

HO CHI MINH NATIONAL ACADEMY OF POLITICS

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**THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM'S
LEADERSHIP IN BUILDING THE INTELLECTUAL
FORCE FROM 2008 TO 2023**

**SUMMARY OF THE DOCTORAL THESIS
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INTRODUCTION

1. Rationale for the Research Topic

Amid globalization and the far-reaching impact of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, knowledge has truly become a direct productive force and a strategic resource shaping each nation's competitiveness and standing. Deeply aware of this objective law, the Communist Party of Vietnam has consistently affirmed the central position of the human being and regarded intellectuals as the core force driving the country's modernization. This strategic thinking runs throughout, and has been progressively refined in, the Party's system of documents - from Resolution No. 27-NQ/TW of the Tenth Central Committee through the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth National Congresses - with the development of high-quality human resources identified as one of three key strategic breakthroughs. This is regarded as a decisive precondition for promoting innovation, transforming the growth model, helping Vietnam escape the middle-income trap, and realizing the goal of becoming a developed country by 2045.

Beyond its role as a driving force for the economy and society, building the intellectual force is also a matter of special political importance, closely tied to safeguarding national independence and self-reliance and to defending the Party's ideological foundation. As the actors directly engaged in theoretical research, policy formulation, and the shaping of Vietnam's new system of cultural and human values, intellectuals hold a pioneering position in preserving the socialist orientation. Given that hostile forces are stepping up their campaign of “peaceful evolution” in cyberspace in order to divide, entice, and erode political ideals, practical requirements demand the cultivation of a generation of intellectuals who combine high professional competence with firm political resolve - a force capable of defending and elucidating the scientific character of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought, resolutely refuting erroneous views, and effectively drawing lessons from practice to serve the cause of national development.

Practice shows that after fifteen years (2008-2023) of Party leadership in building the intellectual force, many important achievements have been recorded. “Awareness within the Party, the political system, and society of the important position and role of intellectuals has become increasingly full, comprehensive, and profound.” The intellectual force has grown “in both quantity and quality; it is the vanguard force in research, innovation, and the application of science and technology.” However, measured against the country's need for a breakthrough,

the Party's leadership over intellectuals still shows shortcomings and weaknesses: “policies and laws remain incomplete and unsynchronized; there is a lack of breakthrough mechanisms and policies for investment, mobilizing resources, training, fostering, attracting, properly employing, and honoring intellectuals, especially elite intellectuals”; “the structure, quantity, and quality of the intellectual force remain unreasonable, with a shortage of leading experts in various fields”; “a favorable environment encouraging intellectuals to conduct research and apply science on their own initiative has yet to be created ... and the building of the intellectual force has not been closely linked to the goals and tasks of each sector and locality.” These shortcomings call for a comprehensive and systematic study of the process by which the Party led the building of the intellectual force during 2008-2023; a clarification of the evolution of the Party's awareness of the position and role of intellectuals and of its viewpoints and policies on building the intellectual force; and the drawing of experiential lessons - from both successes and shortcomings - for the period ahead, a task of profound theoretical and practical significance.

On this basis, the author has chosen “*The Communist Party of Vietnam's Leadership in Building the Intellectual Force from 2008 to 2023*” as the topic of a doctoral dissertation in the History of the Communist Party of Vietnam, at the Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics.

2. Research Aim and Tasks

2.1. Research Aim

The dissertation presents and clarifies the Party's viewpoints, guidelines, and leadership in building the intellectual force from 2008 to 2023; on this basis, it assesses the strengths and limitations, and the causes underlying the successes and shortcomings, and draws lessons of reference value for further strengthening Party leadership in building a strong intellectual force capable of meeting the country's development requirements.

2.2. Research Tasks

- The dissertation systematically reviews and assesses domestic and international research relevant to the topic, clarifies existing findings on intellectuals and on Party leadership over intellectuals, and thereby identifies scientific “gaps” while affirming the originality of the dissertation topic.

- It closely analyzes the contextual factors and the evolution of theoretical thinking, viewpoints, and guidelines of the Party on building the intellectual force during 2008-2023, focusing on Resolution No. 27-NQ/TW of the Tenth

Party Central Committee and the system of documents from the Tenth to the Thirteenth National Congresses, together with Resolution No. 45-NQ/TW of 24 November 2023 of the Thirteenth Party Central Committee.

- It analyzes and objectively, scientifically reconstructs the process by which the Party led and implemented its guidelines on building the intellectual force, thereby clarifying developments in scale, quality, and structure, and affirming the contributions and role of intellectuals in national construction and development.

- Building on this practical analysis, the dissertation offers comprehensive assessments of achievements and limitations, clarifies their causes, and draws lessons that help provide a scientific basis for further improving the effectiveness of leadership in building the intellectual force.

3. Research Subject and Scope

3.1. Research Subject

The dissertation studies the process by which the Party led the building of the intellectual force (2008-2023) in terms of the evolution of awareness, the promulgation and implementation of guidelines on the quantity and quality of intellectuals, and the promotion of intellectuals' role during the period of industrialization, modernization, and international integration. The research focuses on domestic intellectuals classified by field: science and technology; social sciences and humanities; education and training; leadership and management; the armed forces; and literature and the arts. Overseas Vietnamese intellectuals are examined only from the perspective of policies to attract them, while non-public-sector intellectuals are addressed only where directly relevant.

3.2. Research Scope

- + Content scope: the dissertation focuses on the process by which the Party led the building of the intellectual force during 2008-2023. Its main content includes the development of the Party's theoretical thinking, viewpoints, and guidelines on the position and role of intellectuals; the Party's practical direction of institutionalization and the comprehensive implementation of training, fostering, proper employment, remuneration, and honoring of intellectuals and the creation of an environment for academic freedom; developments in the quantity, quality, and structure of intellectuals; and the role of intellectuals in national construction and development.

- + Spatial scope: the dissertation examines the Party's leadership in building the intellectual force nationwide.

