

HO CHI MINH NATIONAL ACADEMY OF POLITICS

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**THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM'S
LEADERSHIP OF MASS MOBILIZATION
FROM 2011 TO 2021**

**SUMMARY OF THE DOCTORAL DISSERTATION
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INTRODUCTION

1. Rationale for the Study

Mass mobilization is an important component of the overall leadership activities of the Communist Party of Vietnam and is of strategic significance to the revolutionary cause of the Party and the nation. President Ho Chi Minh affirmed: “If mass mobilization is poor, nothing will succeed; if mass mobilization is skillful, everything will succeed.” This viewpoint has been creatively applied and developed by the Party throughout its leadership of the Vietnamese revolution. The Party has consistently identified mass mobilization as a vital task and a bridge between the Party and the people, contributing to the consolidation of the great national unity bloc and the promotion of the people's strength in the struggle for national liberation, national construction, and national defense.

Entering the period of renovation, in response to increasingly high requirements for consensus and unity across the Party, the people, and the armed forces in implementing the strategic tasks of building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Fatherland, the Party has continuously developed its thinking and theory on mass mobilization, forming a consistent, strategic, and comprehensive system of viewpoints. The Party has determined that mass mobilization is the responsibility of the entire political system; the people are the center, as well as the subjects and beneficiaries of mass mobilization under the Party's leadership.

During the 2011-2021 period, the country continued to accelerate the renovation process, industrialization, modernization, and deep international integration. Alongside favorable opportunities, Vietnam also faced many new difficulties and challenges, including complex and unpredictable developments in the world and the region, the impact of the market economy, rapid development of information technology and social media, social issues arising during development, and especially the outbreak and complex developments of the COVID-19 pandemic since 2020. These factors directly affected the thoughts, aspirations, and livelihoods of various segments of the population, placing increasingly high demands on mass mobilization and the Party's leadership in this field.

Against this backdrop, the Communist Party of Vietnam issued numerous important documents, resolutions, and directives on renewing the content and methods of leading mass mobilization, notably the Documents of the 11th and 12th National Party Congresses and Resolution No. 25-NQ/TW

dated June 3, 2013 of the 11th Central Committee on strengthening and renewing the Party's leadership over mass mobilization in the new situation. At the same time, the Party directed the implementation of grassroots democracy regulations; launched the “Skillful Mass Mobilization” emulation movement; and renewed mass mobilization by state agencies, the Vietnam Fatherland Front, socio-political organizations, and mass organizations in order to strengthen the mobilization and organization of the people and unite classes, social strata, ethnic minorities, religious communities, and Vietnamese people overseas into a unified, cohesive, and strong bloc. Under the Party's leadership, mass mobilization achieved many important results, contributing to strengthening people's trust in the Party and the State, consolidating great national unity, creating social consensus, and mobilizing resources for national development.

However, practice also shows that mass mobilization during 2011-2021 revealed several limitations, such as the failure in some places to promptly grasp the thoughts and aspirations of the people; insufficient coordination within the political system at certain times and places; a proportion of officials and Party members not being genuinely close to and attentive to the people; continued complaints, denunciations, and social hotspots in some localities; and the formalistic exercise of the people's right to mastery in some places. This situation requires continued comprehensive and objective research into the Party's leadership of mass mobilization in order to clarify achievements, limitations, their causes, and issues arising in practice.

From a scientific perspective, many studies have addressed mass mobilization and the Party's leadership of mass mobilization. However, these studies have mainly approached the subject from theoretical or professional perspectives, or examined particular fields, localities, or specific periods. To date, there remains a need for an in-depth and systematic study of the Communist Party of Vietnam's leadership of mass mobilization nationwide from 2011 to 2021—a period marked by important changes in awareness, policy orientations, and implementation practice.

Therefore, studying the Communist Party of Vietnam's leadership of mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021 has profound theoretical and practical significance. The findings not only clarify the process of formulating and implementing the Party's mass mobilization policies during a specific historical period, but also contribute to summarizing practice and providing a scientific basis for further renewing the content and methods of leadership over mass

mobilization in a new era of national development. Based on this rationale, the doctoral candidate selected the topic *“The Communist Party of Vietnam's Leadership of Mass Mobilization from 2011 to 2021”* for her doctoral dissertation in the field of History of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

2. Research Purpose and Tasks

2.1. Research Purpose

To clarify the process of the Party's leadership of mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021; evaluate achievements and limitations; and draw several valuable lessons contributing to improving the effectiveness of the Party's mass mobilization in the current context.

2.2. Research Tasks

- To analyze and evaluate existing research related to the dissertation topic; on that basis, to clarify the scope, extent, and content already studied and the issues that the dissertation needs to continue addressing.
- To analyze and clarify the factors affecting the Party's leadership of mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021.
- To clarify the Party's policy orientations and leadership of mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021.
- To evaluate achievements, limitations, and their causes; on that basis, to draw lessons from the Party's leadership of mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021.

3. Research Subject and Scope

3.1. Research Subject

The research subject of the dissertation is the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam over mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021.

