

## The Party's theoretical work, orientation to 2030, and vision to 2045

● *Editorial Board's Note:* On the morning of March 17, 2025, in Hanoi, the Central Propaganda and Mass Mobilization Commission, in coordination with the Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics, the Communist Review, and the Central Theoretical Council, held a national scientific conference with the theme “The Party's theoretical work and important research orientations to 2030, with a vision to 2045”. The Political Theory Journal respectfully presents the full text of the keynote address delivered by Professor, Dr. NGUYEN XUAN THANG, Member of the Politburo, President of the Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics, and Chairman of the Central Theoretical Council.

The Central Propaganda and Mass Mobilization Commission, the Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics, the Central Theoretical Council and the Communist Review jointly organize the scientific conference entitled “The Party's theoretical work and important research orientations to 2030, with a vision to 2045”. The conference aims to contribute to summarizing 10 years of implementing Resolution No. 37-NQ/TW dated October 9, 2014, of the Politburo on theoretical work and research orientations to 2030, evaluating the achieved results, drawing lessons, proposing important research orientations to serve the planning and implementation of strategic decisions, bringing about revolutionary changes, raising the level of the Party's theoretical work according to the guiding ideology of General Secretary To Lam, meeting the requirements of national construction, development and defense in the new era - the era of national development.

On behalf of the organizing agencies of the Conference, I would like to send to Comrade Tran Cam Tu, Member of the Politburo, Standing member of the Secretariat, Party and State leaders and all comrades my warmest greetings and best wishes. I wish you good health, happiness and much success.

Dear comrades,

Theoretical work always plays a very important role for a revolutionary party, even when that party has already become the ruling party. Right from the opening lines on the cover of the work titled *The Revolutionary Path*, leader Nguyen Ai Quoc - President Ho Chi Minh clearly stated V.I. Lenin's thesis: “Without revolutionary theory, there is no revolutionary movement... Only by following the advanced revolutionary theory can a revolutionary party fulfill its vanguard revolutionary role”.

His journey to find a way to save the country nearly 115 years ago was a journey to the scientific and revolutionary theory of Marxism - Leninism; and from there, he wisely paved the way for the Vietnamese revolutionary theory, laying a solid foundation for the great achievements of the Party and the nation.

Looking back at 40 years of implementing the renovation process, including more than 20 years of implementing Resolution No. 01-NQ/TW in 1992 of the 7<sup>th</sup> Politburo and especially after more than 10 years of implementing Resolution No. 37-NQ/TW in 2014 of the 11<sup>th</sup> Politburo, the Party's theoretical work has harnessed the collective wisdom of the entire Party, the entire people, and the entire military, building a unique Vietnamese theory that serves as the basis for the Party's extremely important policies and decisions in the process of renovation, integration, and national development.

The starting point of the renovation process is the renovation of thinking, first and foremost, theoretical thinking about socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam. At the extremely difficult juncture marked by the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, theoretical work provided solid scientific arguments to affirm that: this is not the collapse of socialism in general, and even less the collapse of Marxism-Leninism, but only the collapse of a dogmatic socialist model that was distant from the people and detached from the continual evolution of reality. Despite many difficulties and complex twists and turns, according to the laws of historic development, mankind will inevitably progress towards socialism<sup>(1)</sup>.

It must be emphasized that renovation is a process of theoretical innovation of historic significance, a breakthrough of profound importance. The renovation of theoretical thinking has gone one step ahead, demonstrating the content, direction, and strategic orientation for new policies and guidelines in all fields of economy, society, culture, national defense, security, foreign affairs, Party building and the political system, etc.. From the realities of the renovation process, through steadfast, creative application and development of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought, theoretical work made significant contributions to the drafting of the Platform for national construction in the transitional period to socialism (1991), and its supplemented and developed version (2011); continuously adding to and refining the theoretical framework of socialism and the path to socialism in Vietnam; clarifying the Vietnamese model of socialism - implemented by the Vietnamese people - with features and orientations that both express Vietnam's values, identity, and development aspirations, and embody the progressive, universal values of humanity. This model rests on three pillars: the socialist-oriented market economy; the socialist rule-of-law State of the people, by the people, for the people under the leadership of the Party; and socialist democracy. It continues to enrich and develop the major relationships that reflect dialectical issues that need to be well-handled in the process of building socialism.