+ Temporal scope: the dissertation focuses on the period from 2008 to 2023, from the Party's promulgation of Resolution No. 27-NQ/TW of 6 August 2008 on building the intellectual force during the period of accelerated national industrialization and modernization, through the end of 2023.

4. Theoretical Basis, Methodology, and Research Methods

4.1. Theoretical Basis

The dissertation's theoretical basis rests on Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought concerning the role and position of intellectuals in the revolutionary process; at the same time, it selectively draws on published research findings on intellectuals by scholars both in Vietnam and abroad.

4.2. Methodology and Research Methods

- The dissertation applies the methodology of dialectical and historical materialism as the basis for studying the Party's leadership over the intellectual force.

- To accomplish its research tasks, the dissertation combines methods specific to the discipline of History of the Communist Party of Vietnam with interdisciplinary methods. The historical method plays the leading role in reconstructing the Party's leadership process during 2008-2023 (concentrated in Chapters 2 and 3), together with the logical method used to link events and draw lessons (concentrated in Chapter 4). In addition, the author employs statistical methods to assess the state of research (Chapter 1); document analysis and the synthesis of scholarly assessments of strengths and weaknesses (Chapters 2, 3, and 4); comparison between the two periods and between policy and implementation; and an interdisciplinary approach drawing on sociology, political science, and economics to provide a comprehensive account of the structure, policies, and practical contributions of the intellectual force.

4.3. Source Materials

The dissertation's source materials comprise two main groups: primary sources, including the Party's documents, resolutions, and directives (notably Resolution No. 27-NQ/TW, Resolution No. 45-NQ/TW, and the documents of the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth National Congresses), state legal normative documents, and summary reports and official statistics from ministries, sectors, and localities during 2008-2023; and secondary sources, including research works, monographs, scholarly articles, and dissertations, both domestic and international, directly related to the topic.

5. New Contributions of the Dissertation

- The dissertation helps systematize and clarify the evolution of the Party's thinking and awareness of the position and role of intellectuals amid accelerated industrialization, modernization, and international integration.

- The dissertation constructs and consistently applies a classification framework for the intellectual force by field of activity (science and technology; social sciences and humanities; education and training; leadership and management; the armed forces; literature and the arts) across both research periods, thereby clarifying the logical relationship between the Party's viewpoints and guidelines and its direction of implementation for each specific group of intellectuals - including groups that have received relatively little attention in previous studies, such as intellectuals within enterprises, intellectuals within the armed forces, and overseas Vietnamese intellectuals.

- The dissertation helps systematically reconstruct the process by which the Party led the building of the intellectual force during 2008-2023, drawing on representative data and historical events; it objectively assesses strengths, identifies limitations in the leadership process, and clarifies the causes of both. This provides a practical basis and a scientific foundation for improving guidelines and policies on building the intellectual force in the new period.

- The dissertation draws lessons of a regular, law-like nature concerning the Party's leadership over intellectuals through fifteen years of practice. The lessons presented in the dissertation - on creating an environment for free creativity, ensuring academic democracy, and cultivating intellectuals' political resolve - hold important reference value for Party building and for the political system as a whole.

6. Theoretical and Practical Significance of the Dissertation

6.1. Theoretical Significance

The dissertation helps clarify and deepen the Party's system of viewpoints and theoretical thinking on intellectuals during the period of accelerated industrialization, modernization, and international integration. Its findings affirm the Party's creative application of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought in establishing the strategic position of intellectuals as the “vital force of the nation” and as the core force generating knowledge and guiding social development.

By analyzing the evolution of thinking from Resolution No. 27-NQ/TW (2008) to Resolution No. 45-NQ/TW (2023), the dissertation provides scientific arguments on the dialectical relationship between Party leadership and the development of the intellectual force. The work helps enrich the Party's theoretical treasury on cadre work, on the worker-peasant-intellectual alliance, and, in particular, on the theory of promoting the human factor under the conditions of the knowledge economy and the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

6.2. Practical Significance

The dissertation systematically reviews the fifteen-year process (2008-2023) during which the Party led the building of the intellectual force nationwide; it objectively reconstructs the achievements attained while analyzing the limitations and shortcomings in implementing policies toward intellectuals during this period. This constitutes an important body of data, providing scientific arguments to help the Party's advisory bodies gain a comprehensive and scientific view of the work of building the intellectual force.

The lessons drawn hold reference value for Party committees and authorities at all levels in renewing their methods of leadership, building a democratic academic environment, and unleashing the potential of intellectuals in localities and units. The dissertation also makes a practical contribution to political education, fostering national pride and a sense of responsibility among intellectuals toward the cause of national construction.

The dissertation may serve as a reference for research and teaching in the History of the Communist Party of Vietnam at academies, schools, and training institutions within the political system.

7. Structure of the Dissertation

Besides the introduction, conclusion, list of the author's published works related to the dissertation, list of references, and appendices, the main content of the dissertation is organized into four chapters and nine sections.

Chapter 1

LITERATURE REVIEW RELATED TO THE DISSERTATION TOPIC

1.1. STUDIES RELATED TO THE DISSERTATION TOPIC

1.1.1. General Studies on Intellectuals

Foreign scholars - notably Richard Florida, Tham Vinh Hoa, Ngo Quoc Dieu, V.A. Mau, and Vuong Huy Dieu - have deepened the argument concerning the “creative class” and talent strategy as a decisive factor in the rise and fall of nations, while B. Kerkvliet has outlined the role of intellectuals in offering objective policy critique within a one-party institutional setting. In Vietnam, works by Nguyen Huu Tang, Dam Duc Vuong, Bui Nhat Quang, Duong Trung Quoc, Nguyen Thanh Tuan, Nguyen Van Khanh, Le Thi Thanh Huong, Pham Tat Dong, Nguyen Viet Thong, Nguyen Dac Hung, and Nguyen Cong Tri, among others, have comprehensively examined, from both theoretical and practical perspectives, the creative-labor nature of intellectuals throughout history. Against the backdrop of the Fourth Industrial Revolution and the knowledge economy, Truong Luu, Cao Thi Phuong, Pham Anh Tu, and Vo Khanh Vinh affirm the urgent need to reform remuneration policy, perfect mechanisms of incentive, and build a democratic, academically free environment so as to maximize the release of intellectual resources for national revival.