3.2. Research Scope

- *In terms of time: The dissertation focuses on the process of the Party's leadership of mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021, corresponding to the terms of the 11th (2011-2016) and 12th (2016-2021) National Party Congresses.*
- *In terms of content: The Party's mass mobilization comprises all activities aimed at disseminating information, mobilizing, attracting, uniting, organizing, and promoting the strength of the entire population to carry out the revolutionary cause led by the Party, implement the Party's lines and policies and the State's laws and policies, and care for and protect the lawful and legitimate interests of the people. Based on the Party's mass mobilization tasks and the requirements and objectives of a doctoral dissertation in the History of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the dissertation focuses on four*

issues: (1) the Party's leadership of mass mobilization by state agencies and authorities at all levels; (2) the Party's leadership of mass mobilization by the Vietnam Fatherland Front, socio-political organizations, mass associations, ethnic groups, and religious communities; (3) the Party's leadership in building and consolidating the organizational apparatus and personnel responsible for mass mobilization within the political system; and (4) the Party's leadership, inspection, supervision, and review of the implementation of its policies on mass mobilization.

- *In terms of space:* The dissertation studies the Party's leadership of mass mobilization nationwide.

4. Theoretical Foundation, Research Methods, and Sources

4.1. Theoretical Foundation

The dissertation is based on the theoretical foundations of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought on the role of the people and mass mobilization.

4.2. Research Methods

To study the Communist Party of Vietnam's leadership of mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021, the dissertation primarily employs historical and logical methods, combined with analytical, comparative, statistical, and source-critical methods to ensure the objectivity and scientific validity of the research conclusions.

- *Historical method:* Used to faithfully, objectively, and comprehensively reconstruct the process of the Party's leadership of mass mobilization chronologically from 2011 to 2021, in connection with the 11th and 12th National Party Congresses and their specific historical contexts. On this basis, the dissertation clarifies the evolution and development of the Party's thinking and leadership methods, while identifying continuity and innovations in mass mobilization.

- *Logical method:* Used to systematize the Party's policy orientations and the process of directing the implementation of mass mobilization in specific fields across the two periods 2011-2016 and 2016-2021; thereby clarifying their nature and relationships, assessing the situation, achievements, limitations, and causes, and drawing lessons.

- *Analytical method:* Used to examine in depth the contents of the Party's resolutions, directives, and conclusions on mass mobilization in order to clarify the development of the Party's awareness of mass mobilization; and to

analyze contents, data, results, and limitations to clarify the Party's practical direction of mass mobilization.

- *Comparative method*: Used to compare policy orientations and implementation results between the two periods corresponding to the 11th and 12th National Party Congresses; thereby highlighting continuity and development in the Party's leadership thinking, as well as the degree of consistency between stated objectives and practical results.

- *Statistical method*: Used to collect, classify, and systematize the Party's directive documents together with practical data on mass mobilization. The use of specific data provides an empirical basis for assessments and increases the objectivity and reliability of the research findings.

- *Source-critical method*: Used to select, compare, and assess the reliability of documentary sources, especially Party documents, preliminary and final review reports, and relevant research works. On this basis, the dissertation uses sources of high scientific value, ensuring accuracy and objectivity throughout the research process.

4.3. Sources

The dissertation primarily uses the following sources:

- Documents of the Party Central Committee: These include the Documents of the 11th and 12th National Party Congresses; resolutions and conclusions of the Party Central Committee; and resolutions and directives of the Politburo and Secretariat related to mass mobilization. These constitute the fundamental documentary sources providing theoretical and policy guidance from the Party. The materials were collected from the Archives Department of the Party Central Committee Office, the Central Commission for Communications and Education and Mass Mobilization, and the Information and Library Center of the Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics.

- Reports: These include final review reports, thematic reports, annual reports, and term reports of central Party commissions, ministries, and sectors; the Vietnam Fatherland Front and socio-political organizations; and reports of local Party committees and authorities related to mass mobilization during 2011-2021. These sources provide an important practical basis for analyzing and evaluating the results, limitations, and characteristics of the process of implementing the Party's policies on mass mobilization.

- Published scientific works: These include articles in academic journals, monographs, reference books, research projects at different levels, and proceedings of scientific conferences related to the dissertation topic. These

materials are stored at central and local archival centers and the libraries of training institutions such as the Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics and Academy of Politics Region II.

5. New Scientific Contributions of the Dissertation

- The dissertation analyzes and clarifies the factors affecting the Party's leadership of mass mobilization, as well as the requirements and tasks for such leadership from 2011 to 2021; on that basis, it affirms the role and importance of the Party's mass mobilization.

- The dissertation clarifies the process of the Party's leadership of mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021 by systematizing the policies formulated by the Party and its direction of specific tasks; comprehensively evaluates the results, strengths, and limitations; and draws several lessons of reference and practical applicability for improving the effectiveness of the Party's leadership of mass mobilization in the following period.

6. Scientific and Practical Significance of the Study

6.1. Scientific Significance

By clarifying the Party's leadership of mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021, the dissertation contributes to affirming the correctness, scientific basis, and innovative nature of the Party's approach to mass mobilization in both theoretical and practical terms, as an important task for the Party's comprehensive leadership during the period of renovation, accelerated industrialization and modernization, and international integration.

It thereby contributes to providing and strengthening scientific arguments for improving policy orientations and enhancing the Party's leadership effectiveness over mass mobilization in the new situation.

