioned national principles. The discourse of the "New Era Taiwanese" rejects leaning towards nationalism. Instead, it urges transcendence over conventional categories based on geography and bloodline, placing an emphasis on democratic values as the defining characteristics of Taiwanese identity.

...in order to counteract China's Greater China nationalism, must we prepare a new theory of nationalism? My answer is "No." Democracy is the trend of the world. After undergoing democratic reforms and entering the ranks of democratic countries, there is no reason for Taiwan to revert back to the concept of a "nation-state." The "Quiet Revolution" that occurred in Taiwan during the democratization process is absolutely not inferior to the discourse of "Taiwanese nationalism" for the sake of getting rid of the identity of a (Japanese) colony. In

³⁵However, the establishment of the National Unification Council was in fact, according to Lee, "a lie, to deceive the conservatives within Kuomintang and to the Chinese Communist." From the outside, the aim of the establishment was to propel unification with the People's Republic of China, however, one important precondition was laid down - "The reunification of China should be pursued with the aim of promoting Chinese culture, upholding human dignity, safeguarding basic human rights, and realizing democracy and the rule of law." which basically ensures the opposite considering the nature of Chinese Communist rule.

short, the sense of community of the people of Taiwan must be based on democracy, not ethnicity.

According to Lee, by prioritizing individual freedom and realizing a democratic society, Taiwan can then be safeguarded against authoritarianism. The affirmation of individual rights is crucial, and through the collective unity of individuals exercising their free will, a community based on shared values and experiences can be established.

During volatile times, Havel and Lee crafted narratives that deeply influenced their nations' identities, a legacy that continues to resonate with contemporary leaders and politicians. Taiwan's current President, Tsai Ing-wen, for instance, champions Lee Teng-hui's vision of "ROC Taiwan". This sentiment is also echoed by Lai Ching-te, the Democratic Progressive Party's nominee for the upcoming 2023 presidential election.

3.4 Definition: Individual consideration (Or Coaches & Develops People) :

- Leaders coaches, mentors, and create new learning opportunities which helps followers to achieve and alleviate themselves.
- Leaders recognize individual needs and desires and interact in a tailor-made manner.
- The communication is two-way, and leaders practice 'management by wandering around'.
- Leaders listen effectively and delegate tasks with the followers' development at heart.

- Leaders monitor the delegated task in order to be supportive, but do not micromanage.

Lee Teng-hui exemplifies exceptional individual consideration by forging close personal bonds with numerous individuals, particularly aspiring young politicians in Taiwan. Acting as a mentor figure, he extended helping hands, provided guidance and coaching, and propelled them toward greater achievements. Notable examples of Lee's individual consideration can be seen in his relationships with prominent politicians like James Soong, Liang Chang, and Chen Shui Bien, with whom he shared a "father and son" like connection. Despite the fact that later on conflicts have a negative toll on these close mentorships, Lee's positive impact was fondly remembered by them. When Lee passed away, James Soong recalled how Lee's encouragement and personal support led him to serve in the Taiwan provincial government, motivating him to "serve our people one step at a time." Such blessings were cherished, and Lee's role in contributing to Taiwan's progress was acknowledged by Soong with gratitude. Lee's connection with current President Tsai Ing Wen also illustrates his commitment to guiding and mentoring younger politicians. Having recruited Tsai into the National Security Council in 1988, Tsai was given the task in the formulation of significant theories on cross-strait relations. Notably, even at the age of 90, Lee actively supported Tsai during her presidential campaign in 2012, showcasing the enduring impact of his individual consideration on her leadership journey.

Beyond personal connections, Lee took proactive steps in 2003 by establishing the Lee Teng-hui School, where he personally imparted his political experiences and personal philosophies to aspiring youngsters seeking to enter politics. This visionary initiative

facilitated the cultivation of a new generation of political leaders, including relevant individuals in current Taiwanese politics like Freddy Lim Tshiong-tso, former Leader of the New Power Party. Lee's dedication to mentoring and shaping the future of Taiwanese politics is indeed a testament to his exceptional quality of individual consideration.

After stepping down from the presidency, Havel collaborated with Japanese philanthropist Yohei Sasakawa and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Elie Wiesel to establish Forum 2000, an initiative aimed at fostering dialogue among intellectuals worldwide, with a particular focus on the themes of human rights and democracy. Apart from that, the author encountered difficulty in finding evidence that Havel aspires to coach or mentor. The author proposes a hypothesis regarding the variance in the level of active engagement by Havel and Lee Teng-hui in nurturing future generations of politicians. Firstly, Lee Teng-hui was personally chosen and closely mentored by Chiang Ching-kuo during the formative stages of his career. This experience significantly benefited his subsequent political career, and as someone deeply devoted to Taiwanese politics, he naturally began to plan ahead and personally nurtured numerous emerging political figures, providing them with guidance and support. The more like-minded people he could nurture, the more likely it is to deepen democracy in Taiwan the way he had envisioned. As for Havel, despite frequently emphasizing his role as a member of civil society and the accompanying "responsibility," his dissident background instilled in him

a profound skepticism towards the political system. Thirdly, as President of Czech Republic, his role had more of a symbolic nature rather than an executive one.

Conclusion

Through the analysis of texts, including autobiographies, interviews, and third-party narratives, we can find that both Havel and Lee Teng-hui generally meet the four requirements of transformational leadership. While they do not perfectly align, we can identify instances where both of them exhibit characteristics in line with Idealized influence, Inspirational motivation, Intellectual stimulation, and Individual consideration. Havel and Lee were both significant politicians in their respective countries, and there are many aspects of similarity and dissimilarity between them, providing ample space for future scholars to explore.

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