1.1.2. Studies on the Viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought, and on Party Leadership over Intellectuals

Research by Tran Duong, Nguyen Van Khanh, Dam Duc Vuong, and Ta Ngoc Tan clarifies Ho Chi Minh's art of properly employing talent, while studies by Nguyen Thang Loi, Le Cong Luong, Nguyen Thi Kim Dung, and Nguyen Thu Hai analyze the process of Party leadership over intellectuals, tracing its shift from an administrative approach toward ideological guidance and respect for academic autonomy. Do Muoi, Vu Dinh Quyen, Nguyen Dinh Ninh, Bui Thi Bich Thuan, and Pham Minh Son directly discuss the renovation line in connection with the Thirteenth National Congress and the resolutions of the Party Central Committee. Taken together, these studies agree that institutionalizing the Party's viewpoints and building mechanisms of interest together with an environment of democracy and academic freedom are preconditions for developing a strong intellectual force in the digital era amid international integration.

1.1.3. Studies on Building the Intellectual Force by Sector, Field, and Locality

In the Central Highlands and areas home to ethnic-minority communities, authors such as Bui Tat Thang, Nguyen Van Thanh, and Vu Thi Thuy Dung link intellectual work with ethnic and religious policy and with the promotion of social capital and indigenous knowledge. In major economic and scientific centers such as Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, Hai Phong, and the central coastal region, studies by Luong Quang Hien and Nguyen Xuan Phuong emphasize the need to “capitalize on knowledge,” field-specific attraction policies, and the “three-actor” linkage model of state, university, and enterprise. The profile of intellectuals by sector and gender is further portrayed through work on honoring women intellectuals (Do Thi Thach) and on “intellectualizing” the industrial workforce (Bui Thi Kim Hau). In higher education and the armed forces, Nguyen Tuan Anh and Nguyen Thi Thanh Ha, among others, demonstrate the importance of linking training with the domestic employment ecosystem, ensuring academic freedom, and combining political leadership with the cultivation of scientific creativity in military affairs, so as to build an intellectual force that is both politically resolute and professionally accomplished.

1.2. OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH RESULTS RELATED TO THE TOPIC AND ISSUES REQUIRING FURTHER STUDY

1.2.1. Overview of the Research Results of Published Scientific Works

First, existing works clarify that the essential nature of intellectuals lies in creative labor and social responsibility, affirming their core position within the worker-peasant-intellectual alliance. They also establish the Party's method of leadership through ideological guidance and policy mechanisms, one that ensures academic democracy while never substituting for intellectual organizations themselves.

Second, they affirm that the intellectual force constitutes an inexhaustible resource and the vanguard force determining the success of industrialization, modernization, and the development of the knowledge economy, as well as the country's proactive adaptation to the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

Third, they provide a rich body of data at the national, sectoral, and local levels. These studies both highlight achievements and candidly identify policy bottlenecks, suggesting solutions for the new period.

Fourth, they reconstruct the evolution of the Party's theoretical thinking across historical periods, clarifying the rationale behind Resolution No. 27-NQ/TW of 2008 and the evolving trends in work to mobilize intellectuals amid integration and digital transformation.

1.2.2. Issues the Dissertation Continues to Study

First, to clarify Party leadership in building the intellectual force (2008-2023) in connection with the country's process of industrialization, modernization, and international integration.

Second, to provide an objective, comprehensive assessment of the strengths and limitations of the Party's leadership during this period and to clearly identify their causes.

Third, to draw lessons of experience from fifteen years of practice (2008-2023), providing a scientific basis for the Party to continue strengthening its leadership role over the intellectual force so as to meet the demands of the new era.

Chapter Summary 1

On the basis of this review and analysis of the state of research, it can be affirmed that the question of intellectuals, and of Party leadership in building the intellectual force, is a subject that has attracted considerable scholarly attention. Existing studies approach the topic from multiple angles: general theory on the role and position of intellectuals; intellectuals in history; and the practical policies of the state, sectors, and localities. These works provide important source material. Building on this research, the dissertation focuses on clarifying the Party's system of guidelines and its process of leadership in building the intellectual force during 2008-2023; analyzing strengths, limitations, and causes; and drawing lessons of a regular, law-like nature. In doing so, it contributes to supplementing and developing the theory of Party leadership in building Vietnam's intellectual force.

Chapter 2

THE PARTY'S GUIDELINES AND DIRECTION ON BUILDING THE INTELLECTUAL FORCE (2008-2015)

2.1. FACTORS AFFECTING PARTY LEADERSHIP

2.1.1. The Concept of Intellectuals and the Evolution of the Party's Awareness of Intellectuals (Prior to 2008)

2.1.1.1. The Concepts of “Intellectuals,” “the Intellectual Force,” and “Building the Intellectual Force”

Intellectuals are a social stratum engaged in advanced mental labor, possessing deep expertise, creative capacity, and social responsibility, and formed through the social division of labor. Inheriting Marxist-Leninist thought and revolutionary practice, the Communist Party of Vietnam - through

Resolutions 27 and 45 - positions the intellectual force as the core element within the worker-peasant-intellectual alliance, holding a special role in promoting industrialization, modernization, and the knowledge economy. On this basis, building the intellectual force is understood as the process of forming and developing this force under the direction of the Party and State, through training, fostering, and the proper remuneration of talent, ensuring synchronized growth in numbers, improved professional quality and political character, and a rational structure serving the country's development.