6.2. Practical Significance

The findings of the dissertation provide a practical basis and valuable lessons that may serve as references for Party committees, Party organizations, and advisory bodies in carrying out mass mobilization work in the new period.

The dissertation may be used as a reference for research, teaching, and learning in the field of the History of the Communist Party of Vietnam, particularly regarding the Party's leadership of mass mobilization work during the renovation period.

7. Structure of the Dissertation

In addition to the Introduction, Conclusion, List of the author's published research works related to the dissertation, References, and Appendices, the dissertation consists of 4 chapters and 8 sections.

Chapter 1

REVIEW OF RESEARCH WORKS RELATED TO THE DISSERTATION

1.1. RESEARCH WORKS RELATED TO THE DISSERTATION

1.1.1. Research works by foreign authors related to mass mobilization

Studies by authors such as John Gaventa, Gregory Barrett, Som Vay Neng Xay Khun, Mohammad Ali Kadivar, Elizabeth Plantan, Ho Khai Leong, Phongsamay Hounnachampa, and others focus on the role of citizen participation, social mobilization, and relations among the state, political organizations, and the people in development and social governance. These studies affirm that promoting citizens' agency and renewing methods of mobilization and social organization can improve policy implementation, strengthen consensus, and enhance cohesion between the state and society. At the same time, the authors point out that the effectiveness of mobilizing and organizing the people depends on institutional conditions, leadership capacity, implementation methods, and feedback mechanisms of governing actors. Some studies also note limitations and challenges arising when social mobilization lacks appropriate direction, regulatory mechanisms, and governance capacity. Overall, although foreign studies do not directly address the Communist Party of Vietnam's mass mobilization, they provide theoretical approaches to the role of the people, social participation, mechanisms for mobilizing social resources, and relations between the state and the people. These provide important suggestions for the dissertation in analyzing the content, methods, and effectiveness of the Party's leadership of mass mobilization during 2011-2021.

1.1.2. Domestic research works

1.1.2.1. Studies on mass mobilization based on Ho Chi Minh Thought

Studies by authors such as Doan The Hanh, Tran Dinh Huynh, Nguyen Ba Quang, and Bui Thi Minh Hoai have clarified the formation and development of Ho Chi Minh Thought on mass mobilization, focusing on core propositions such as the role of the people in the revolutionary cause; respect for the people and promotion of democracy; care for people's livelihoods; and the need to develop a “skillful mass mobilization” style and renew methods of mobilizing the masses under current conditions. In addition, many studies have identified limitations in the practice of mass mobilization, most notably bureaucratic behavior and the failure in some places to fully promote the

people's right to mastery; they therefore propose solutions to improve the effectiveness of mass mobilization, strengthen the close relationship between the Party and the people, and increase people's trust in the Party and the State.

1.1.2.2. Studies on the Party's mass mobilization

Studies by authors and institutions such as the Central Commission for Mass Mobilization, Ha Thi Khiem, Nguyen Duy Viet, Nguyen The Trung, Vu Anh Tuan, Truong Thi Mai, Duong Van An, Nguyen Phu Trong, and Doan Thi My Duyen have addressed mass mobilization relatively comprehensively throughout the revolutionary process and the period of renovation. The authors affirm that mass mobilization is a strategic bridge between the Party and the people and deeply reflects President Ho Chi Minh's principle of “taking the people as the foundation.” Mass mobilization is not limited to organizing the masses to participate in emulation movements; it also requires listening to and responding to the practical interests of the people in order to consolidate great national unity. Research also shows that the effectiveness of mass mobilization depends closely on the quality of the personnel, renewal of mobilization methods, and policies appropriate to regional characteristics. When implemented systematically and scientifically, mass mobilization not only enhances the governing capacity of the political system but also promotes the people's agency and firmly strengthens their trust in the Party.

1.2. OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS OF THE INTRODUCED SCIENTIFIC WORKS AND ISSUES TO BE FURTHER ADDRESSED BY THE DISSERTATION

1.2.1. Overview of the findings of research works related to the dissertation topic

Regarding sources: The scientific works reviewed constitute rich and highly reliable documentary sources. In particular, studies closely following the Documents of the 11th and 12th National Party Congresses and Resolution No. 25-NQ/TW have helped the author clearly identify the Party's core policy orientations on mass mobilization during each term. Beyond providing vivid empirical data, the findings of published studies also suggest multidimensional approaches, creating an important basis for the author to compare theoretical thinking with the practical implementation of the Party's mass mobilization during 2011-2021.

Regarding approaches: Existing studies have approached mass mobilization from many different perspectives, contributing to a comprehensive view. Studies in Philosophy and Ho Chi Minh Studies focus on

clarifying ideological foundations, especially the view that “the people are the foundation”; works in Political Science and Party Building examine in depth the leadership mechanisms and methods of mass mobilization within the political system. Legal studies emphasize institutionalizing the Party's policy orientations into law, while research in the History of the Party focuses on reconstructing processes and changes in the Party line across different periods. This diversity not only gives the author a broad perspective but also provides an important basis for the dissertation to clarify the Party's leadership practice from an in-depth historical perspective during the specific period 2011-2021.