Emphasizing this aforementioned point serves to highlight the tremendous significance of our Party's gradual development of a theoretical framework for a deep



*The conference “The Party’s theoretical work and important research orientations to 2030, with a vision to 2045” \_ Photo: Cao Hieu*

and comprehensive renovation line, a line addressing core issues in the construction, development, and defense of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in the new era. This is clearly reflected in the draft documents prepared for the 14<sup>th</sup> National Party Congress, and has been unanimously affirmed by the Party Central Committee as a vital component of the Party’s ideological foundation, alongside Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought.

Along with promoting theoretical research, the summarization of practical experiences, and raising the level of political theory to be on par with that natural and social sciences and humanities, in recent years, our Party has paid special attention to building the organizational apparatus and a contingent of cadres for political theory research to meet the requirements of the new era. The Party is promoting comprehensive renovation in political theory training and fostering; building and perfecting the system of training and fostering institutions, especially the Party school system throughout the country, to ensure leanness, compactness, strength, efficiency, effectiveness and efficiency; developing a network of theoretical research agencies in the political system; in particular, promoting the extremely important role of the Central Theoretical Council in contributing to the cause of developing Party theory, worthy of being an advisory body to the Central Executive Committee, the Politburo, and the Secretariat; researching, summarizing, and answering new theoretical and practical issues. It serves as the nucleus connecting and mobilizing the intelligence of domestic and international theorists and experts.

Despite the great achievements attained, it must also be candidly acknowledged that the Party’s theoretical work still faces numerous limitations and shortcomings.

Several of the issues identified in Resolution No. 37-NQ/TW remain unresolved. For example, the results of theoretical research have not fully met the demands of practical realities. The documents of the 13<sup>th</sup> National Party Congress also plainly stated: “The work of summarizing practical experience and conducting theoretical research has not been sufficiently prioritized, lacks coherence, and fails to meet requirements; several new, difficult, and complex issues have yet to be clarified”. Notably, the late General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong repeatedly requested: “Theory must rise up to lead the way and accompany practice”, and “forward-looking vision is required”.

Summarizing the achievements and limitations after more than 10 years of implementing Resolution No. 37-NQ/TW, we draw the following three lessons:

*Firstly*, it is essential to firmly grasp the goals and tasks of theoretical work, which is to provide scientific arguments for planning and implementing the Party’s policies, guidelines, and strategic decisions, serving the cause of renovation, national construction and development, and national defense.

*Secondly*, it is necessary to harmoniously manage the relationship between steadfastness and renovation; between inheritance and development; and to skillfully combine theoretical research, the summarization of practice with planning and implementing the Party and State’s guidelines and policies.

*Thirdly*, it is crucial to create a democratic research environment that encourages renovation, promotes the intelligence of the team of theoretical researchers and policy makers; effectively expands international cooperation, selectively absorbs the quintessence of human knowledge to serve the interests of the nation and people.

Dear comrades,

In an article commemorating the 95<sup>th</sup> founding anniversary of the Communist Party of Vietnam, General Secretary To Lam emphasized: “A solid theoretical foundation is the compass for the Party’s actions, determining the correctness of the leadership and development strategy of the country”<sup>(2)</sup>. That shows the deep concern and great expectations of our Party leader for the Party’s theoretical work in the new era - the era of national rise.

Thoroughly grasping the spirit of the General Secretary’s guidance, it is necessary to fully, comprehensively and deeply understand the Party’s theoretical work from theoretical research, summarizing practices associated with planning the Party’s policies and guidelines and the State’s policies and laws, to teaching, training, fostering and propagating political theory; from the work of protecting the Party’s ideological foundation, fighting against erroneous and hostile views on the ideological and theoretical front; to developing the personnel and building an organizational apparatus to do theoretical work.

It is necessary to clearly understand that theoretical research and practical summaries are the foundation for consolidating, supplementing and perfecting the Party’s ideological foundation, guiding the renovation process and the perfection of the Party’s leadership and governance methods. This ensures that the Party always

renovates its thinking, is flexible and creative in making decisions, avoiding conservatism, stagnation, or being disconnected reality. Through education and training in political theory, the Party's cadres and members are equipped with sharp dialectical thinking, steadfast political will, and the ability to effectively resolve practical situations. This enables the proactive protection of the Party's ideological foundation, policies and guidelines, thereby fighting against erroneous and hostile arguments, preventing the risk of "self-evolution" and "self-transformation" within the Party, and strengthen the people's trust in the Party's leadership.