2.1.1.2. The Party's Process of Developing Awareness of Intellectuals and of Building the Intellectual Force (Prior to 2008)

Throughout the revolutionary process from 1945, through the two resistance wars and the post-war period, the Party and President Ho Chi Minh consistently pursued a policy of unity, recruiting and properly employing talent, while training a generation of intellectuals who were both “red and expert” in service to the country. Entering the Renovation (Doi Moi) period in 1986, the Party achieved a fundamental breakthrough by abandoning narrow prejudices, affirming intellectuals as socialist workers, and guaranteeing the right to free creativity. Through the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth National Congresses, theoretical awareness continued to be elevated to a strategic level: science and technology, together with education and training, were identified as the foremost national policy, and the emphasis shifted decisively from merely defining intellectuals' status toward perfecting policies for their training, employment, and remuneration. Notably, the Party promulgated Resolution No. 27-NQ/TW (2008), which for the first time provided a comprehensive definition of intellectuals and shaped a strategic system of viewpoints for building the intellectual force in order to meet the requirements of national industrialization and modernization.

2.1.2. The International Context

Entering the twenty-first century, the boom of the knowledge economy and the revolution in science and technology transformed the productive forces, shifting international competition away from resources and capital and toward creative capacity and elite intellectuals. Different countries formed distinctive models of human-resource governance: the United States and Sweden emphasized pragmatic educational ecosystems and the promotion of knowledge capital; South Korea and China shifted from a “demographic dividend” to a “talent dividend” through strategies of investment and the global attraction of scholars; and Malaysia and Singapore demonstrated the advantages of systematic management and superior remuneration in preventing brain drain. This

international experience offers Vietnam several lessons: the need for a comprehensive, long-term national strategy linked to labor-market demand; increased investment in education and science and technology; and the creation of an open, attractive academic environment able to attract and make the most of domestic intellectuals, overseas Vietnamese, and international experts alike - turning intellectual resources into an endogenous driving force that raises the country's international standing.

2.1.3. Domestic Realities

Over more than two decades of Renovation (1986-2006), Vietnam achieved results of historic significance, creating new strength and standing for the cause of national industrialization and modernization. Vietnam's intellectual force grew rapidly in both quantity and quality, affirming its role as the core force across all fields. Nevertheless, faced with the demands of the knowledge economy and intense competitive pressure following WTO accession in 2007, practice also revealed major bottlenecks: the quality of the intellectual force had yet to meet requirements, there was a serious shortage of leading experts, a gap emerged in the succeeding generation, the structure remained unreasonable, and the risk of brain drain to multinational corporations grew, owing to a working environment that did not truly foster creativity. This situation created an objective and pressing need to further strengthen the Party's macro-level leadership in building a strong intellectual force capable of comprehensively meeting the requirements and tasks of the new revolutionary period.

2.2. THE PARTY'S VIEWPOINTS AND GUIDELINES ON BUILDING THE INTELLECTUAL FORCE

2.2.1. The Party's Viewpoints

The Party positions intellectuals as a particularly important creative labor force, while elevating the development of high-quality human resources into a strategic breakthrough that creates national competitive advantage in the process of industrialization, modernization, and international integration. Building the intellectual force is defined as the shared responsibility of the whole of society and the political system, in which the Party's orientation and leadership and the State's macro-management play the decisive role, closely combined with the unifying and rallying function of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and mass organizations. The Party emphasizes practicing democracy and respecting and promoting freedom of thought within the framework of the law, and extending special recognition and remuneration to talented individuals on the basis of their qualities, capacities, and practical contributions - all in the ultimate service of national development goals.

2.2.2. The Party's Guidelines

During 2008-2015, Resolution No. 27-NQ/TW and other Party documents formed a comprehensive system of guidelines on building the intellectual force. The focus lay on training and fostering, with fundamental renovation of general education and enhanced postgraduate training aimed at cultivating elite intellectuals, alongside attention to political theory and professional ethics. At the same time, the Party pursued the development of the intellectual force in terms of quantity, quality, and structure, prioritizing three key groups: science and technology; social sciences and humanities; and leadership and management. In addition, reforming the institutions and policies governing the management, employment, and remuneration of intellectuals was regarded as a key link, aimed at creating a transparent legal environment, objective assessment, the proper use of talent, and reform of both material and non-material forms of remuneration. The Party also emphasized attracting overseas Vietnamese and international intellectuals, regarding them as a valuable resource for accessing advanced knowledge, transferring technology, and raising the level of the domestic intellectual force. These orientations laid the foundation for building a strong intellectual force capable of meeting the requirements of industrialization, modernization, and international integration.

2.3. THE PROCESS OF DIRECTING IMPLEMENTATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTELLECTUAL FORCE (2008-2015)

2.3.1. The Process of Directing the Organization and Implementation of Guidelines and Policies

2.3.1.1. Training and Fostering the Intellectual Force

The implementation of guidelines on training and fostering intellectuals during 2008-2015 proceeded in a synchronized manner, from the legal-institutional level down to individual educational institutions. At the macro level, the spirit of Resolution No. 27-NQ/TW and the 2013 Constitution was given concrete form through the 2009 Education Law, the 2012 Higher Education Law, and the 2013 Law on Science and Technology, marking a shift from administrative management toward quality-based management, granting universities autonomy, standardizing faculty qualifications, and ensuring a minimum annual research budget of two percent. At the same time, the State promulgated the 2011-2020 Human Resource and Science-and-Technology Development Strategy, together with large-scale projects such as Projects 322/356, 911, 599, and 1558, to train officials, lecturers, and specialized personnel abroad. At the implementation level, universities shifted to a credit-based system, applied international accreditation standards such as AUN-QA and

CDIO, adopted a learner-centered approach, standardized foreign-language and IT competencies, and expanded international cooperation. These reforms built an open academic ecosystem, laying the foundation for a new generation of intellectuals capable of meeting the demands of international integration.