Regarding content: Existing studies have addressed and clarified the following basic issues:

- First, studies by foreign scholars have analyzed the role of mobilizing, organizing, and promoting people's participation in national development. They also clarify relations between the state and society, mechanisms for mobilizing social resources, and factors affecting the effectiveness of mass mobilization, thereby providing important theoretical suggestions for studying the role, content, and methods of the Communist Party of Vietnam's leadership of mass mobilization.

- Second, studies of Ho Chi Minh Thought on mass mobilization have clarified the foundations and core content of the view of “taking the people as the foundation” and the great national unity bloc. The authors examine in depth the system of methods and the art of “skillful mass mobilization,” as well as a style of respecting, staying close to, understanding, and being responsible to the people; they also affirm the enduring value of this thought in strengthening the close relationship between the ruling Party and the people today.

- Third, studies of the Party's mass mobilization have systematized and clarified fundamental theoretical issues concerning mass mobilization, including its nature, characteristics, principles, and methods of Party leadership. In particular, the studies affirm the strategic position and important role of mass mobilization in the revolutionary cause, especially in the current context as the country accelerates industrialization, modernization, and deep international integration. These works therefore explain the necessity of renewing the Party's thinking and leadership methods to adapt to national economic development and rapid changes in social structure and mass psychology in the new situation.

- Fourth, studies of the Party's leadership of mass mobilization in specific fields and among specific groups have examined in depth the practical leadership of government mass mobilization through institutionalizing policy orientations, administrative reform, and implementation of grassroots democracy regulations. The authors also comprehensively analyze methods of organizing and promoting the role of social classes and strata in order to consolidate national unity, while clarifying the Party's direction in addressing ethnic and religious issues in connection with ensuring political security in strategic areas. Through reviews of local practice, these studies have identified many creative “skillful mass mobilization” models and pointed out “bottlenecks” that need to be removed to improve the effectiveness of mass mobilization in the new situation.

The review of the research situation shows that although many studies have addressed mass mobilization from different perspectives and within different scopes, no study in the field of History of the Communist Party of Vietnam has yet systematically and comprehensively examined the process of the Communist Party of Vietnam's leadership of mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021 on the basis of clarifying the formation and development of the Party's policy orientations, the leadership of implementation, the results achieved, limitations, and historical lessons. Therefore, selecting the topic “The Communist Party of Vietnam's Leadership of Mass Mobilization from 2011 to 2021” has both scientific and practical significance, helping fill a research gap in the History of the Communist Party of Vietnam while providing a scientific basis for further renewal and improvement of mass mobilization in the new period.

1.2.2. Issues on which the dissertation focuses

- The dissertation analyzes the factors affecting Vietnam's renovation, accelerated industrialization and modernization, and international integration in general, particularly their implications for the Party's leadership of mass mobilization during 2011-2021, from both international and domestic perspectives. At the same time, it assesses the state of mass mobilization before 2011 in order to identify urgent tasks requiring the Party to renew its thinking and leadership methods, especially in response to new difficulties and challenges during the first ten years of implementing the 2011 Supplemented and Developed Political Platform on National Construction during the Transition to Socialism and during the response to the COVID-19 pandemic from late 2019.

- Systematize the Party's policy orientations from the 11th to the 12th National Party Congresses in connection with implementation of the 2011 Political Platform. The emphasis is on analyzing Resolution No. 25-NQ/TW, which marked an important turning point leading to a change in the approach to mass mobilization-from a task and responsibility of individual socio-political organizations and mass associations to a responsibility of the entire political system.

- Analyze and clarify the Party's direction of mass mobilization through two periods, 2011-2016 and 2016-2021, in the following areas: mass mobilization by state agencies and authorities at all levels; mass mobilization by the Vietnam Fatherland Front, socio-political organizations, and mass associations; building and consolidating the organizational apparatus and personnel responsible for mass mobilization within the political system; and inspection, supervision, preliminary review, and final review of the implementation of the Party's policy orientations on mass mobilization.

- Analyze and evaluate the results and limitations in the Party's leadership of mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021; clarify the causes of these results and limitations; and draw several lessons to contribute to improving the effectiveness of the Party's leadership of mass mobilization in the new period.

Summary of Chapter 1

The review of research shows that mass mobilization and the Party's leadership of mass mobilization have attracted the attention of many scholars, research institutions, and domestic and foreign authors from various perspectives. These works have helped clarify the theoretical foundations of mass mobilization based on Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought, while analyzing the formation and development of the Party's policy orientations and the practical implementation of mass mobilization across specific fields, localities, and groups.

The findings of previous studies constitute important documentary sources and provide valuable scientific and practical arguments that the author can inherit in conducting the dissertation. However, to date, no study has systematically and comprehensively examined, from the specialized perspective of the History of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Party's leadership of mass mobilization during 2011-2021.

Based on the review of existing research, the dissertation identifies issues requiring further clarification and focuses on the Party's leadership of mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021, thereby drawing observations and lessons of theoretical and practical significance.