In that spirit, at today's Conference, I would like to request that comrades evaluate and clarify the achievements and the limitations in theoretical work over the recent time; draw lessons, identify tasks for the new period, specially the core tasks related to theoretical research and the summarization of practice, to continue to supplement and develop "Vietnamese revolutionary theory", and to provide arguments for the planning and implementation of the Party's strategic and revolutionary decisions.

(1) Research and summarize theoretical and practical issues, historical lessons drawn from the 100 years of the Party's leadership of the Vietnamese revolution; summarize 40 years of implementing the Platform for national construction during the transition period to socialism (1991), and form a comprehensive system of arguments to serve the drafting of a new Platform for the construction, development and defense in the new era, the era of national rise. In 2025, it is necessary to complete studies summarizing 40 years of renovation, 50 years of national unification, 80 years since the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; and to continue to actively contribute to the drafting of documents to be submitted to the 14<sup>th</sup> National Party Congress.

(2) Deepen understanding of the pillars and defining characteristics of the socialist model; clarify the direction for building socialism and the resolution of major dialectical relationships in constructing and defending the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Particular attention should be given to summarizing local-level socialist models, socialist culture, and the concept of the socialist human being. Continue to study, creatively apply, supplement, and develop Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh Thought, the theory of the renovation path, while constantly improving the Party's ideological foundation.

(3) Conduct theoretical research and summarize practical experience to establish a "Vietnam development model" with its own identity, with outstanding characteristics: rapid, inclusive, and sustainable development, people-centered, operating on the principle: "development for stability and stability for development", promoting the strength of the people and the great national unity bloc, under the comprehensive leadership of the Party.

(4) Promptly identify, analyze, and forecast emerging global issues, particularly epochal transformations; the global trends in the first half of the 21<sup>st</sup> century; the multi-dimensional movement of the global situation; strategic competition among

major countries and the prospects for a redefined world order; future social models amidst profound cultural and social shifts and transformations in human civilization; and the crises facing traditional Western values and development paradigms. Research and select modern development theories and thoughts, clarify the values and development quintessence of the East. Research and summarize the world's perception of 21<sup>st</sup>-century realism and leading socialist models around the world.

(5) Strengthen the theoretical foundation for breakthrough thinking and revolutionary development transformation in the new era. Clarify the content, conditions, and methods of building new productive forces, thereby providing arguments for implementing breakthroughs in science and technology, renovation, green transformation, digital transformation, establish new growth models, and achieving double-digit growth targets... Improve the theory of developing a high-level socialist-oriented market economy, focusing on creating breakthrough institutions capable of unlocking all resources and development potential; properly managing the relationships among economic sectors; ensuring that the state sector plays a truly leading role and that the private sector serves as the most important driver of the economy. Study and summarize new theoretical and practical issues concerning Vietnamese culture and the Vietnamese people; promote patriotism, pride, self-confidence, self-reliance, and the desire for creativity and contribution from every Vietnamese person. reaffirming the special importance of the principle that Party building must be “ethical and civilized,” and continuously self-renewing. Continue to perfect the model of a socialist rule-of-law State that harmonizes universal values with Vietnam's distinctive characteristics; shift strongly from a management mindset to one of governance and developmental orientation, serving the people and businesses. Supplement and complete the theoretical system on national defense, national security, foreign relations, and international integration in the new situation.

Dear comrades,

With a spirit of democracy, science and responsibility, I believe that our conference will have practical and valuable proposals for developing and enhancing the theoretical the Party's work, thereby providing as a basis for strategic decisions to bring the country into a new era: the era of Vietnam's national rise, for peace, independence, democracy, wealth, prosperity, civilization, happiness, and steady progress towards socialism ■

---

● **Endnotes:**

---

(1) See: *Platform for national construction in the transitional period to socialism in 1991, Platform (supplemented and developed in 2011)*.

(2) General Secretary To Lam: *Radiant Vietnam*, <https://qdnd.vn/>, February 2, 2025.