2.3.1.2. Management, Employment, and Remuneration; Building a Democratic, Academically Free Environment for Intellectuals

The Party focused its leadership on perfecting mechanisms, building a democratic and creative working environment, and formulating appropriate remuneration policies in order to make the fullest use of the intellectual force's capacities. The legal framework was shaped through the 2008 Law on Cadres and Civil Servants and the 2010 Law on Public Employees, which separated administrative from professional-service work and abolished the “lifetime tenure” mechanism in favor of performance-linked contracts and greater autonomy. This human-centered approach continued to be reflected in the 2012 Law on Higher Education and the 2013 Law on Science and Technology, paving the way for quantifying actual capability against international criteria, standardizing professional titles, and promoting academic development through the NAFOSTED Fund.

At the same time, a democratic academic environment and freedom of thought were promoted under the spirit of Directive No. 42-CT/TW, together with an enhanced advisory and critical role for intellectual organizations such as the Vietnam Union of Science and Technology Associations (VUSTA). In terms of remuneration, flexible salary mechanisms based on job position and the legalization of income derived from intellectual products helped intellectuals gradually be able to “live by their profession.” Policy also emphasized attracting outstanding students and young scientists (Conclusion No. 86-KL/TW), as well as overseas Vietnamese and international experts (Decree No. 87/2014/ND-CP), while mobilizing young intellectual volunteers to work in disadvantaged areas and ensuring development opportunities for women intellectuals. National award systems and specific prizes such as the Kovalevskaja Award and the L'Oréal-UNESCO Award helped honor knowledge and inspire the aspiration to contribute to national development.

2.3.1.3. Directing the Development of the Intellectual Force's Structure by Field

To build an intellectual force with a synchronized and balanced structure, the Party and State promulgated a series of plans and key projects for critical professional fields such as science and technology, political theory, management cadres, culture and the arts, enterprises, and the armed forces. At the same time,

priority policies were strengthened to direct young officials and volunteer doctors toward work in poor, remote, mountainous, and island districts, and to support personnel training through the preferential admission scheme. In addition, attention to gender structure was given concrete form through the gender-equality strategy and the establishment of the Vietnam Association of Women Intellectuals, aimed at making the fullest use of the female labor force's potential. This comprehensive system of solutions produced an important shift in balancing the quality, occupational distribution, and regional distribution of intellectuals during 2008-2015.

2.3.1.4. Attracting Overseas Vietnamese Intellectuals and Foreign Intellectuals

To harness resources from overseas Vietnamese and international sources, the Party directed the institutionalization of policies to attract intellectuals and foreign experts through key documents such as Decree No. 87/2014/ND-CP, Directive No. 45-CT/TW, and visa-exemption policies, creating superior preferential mechanisms with respect to working conditions, residence, and income. At the same time, leadership during 2008-2015 was consistently accompanied by regular inspection and preliminary reviews of practice, from the grassroots level up to the center. A notable example was the Politburo's Conclusion No. 90-KL/TW (2013), which reviewed five years of implementation of Resolution No. 27-NQ/TW, thereby candidly assessing strengths, clearly identifying limitations, and promptly adjusting the appropriate directive solutions for the following stage.

2.3.2. Results and Contributions of the Intellectual Force (2008-2015)

2.3.2.1. The Quantity, Quality, and Structure of the Intellectual Force

The period 2008-2015 marked a breakthrough in the development of Vietnam's intellectual force in terms of scale, quality, and structure, affirming its role as a strategic resource in the process of renovation and integration. The labor force holding a university degree or higher grew strongly, reaching 8.5 percent of the total workforce, alongside an increase in the number of lecturers and researchers and in investment in innovation. Quality improved markedly through the standardization of qualifications and foreign-language competence, and through breakthroughs in international science indicators: the number of patents and of Scopus-indexed publications rose sharply, and Vietnam's ranking on the Global Innovation Index (GII) improved, thanks to the transparent mechanism of the NAFOSTED Fund and to elite overseas-training projects. The structure of the intellectual force also shifted positively - from the administrative sector toward the economic sector, and from state-owned enterprises toward the non-

state sector - alongside the growth of intellectuals in national defense, diplomacy, and among women and ethnic-minority intellectuals. Geographic distribution nonetheless remained uneven, with high-quality resources concentrated in major urban centers, a fact that called for macro-policy adjustments in the following period.

2.3.2.2. Contributions of the Intellectual Force to National Construction, Defense, and Development

During 2008-2015, Vietnam's intellectual force affirmed its role across every field. On the political, theoretical, and ideological front, social-science and humanities intellectuals provided incisive scientific arguments for formulating the Party line, building development strategies, improving institutions, and participating in the negotiation of new-generation free-trade agreements, while defending the Party's ideological foundation. At the micro level, science-and-technology intellectuals drove the shift toward a growth model based on depth, achieving breakthroughs in self-reliance - from crossbreeding and the standardization of high-tech farming processes, to mastering key industrial techniques, localizing modern medicine, achieving self-sufficiency in vaccines, and leading the development of the digital economy and e-government. In the cultural and social sphere, teachers and artists raised the level of public education, trained high-quality human resources, and preserved and restored national heritage sites recognized by UNESCO. Notably, the process of “intellectualizing” the leadership apparatus, together with active participation in social consultation and critique, raised the scientific content of macro-level decision-making and promoted the democratization of political life. These contributions demonstrated the correctness of the Party's line and affirmed the pivotal position of intellectuals in the cause of national industrialization, modernization, and development.

Chapter Summary 2

The period 2008-2015 marked a new step forward in the Party's leadership in building the intellectual force, with many important results achieved. On the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought, the Party clearly recognized the trends of globalization, the knowledge economy, and the revolution in science and technology, and accordingly perfected its guidelines - notably through Resolution No. 27-NQ/TW - identifying intellectuals as “a particularly important creative labor force” and setting out a synchronized system of solutions. These guidelines were resolutely implemented, with emphasis on institutionalization and on building an increasingly complete legal and policy framework, along two main thrusts: training and fostering, and the renovation of

management and remuneration. As a result, the intellectual force developed in both quantity and quality, with improved professional qualifications, research capacity, and capacity for international integration, making a major contribution to national development. These achievements became a solid foundation for the following period.