Chapter 2

THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S LEADERSHIP OF MASS MOBILIZATION FROM 2011 TO 2016

2.1. FACTORS AFFECTING AND THE PARTY'S POLICY ORIENTATIONS ON MASS MOBILIZATION (2011-2016)

2.1.1. Historical Context

During 2011-2016, developments in the world and within the country had direct impacts on mass mobilization. Globally, slow economic recovery, strategic competition among major powers, regional conflicts, non-traditional security challenges, and the development of information technology and social media created new requirements for mobilizing the people. Domestically, alongside the achievements of renovation, Vietnam faced many socio-economic difficulties, complaints, land disputes, corruption, waste, and complex social issues. This context required the Party to continue renewing the content and methods of leading mass mobilization, strengthening people's trust, and reinforcing great national unity.

2.1.2. The State of the Party's Mass Mobilization before 2011 and the Requirements Arising

Before 2011, after more than 25 years of renovation, the Party's mass mobilization achieved many important results. The Party's awareness of the position and role of mass mobilization was gradually improved; its system of policy orientations and regulations was supplemented, including Decision No. 290-QD/TW (2010) of the Politburo on the Regulations on Mass Mobilization of the Political System. Mass mobilization became increasingly linked to socio-economic development, Party building, and government building; activities of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, socio-political organizations, and the “Skillful Mass Mobilization” movement achieved positive results. However, limitations remained in institutionalizing policy orientations, implementing grassroots democracy, the conduct of some officials and Party members, and addressing urgent concerns of the people. These limitations, together with new issues arising from the development of the market economy, created the need to continue renewing mass mobilization and provided the basis for the Party to issue Resolution No. 25-NQ/TW dated June 3, 2013 on strengthening and renewing the Party's leadership over mass mobilization in the new situation.

2.1.3. The Party's Policy Orientations on Mass Mobilization from 2011 to 2016

Based on reviews of practice and recognition of new requirements, the Party gradually supplemented and developed its policy orientations on mass mobilization. The 11th National Party Congress affirmed that great national unity was a strategic line, a source of strength, and a driving force for national construction and defense; it also emphasized strengthening the close relationship between the Party and the people, promoting the people's right to mastery, and relying on the people to build the Party.

An important development was reflected in Resolution No. 25-NQ/TW dated June 3, 2013 of the 11th Party Central Committee, which affirmed that the people are the subjects of the revolutionary cause and that mass mobilization is the responsibility of the entire political system under the Party's leadership, with the aim of strengthening trust, increasing social consensus, and promoting the strength of great national unity.

Based on these orientations, the Party led the renewal of mass mobilization toward linking it with administrative reform, implementing grassroots democracy, and enhancing responsibility for serving the people; renewing the activities of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and socio-political organizations and promoting social supervision and social criticism; while consolidating organizations, improving personnel quality, and strengthening inspection and supervision of implementation.

2.2. THE PARTY'S DIRECTION OF THE ORGANIZATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF MASS MOBILIZATION (2011-2016)

2.2.1. The Party's Direction of Mass Mobilization by State Agencies and Authorities at All Levels

For state agencies and authorities at all levels, the Party led the concretization and implementation of mass mobilization policies through improving policies and laws; linking mass mobilization with administrative reform and grassroots democracy; and enhancing the responsibility of officials and civil servants to serve the people. As a result, by 2015, 4,471 administrative procedures had been simplified nationwide, reaching 94.7% of the planned target; the average level of citizen satisfaction with public administrative services reached 78.33%. Citizen reception and the settlement of complaints and denunciations received greater attention, contributing to improved state management effectiveness and strengthened relations between authorities and the people.

2.2.2. The Party's Direction of Mass Mobilization by the Vietnam Fatherland Front, Socio-political Organizations, Mass Associations, Ethnic Groups, and Religious Communities

The Party focused on renewing the content and methods of operation of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, socio-political organizations, social organizations, and mass associations in the direction of promoting the people's right to mastery and strengthening social supervision and criticism. Patriotic emulation movements and major campaigns were widely implemented; by the end of 2015, 1,566 communes nationwide had met new-style rural standards, while the “For the Poor” Fund and social security programs mobilized more than VND 23.7 trillion, supporting the construction and repair of more than 380,000 houses under the “Great Unity” housing program. Mobilization among social classes and strata, ethnic minorities, religious communities, and Vietnamese people overseas achieved many results, contributing to the consolidation of great national unity.

2.2.3. The Party's Direction of Building and Consolidating the Organizational Apparatus and Personnel Responsible for Mass Mobilization within the Political System

The Party focused on consolidating the organizational apparatus and improving the quality of personnel responsible for mass mobilization throughout the political system. On the basis of Resolution No. 25-NQ/TW (2013) and Regulation No. 220-QD/TW (2013) of the Secretariat, mass mobilization commissions at all levels continued to be strengthened, with their functions and tasks gradually refined toward enhancing advisory, guidance, and coordination capacities in implementing mass mobilization. The Party also emphasized building a corps of mass mobilization officials with political qualities, the capacity to mobilize the masses, and a close and grassroots-oriented approach, meeting the requirements of renewing leadership methods in the new situation. Alongside full-time personnel, the Party promoted the role of core forces and respected individuals in local communities, contributing to more effective grassroots mobilization.