Chapter 3

THE PARTY LEADING THE BUILDING OF THE INTELLECTUAL FORCE TO MEET NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT REQUIREMENTS IN THE NEW CONTEXT (2016-2023)

3.1. THE NEW CONTEXT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTY'S GUIDELINES

3.1.1. The New Context and Emerging Requirements

3.1.1.1. The International Context

During 2016-2023, the international context underwent complex fluctuations, marked by strategic competition between the United States and China, the rise of protectionism, and the shifting of global supply chains, creating both opportunities and challenges for Vietnam. The Fourth Industrial Revolution became a driving force shaping the world, promoting the knowledge economy and global competition for talent, and compelling Vietnam to build a force of high-tech intellectuals, AI and data experts, and personnel able to adapt to the digital environment. The COVID-19 pandemic further demonstrated the vital role of scientific knowledge in risk governance, in ensuring security, and in sustainable development. Against this backdrop, the Party and State faced an urgent requirement to formulate a clear national strategy, invest appropriately, and adopt breakthrough policies in order to build and properly employ an intellectual force on a par with international integration.

3.1.1.2. The Domestic Context and Emerging Requirements

After thirty years of renovation, Vietnam had achieved important results, moving out of the group of underdeveloped countries to become a middle-income country, with improved living standards, political and social stability, and an enhanced international standing - achievements to which the intellectual force made a significant contribution. However, the old growth model, based on capital, resources, and cheap labor, had reached its limits, and the risk of falling behind and of the “middle-income trap” became real amid the Fourth Industrial Revolution and the COVID-19 pandemic. Further challenges arose from political and ideological issues, corruption, inequality, climate change, and environmental

degradation. Practice thus created an urgent requirement to rely on the intelligence, resolve, and creativity of intellectuals in order to build a new growth model, defend the ideological foundation, resolve complex social problems, and realize the aspiration of becoming a high-income, developed country.

3.1.2. The Party's Viewpoints and Guidelines on Building the Intellectual Force in the New Context

3.1.2.1. Supplementing and Developing Viewpoints on Building the Intellectual Force

In the new context, the Party's viewpoints on building the intellectual force continued to be supplemented and developed, remaining firm on the principles of Resolution No. 27-NQ/TW while deepening their content to suit practical conditions. The Party affirmed intellectuals as a special resource, evolving from an important creative labor force into a pioneering subject in raising public knowledge, fostering talent, and leading national development. The role of intellectuals became closely tied to the knowledge economy and the Fourth Industrial Revolution, becoming a key driving force of the new growth model - not only generating knowledge but also commercializing it, engaging in start-ups, and building a national innovation ecosystem. The Party also emphasized the participation of enterprises as the center of the innovation ecosystem, connecting the State, universities, and enterprises, and promoting linkage and practical application. At the same time, the new viewpoint linked freedom of creativity with social responsibility and with intellectuals' civic duty.

3.1.2.2. Perfecting Guidelines on Building the Intellectual Force

During 2016-2023, the Party's guidelines on building the intellectual force were perfected through breakthrough, focused, and targeted measures aimed at producing substantive change. First, the Party emphasized training and fostering in line with the requirements of the Fourth Industrial Revolution and national digital transformation, concentrating on core technology sectors, universalizing digital and foreign-language skills, and promoting the digital-university model. It paid attention to developing outstanding experts in pioneering fields such as information technology, cybersecurity, smart manufacturing, healthcare, and education, while enhancing the role of the three core groups of intellectuals to meet new requirements in research, theory, and digital governance. At the same time, the Party pursued improvements to the mechanisms and policies for managing and employing intellectuals, creating a fair, competitive environment that encourages innovation, and applying “commissioned research” and transparent bidding mechanisms to make proper use of talent. The Party also strengthened its efforts to attract overseas Vietnamese and international

intellectuals, shifting from an isolated approach toward building a global innovation network that connects experts at home and abroad, while proactively inviting leading talent through special remuneration policies.

3.2. THE PROCESS OF DIRECTING IMPLEMENTATION AND THE COMPREHENSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTELLECTUAL FORCE

3.2.1. The Process of Directing the Organization and Implementation of Guidelines in the New Context

3.2.1.1. Continuing to Renew and Improve the Quality of Intellectual Training

During 2016-2023, the training of intellectuals continued to be renewed and improved in quality through amendments to the Law on Higher Education (2018) and the Education Law (2019), which expanded institutional autonomy, tightened quality accreditation, and shifted the educational philosophy toward developing learners' qualities and competencies. On this legal foundation, the Government implemented numerous key strategies and projects, such as the vocational-education strategy, the science, technology, and innovation strategy, and the national digital-transformation program, together with domestic and overseas training projects including Project 2395, Project 89, and Project 69. At the same time, the State promoted international accreditation and ranking, encouraging universities to take part in the QS and THE rankings to raise their standing. As a result, a synchronized, progressive institutional framework took shape, laying a solid foundation for building a Vietnamese intellectual force with the qualities and capacities to meet development requirements in the digital era.

3.2.1.2. Perfecting Mechanisms and Policies for Managing, Employing, and Remunerating Intellectuals

During 2016-2023, the mechanisms and policies for managing, employing, and remunerating intellectuals were perfected in a direction that created a competitive, transparent environment and encouraged creativity. The Party and State implemented numerous reforms, including output-based funding mechanisms, commissioned research, intellectual-property protection, and the promotion of science-and-technology enterprises; reformed salary policy to link it with job position and performance; expanded financial autonomy for universities; and adopted preferential policies to attract young intellectuals, overseas Vietnamese intellectuals, and international experts. At the same time, the State encouraged innovative start-ups, provided direct support for income, allowances, and working conditions, and honored intellectuals through national and international awards. These policies helped unleash creative potential, raise the motivation to contribute, and affirm intellectuals as a special resource in national development.

3.2.1.3. Directing the Building of Expert and Scientist Contingents in Pioneering Fields

Implementing Resolution No. 52-NQ/TW, the Party directed the translation of priority technology groups into specialized projects aimed at forming spearhead teams of experts in information security, cybersecurity, and national digital technology. At the same time, the guideline for developing intellectuals was implemented across every field: training a generation of “digital doctors” in the health sector; combining broad-based fostering with specialized training in “digital thinking” for leading and managing cadres; and completing a preferential legal framework for credit capital (Decree No. 13/2019/ND-CP) to promote the commercialization of inventions by intellectuals working in enterprises. Alongside efforts to strengthen mastery of modern military technology within the armed forces, the Party continued to preserve the distinctive character of the social sciences and humanities through key theoretical programs and an independent research-funding mechanism operated through the NAFOSTED Fund.

3.2.1.4. Attracting Overseas Vietnamese Intellectuals and Foreign Intellectuals

To mobilize resources from overseas Vietnamese and international sources, the Party and State perfected a synchronized legal framework offering superior preferential mechanisms with respect to entry and exit, residence, and negotiated remuneration. A key breakthrough during this period was the shift in thinking from “isolated attraction” to “network connection,” exemplified by the establishment of the National Innovation Center (NIC) to coordinate a network of Vietnamese technology experts across many countries, linking investment funds and incubating thousands of start-ups. Alongside synchronized infrastructure investment at the Hòa Lạc High-Tech Park, aimed at shaping a concentrated innovation ecosystem, connecting channels such as the Global Vietnamese Young Intellectuals Forum helped rejuvenate the network and unlock intellectual resources in service of national development.

3.2.2. The Comprehensive Development and Contributions of the Intellectual Force to the Cause of National Construction, Defense, and Development (2016-2023)

3.2.2.1. Development in the Quantity, Quality, and Structure of the Intellectual Force

During 2016-2023, Vietnam's intellectual force underwent a pivotal development in scale, quality, and structure in order to meet the demands of the knowledge economy and the Fourth Industrial Revolution. The labor force

holding a university degree or higher exceeded six million people, reaching a rate of 11.1 percent, further supplemented by strategic projects such as Project 911 and Project 89. A notable feature was the rise of the private sector, with major research institutes driving increased investment in R&D, a trend toward a younger workforce, and expansion into many new fields. Quality improved markedly, with the number of international publications increasing more than fourfold, Vietnam entering the top fifty on the Global Innovation Index, and several universities appearing for the first time in the QS and THE rankings. Technology intellectuals affirmed their self-reliant standing by mastering 5G technology, artificial intelligence, defense equipment, advanced medical technology, and heritage digitization. Although the force still lacked a long-term strategy and leading scientists capable of heading international research groups, this remarkable growth became a strategic asset, realizing the Party's guidelines and elevating the country's position on the global academic map.

3.2.2.2. Contributions of the Intellectual Force to the Process of National Construction, Defense, and Development

During 2016-2023, Vietnam's intellectual force continued to affirm its role as a strategic core and as a special endogenous resource in national construction and defense. At the macro level, intellectuals working in theory, economics, and law provided incisive scientific arguments for policy formulation and for the defense of the Party's ideological foundation. On the production front, technology intellectuals pioneered the building of digital infrastructure under the “Make in Vietnam” strategy, promoting the start-up ecosystem and raising value in traditional industries through artificial intelligence, the Internet of Things, and biotechnology. During the COVID-19 pandemic, intellectuals in health, technology, and the social sciences demonstrated their capability by independently isolating the virus, manufacturing biological products, establishing a “digital shield,” and designing social-welfare response scenarios. At the same time, higher education achieved international integration through the QS and THE rankings; intellectuals in the cultural sector digitized national heritage; and intellectuals within the armed forces modernized the art of warfare, manufactured high-tech military equipment, and responded to non-traditional security challenges. These contributions raised the country's standing and potential on the international stage.

Chapter Summary 3

During 2016-2023, the Party led the building of the intellectual force with strategic thinking, emphasizing the creation of breakthroughs rather than merely building a foundation, as in the previous period. Intellectuals were identified as the key driving force of the new growth model based on science, technology, and

innovation, closely linked to strategic tasks such as the Fourth Industrial Revolution and the building of the digital economy and digital society, in pursuit of the aspiration for a prosperous and powerful nation. The Party focused on removing institutional bottlenecks and institutionalizing solutions into laws, programs, and projects that created a favorable environment for creativity and contribution. As a result, the intellectual force grew steadily stronger, contributing comprehensively on the economic, cultural, ideological, and security-defense fronts, affirming the correctness of the Party's line and demonstrating that investment in intellectuals is indeed investment in sustainable development. This also provides the basis for reviewing fifteen years (2008-2023) and for drawing achievements, limitations, and lessons of experience for the period ahead.

Chapter 4

ASSESSMENTS AND EXPERIENCE

4.1. ASSESSMENTS

4.1.1. Achievements and Causes

4.1.1.1. Achievements

During 2008-2023, the work of building the intellectual force achieved many notable strengths. First, the Party's awareness became increasingly comprehensive, regarding intellectuals as the vital force of the nation, a special resource, and the central subject of policy, while ensuring freedom of thought and academic freedom and properly employing talent both domestically and among overseas Vietnamese. Second, viewpoints and guidelines were rapidly institutionalized into a progressive system of laws, mechanisms of autonomy and output-based funding, targeted investment, and the building of an innovation ecosystem, creating a democratic and transparent working environment that connects intellectuals at home and abroad. Third, the intellectual force developed comprehensively in scale, quality, and structure, growing younger and shifting strongly toward the production and business sector, while affirming its pillar role in policy advising, promoting digital transformation, mastering core technologies, developing education and healthcare, preserving culture, and modernizing national defense and security. These achievements demonstrate that intellectuals are a creative, pioneering force, contributing to raising the country's standing in an era of integration and sustainable development.