2.2.4. The Party's Direction of Inspection, Supervision, Preliminary and Final Reviews of the Implementation of the Party's Policies on Mass Mobilization

The Party identified inspection and supervision combined with preliminary and final reviews as important methods for leading mass mobilization, ensuring that policy orientations were implemented consistently

and effectively. The focus was on implementing resolutions and directives on mass mobilization, grassroots democracy, ethnic and religious affairs, and the responsibilities of heads of agencies. The Central Commission for Mass Mobilization took the lead and coordinated inspections, promptly correcting shortcomings in implementation. The final review of mass mobilization during 2011-2016 and the preliminary review of the implementation of Resolution No. 25-NQ/TW (2013) contributed to evaluating results, identifying limitations, and refining policy orientations for the following period.

Summary of Chapter 2

During 2011-2016, the Party's mass mobilization developed in both policy orientation and implementation. Through the Documents of the 11th National Party Congress and Resolution No. 25-NQ/TW dated June 3, 2013, the Party identified mass mobilization as the responsibility of the entire political system, aimed at consolidating great national unity and the close relationship between the Party and the people. These policy orientations were concretized and implemented in key areas: administrative reform and grassroots democracy; renewal of the activities of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and socio-political organizations; organizational consolidation and improvement of mass mobilization personnel; and strengthened inspection and supervision. However, implementation remained uneven, the situation of the people was not always grasped promptly, and coordination among forces was not sufficiently close. These limitations created the need to continue renewing the Party's leadership methods of mass mobilization during 2016-2021.

Chapter 3

THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S LEADERSHIP OF MASS MOBILIZATION FROM 2016 TO 2021

3.1. THE NEW CONTEXT AND THE PARTY'S POLICY ORIENTATIONS ON MASS MOBILIZATION (2016-2021)

3.1.1. Historical Context

During 2016-2021, developments in the world and within the country changed significantly and directly affected mass mobilization. Globally, strategic competition among major powers intensified, the Fourth Industrial Revolution developed rapidly, and the COVID-19 pandemic evolved in a complex manner. Domestically, renovation, international integration, and the

development of a socialist-oriented market economy achieved many accomplishments while also generating new issues concerning social differentiation, state management, and the need to strengthen bonds with the people. This context required the Party to continue renewing the content and methods of leading mass mobilization.

3.1.2. New Requirements for the Party's Leadership of Mass Mobilization

During 2016-2021, the country faced new requirements that called for continued renewal of the content and methods of the Party's leadership of mass mobilization. The focus was on staying close to practical realities, harmonizing interests, and ensuring social security; renewing and modernizing methods of mobilizing the people, applying digital technologies, and proactively guiding public opinion; promoting democracy, strengthening dialogue and government accountability; linking mass mobilization with Party building and rectification, enhancing officials' exemplary responsibility, and strengthening people's trust; while remaining proactive and flexible in responding to crises, especially the COVID-19 pandemic.

3.1.3. The Party's Policy Orientations on Mass Mobilization from 2016 to 2021

The Party's policy orientations on mass mobilization during 2016-2021 developed comprehensively. The 12th National Party Congress affirmed that the people were at the center of the renovation process, emphasizing the promotion of democracy, strengthening the close relationship between the Party and the people, and consolidating great national unity. Conclusion No. 43-KL/TW dated January 7, 2019 of the Secretariat further concretized Resolution No. 25-NQ/TW, calling for mass mobilization to be renewed toward practicality and effectiveness, with people's satisfaction and trust as measures of performance; and for strengthened dialogue, listening, and timely resolution of grassroots issues.

The Party focused on building a service-oriented administration, promoting democracy, and emphasizing the responsibility of heads of agencies; renewing the activities of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and socio-political organizations, promoting supervision and social criticism, and caring for the lawful and legitimate rights and interests of the people. At the same time, the Party emphasized building a corps of mass mobilization officials

who stay close to and respect the people; linking mass mobilization with Party building and rectification; and strengthening inspection, supervision, preliminary review, and final review to improve implementation effectiveness and further refine leadership methods.

3.2. THE PARTY'S DIRECTION OF THE ORGANIZATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF MASS MOBILIZATION (2016-2021)

3.2.1. The Party's Direction of Mass Mobilization by State Agencies and Authorities at All Levels

During 2016-2021, the Party focused on renewing mass mobilization by state agencies and authorities at all levels toward building a service-oriented administration and using citizen satisfaction as a measure of effectiveness. Mass mobilization was linked with administrative reform, e-government development, digital transformation, and implementation of grassroots democracy regulations. By the end of 2020, the National Public Service Portal had integrated more than 2,700 online public services; all 63 provinces and centrally governed cities were connected to the National Document Interconnection Platform; and the citizen satisfaction index regarding the service of state administrative agencies exceeded 85%. Citizen reception, dialogue, and the settlement of complaints and denunciations were strengthened, with the rate of resolution of petitions exceeding 90% in many localities. The “Skillful Mass Mobilization” movement continued to expand, with more than 900,000 models and exemplary initiatives established nationwide by the end of 2020, contributing to the promotion of the people's right to mastery, improved state management, and stronger relations between authorities and the people.