4.1.1.2. Causes

Objectively, the Fourth Industrial Revolution and deep international integration placed intellectuals at the center of production and governance,

compelling them to innovate continuously, to access global knowledge, to participate in international value chains, and to interact with multinational corporations - thereby forming a new generation of intellectuals with global thinking who nonetheless retain their national identity, together with the important contribution of overseas Vietnamese intellectuals.

Subjectively, the Party's steadfastness and creativity in applying Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought - in promulgating strategic resolutions such as Resolution No. 27-NQ/TW and Resolution No. 45-NQ/TW, and in institutionalizing them into laws, autonomy mechanisms, targeted investment, and talent-attraction policies - played a decisive role. Cadre work was renewed on the basis of competence, forming a transnational network of intellectual talent and creating a democratic environment for free creativity. The intrinsic strength of intellectuals themselves, nurtured by a tradition of studiousness and patriotism and combined with the sponsorship of the Party and State, generated an endogenous source of strength, allowing intellectuals to contribute with peace of mind and affirming their core role in the cause of industrialization, modernization, and the aspiration for national development.

4.1.2. Limitations and Causes

4.1.2.1. Limitations

During 2008-2023, the work of building the intellectual force still exhibited a number of limitations. First, the institutionalization of the Party's guidelines was not fully synchronized, breakthrough policies remained lacking, institutional autonomy was often merely formal, remuneration and salaries were largely egalitarian, and the absence of a long-term strategy limited the effectiveness of attracting and employing talent. Second, the structure and quality of the intellectual force remained unreasonable, marked by a simultaneous surplus and shortage: the number of degree holders grew rapidly, yet leading experts remained in short supply, human-resource allocation was imbalanced, and the social sciences and humanities remained weak in policy critique and ideological struggle. Third, the effectiveness of advisory work, critique, and practical application remained low, the commercialization of research was limited, and a segment of intellectuals remained passive, lacking political resolve, and in some cases showed signs of professional ethical decline.

4.1.2.2. Causes of the Limitations

Objectively, a volatile international context, the Fourth Industrial Revolution, and globalization simultaneously opened opportunities for accessing knowledge and created competitive pressures, while the domestic economy remained less than fully sustainable and the COVID-19 pandemic strongly affected intellectual activity.

Subjectively, the principal limitation lay in the fact that awareness among some Party committees and leaders had not been deeply internalized, and a long-term national strategy was lacking; the mechanism for managing science remained bureaucratic and slow to be reformed; egalitarian remuneration policy contributed to brain drain; the quality of university training had not paid sufficient attention to cultivating critical thinking; and a segment of intellectuals remained passive, lacking political resolve, and in some cases showed signs of professional ethical decline. These constitute the core causes behind the development of the intellectual force falling short of the requirements of practice.

4.2. SOME LESSONS OF EXPERIENCE

4.2.1. Thoroughly Grasping and Consistently Implementing the Viewpoint that Building the Intellectual Force Is the Responsibility of the Whole of Society and a Strategic, Regular Task of the Entire Political System under Party Leadership

4.2.2. Always Proceeding from Practical Requirements to Formulate Appropriate Guidelines and Policies for Building the Intellectual Force

4.2.3. Building a Synchronized Cycle from Training and Fostering through to Employment, Remuneration, and the Proper Use of Talent; Identifying and Properly Using Talent as a Strategic Breakthrough

4.2.4. Placing Special Emphasis on Building a Democratic, Open Environment with Freedom of Thought, Regarded as the Decisive Factor for Intellectuals' Creative Capacity and Willingness to Contribute

4.2.5. Proactively Integrating and Strengthening International Cooperation to Raise Vietnamese Intellectuals to World Standards

Chapter Summary 4

Chapter 4 reviews fifteen years (2008-2023) of Party leadership in building the intellectual force, affirming that the greatest achievement lay in the promulgation of correct, scientific guidelines suited to practical conditions, reflecting strategic vision and respect for intellectuals. On this basis, the Party led the process of institutionalization and resource investment, helping intellectuals grow stronger and contribute comprehensively to the country. At the same time, the chapter analyzes limitations and shortcomings and draws five lessons of experience: (1) the role and responsibility of the whole of society and the political system under Party leadership; (2) proceeding from practice to correctly assess the role of intellectuals; (3) valuing education and training, and ensuring synchronization from training through to employment, remuneration, and the proper use of talent; (4) building a free, democratic, and creative environment; and (5) proactively integrating and cooperating internationally in building the intellectual force.

CONCLUSION

In fulfilling the research aims and tasks set out above, the dissertation systematically analyzes the Party's guidelines and line, the State's process of institutionalization, and the participation of the entire political system, while assessing the practical results and contributions of the intellectual force. On this basis, it paints an overall, vivid picture of the leadership of intellectual work during 2008-2023, affirming the decisive role played by correct, consistent, and resolute Party leadership in building and promoting the nation's intellectual resources. The Party's strategic vision, expressed through its core resolutions, established intellectuals as the “vital force of the nation” and “a particularly important creative labor force,” while building an institutional system of historic scale that shifted management from an administrative, subsidized model toward modern governance, thereby unleashing the creative potential of the elite.

Under the Party's leadership, Vietnamese intellectuals developed comprehensively in scale, quality, and capacity for integration, becoming a key driving force of the new growth model and a pillar of national governance. The intellectual force has taken on the pioneering mission of mastering the core technologies of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, leading national digital transformation, building cultural soft power, and firmly defending the Party's ideological foundation. The dissertation has also drawn lessons of experience that help provide a scientific basis for policy formulation. Through this, it affirms the truth that investing in intellectuals is a strategic investment in the future, in the nation's capacity for self-reliance, and a solid path toward building a prosperous and happy socialist Vietnam.

LIST OF THE AUTHOR'S PUBLISHED WORKS RELATED TO THE DISSERTATION

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