3.2.2. The Party's Direction of Mass Mobilization by the Vietnam Fatherland Front, Socio-political Organizations, Mass Associations, Ethnic Groups, and Religious Communities

The Party continued to lead the renewal of the content and methods of operation of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, socio-political organizations, and mass associations toward practicality, grassroots orientation, promotion of democracy and the people's right to mastery, and strengthened supervision and social criticism. Emulation movements and campaigns were implemented extensively, contributing to mobilizing social resources for socio-economic development. By the end of 2020, more than 5,415 communes nationwide had

met new-style rural standards; the “For the Poor” Fund and social security programs mobilized approximately VND 20 trillion, supporting the construction and repair of more than 170,000 “Great Unity” houses and improving people's living conditions, especially in disadvantaged areas. Mass mobilization in ethnic and religious affairs was linked with sustainable poverty reduction, new-style rural development, and maintenance of political and social stability at the grassroots level.

3.2.3. The Party's Direction of Building and Consolidating the Organizational Apparatus and Personnel Responsible for Mass Mobilization within the Political System

The Party focused on streamlining and consolidating the organizational apparatus responsible for mass mobilization, strengthening grassroots orientation and coordination within the political system. By 2020, 11,135 of 11,140 communes, wards, and townships had mass mobilization units with 117,974 members; nationwide there were 3,906 full-time mass mobilization officials. The assignment of mass mobilization responsibilities within government was strengthened, with 31 localities assigning the chairpersons of People's Committees to take charge and 32 assigning vice chairpersons. At the same time, the Party emphasized standardizing and improving the quality of mass mobilization personnel, together with training in mass mobilization skills and grassroots situation handling.

3.2.4. The Party's Direction of Inspection, Supervision, Preliminary and Final Reviews of the Implementation of the Party's Policies on Mass Mobilization

The Party strengthened inspection and supervision in conjunction with preliminary and final reviews of the implementation of mass mobilization policies to ensure seriousness, consistency, and effectiveness throughout the political system. The focus was on implementing resolutions and regulations on mass mobilization, grassroots democracy, ethnic and religious affairs, and the responsibilities of heads of agencies. The Central Commission for Mass Mobilization played a core role in advising and organizing inspection and supervision; notably, a five-year review of the implementation of Resolution No. 25-NQ/TW was conducted, together with reviews of several regulations, movements, and practical models of mass mobilization. On this basis, the Party evaluated achievements and identified limitations in coordination and in

grasping the situation and aspirations of the people, thereby continuing to supplement and refine policy orientations and leadership methods for mass mobilization in the following period.

Summary of Chapter 3

During 2016-2021, the Party's mass mobilization was implemented amid rapidly changing conditions in the world and within the country; the Fourth Industrial Revolution, particularly the COVID-19 pandemic, created new requirements for leadership methods and social governance. The Party continued to develop its understanding of mass mobilization toward linking it with Party and political-system building and rectification; promoting democracy, strengthening dialogue, enhancing accountability, and using people's satisfaction as one criterion for evaluating the effectiveness of the state apparatus. Mass mobilization was implemented comprehensively throughout the political system; its content and methods were renewed toward practicality, combining communication with support, service, and protection of the people's lawful rights and interests. The organizational apparatus, personnel, and coordination mechanisms among actors continued to be consolidated; inspection, supervision, preliminary review, and final review were strengthened, contributing to the refinement of the Party's leadership methods. Despite these achievements, limitations remained in grasping the situation of the people and coordination among forces, requiring continued innovation in the following period. The achievements during 2016-2021 provided an important practical basis for a comprehensive assessment of the Party's leadership of mass mobilization during 2011-2021 and for drawing observations and historical lessons in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

ASSESSMENTS AND SEVERAL LESSONS

4.1. ASSESSMENT OF THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP OF MASS MOBILIZATION (2011-2021)

4.1.1. Strengths and Their Causes

Strengths: During 2011-2021, the Party issued and effectively directed the implementation of numerous important policy orientations and resolutions on mass mobilization; promoted the role of the entire political system; and strengthened government mass mobilization, supervision, and social criticism.

As a result, mass mobilization achieved many positive outcomes. By 2020, 5,415 communes nationwide had met new-style rural standards, and more than 900,000 “Skillful Mass Mobilization” models had been established, contributing to the consolidation of great national unity and strengthening people's trust in the Party and the State.

Causes: The main causes of these achievements were the Party's regular and direct leadership and direction of mass mobilization; the proactive advisory, guidance, inspection, and urging activities of mass mobilization agencies from the central to grassroots levels; the renewal of mass mobilization content and methods toward staying close to the people, promoting democracy and the people's right to mastery; coordination among state agencies, the Vietnam Fatherland Front, and socio-political organizations; and the efforts of officials and Party members in implementing the Party's policies on mass mobilization.

4.1.2. Limitations and Their Causes

Limitations: The awareness and responsibility of some Party committees and authorities remained incomplete; implementation was sometimes formalistic. Citizen reception, dialogue, and the settlement of some complex cases were not effective. The content and methods of mass mobilization changed slowly and failed to keep pace with the requirements of cyberspace. In some places, the promotion of the people's right to mastery, supervision, and social criticism remained limited.

Causes: Some Party committees and authorities had not fully recognized the position and role of mass mobilization; the capacity of some mass mobilization officials remained limited. Inspection and supervision were not conducted regularly and lacked specific evaluation criteria. In addition, the rapid development of social media, emerging social issues, and disruptive activities by hostile forces created additional difficulties and challenges for mass mobilization.

4.2. SEVERAL LESSONS

4.2.1. Regularly Strengthen the Party's Comprehensive, Unified, and Direct Leadership of Mass Mobilization

Practice during 2011-2021 shows that the Party's comprehensive, unified, and direct leadership was a decisive factor in the effectiveness of mass mobilization. Correct policy orientations must be accompanied by

implementation, inspection, supervision, and promotion of the exemplary role of officials and Party members to ensure that mass mobilization is implemented consistently throughout the political system.

4.2.2. Consistently and Deeply Grasp the View that “The People Are the Foundation,” Taking the People as the Center and the Subjects of the Renovation Process

An important lesson is to consistently understand and implement the view that “the people are the foundation,” promoting the people's right to mastery and their role as subjects in formulating, implementing, and supervising policies. Using people's consensus, trust, and level of participation as measures of mass mobilization effectiveness provides a basis for strengthening the close relationship between the Party and the people.

4.2.3. Closely Link Mass Mobilization with Socio-economic Development and National Defense and Security

Practice demonstrates that mass mobilization is effective only when closely linked to socio-economic development, national defense and security, and the resolution of practical issues affecting the people. Mobilizing the people's strength to participate in development programs, new-style rural construction, social security, and political stability has contributed to consolidating great national unity.

4.2.4. Renew the Content and Methods of Mass Mobilization toward Modernity, Flexibility, and Practical Relevance

Renewing the content and methods of mass mobilization toward modernity and flexibility is an inevitable requirement in response to digital transformation, international integration, and changes in social life. Experience shows the need to harmoniously combine traditional mass mobilization methods with digital technology, strengthen dialogue, and promptly grasp and address the thoughts and aspirations of the people.

4.2.5. Focus on Building a Corps of Mass Mobilization Officials Who “Stay Close to, Respect, Understand, Learn from, and Are Responsible to the People”

Mass mobilization officials play a direct and decisive role in determining the quality and effectiveness of mass mobilization. Therefore, it is necessary to regularly build a corps of officials with political steadfastness, ethical qualities,

professional competence, and a style of staying close to, respecting, understanding, and learning from the people and being responsible to them; while also improving dialogue and situation-handling skills and meeting the requirements of the Fourth Industrial Revolution in the new period.

Summary of Chapter 4

During 2011-2021, the Party's mass mobilization was implemented in a context in which the country accelerated renovation and deep international integration while facing many new and complex socio-economic, national defense and security, and social governance issues, requiring strong renewal of thinking and leadership methods.

In terms of strengths, the Party exercised comprehensive and unified leadership and issued and implemented a relatively coherent system of policies and resolutions on mass mobilization. The views that “the people are the foundation” and that “the people are at the center” continued to be affirmed, while the scope of mass mobilization expanded to government mass mobilization linked to administrative reform, accountability, and public service. Mass mobilization became increasingly connected with socio-economic development, social security, new-style rural development, and civilized urban development, thereby strengthening great national unity. Nevertheless, limitations remained, including uneven implementation in some places, formalism and bureaucratization, inadequate mass mobilization capacity in the new context, and social supervision and criticism that did not fully meet practical requirements. Several key lessons can therefore be drawn: strengthening the Party's comprehensive leadership of mass mobilization; deeply grasping the view that “the people are the foundation”; linking mass mobilization with socio-economic development and national defense and security; renewing content and methods toward modernity and flexibility; and building a corps of mass mobilization officials who stay close to, understand, respect, and are responsible to the people.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the Vietnamese revolution, mass mobilization has always held a particularly important position, serving as a fundamental means for the Communist Party of Vietnam to promote the people's role as subjects in history and as a decisive source of revolutionary strength. Research into the Party's leadership of mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021 shows that, amid comprehensive renovation, deep international integration, and strong impacts from the market economy, digital media, and global changes, the Party continuously supplemented and developed its theoretical thinking and renewed its leadership methods in accordance with the requirements of the new situation.

Based primarily on historical and logical methods, combined with analytical, comparative, statistical, and source-critical methods, the dissertation systematically reconstructs the Party's leadership of mass mobilization through the two periods 2011-2016 and 2016-2021. The findings confirm that the Party's understanding of mass mobilization developed significantly, as reflected particularly in the issuance of important policy orientations, especially Resolution No. 25-NQ/TW, together with conclusions and regulations of the Central Committee, Politburo, and Secretariat. Mass mobilization was identified as the responsibility of the entire political system, closely linked with Party building, construction of a socialist rule-of-law state, and promotion of socialist democracy. Its content went beyond communication and mobilization and gradually incorporated dialogue, accountability, public service, and improved national governance.

In implementation, under the Party's leadership, mass mobilization was carried out comprehensively in the following areas: mass mobilization by state agencies and authorities at all levels; mass mobilization by the Vietnam Fatherland Front and socio-political organizations in mobilizing and uniting social classes and strata, ethnic groups, religious communities, and Vietnamese people overseas; building the organizational apparatus and corps of mass mobilization officials; and inspection, supervision, preliminary review, and final review of practice. Mass mobilization methods were gradually renewed toward practicality and a stronger grassroots orientation, taking the practical interests of the people as the starting point and ultimate objective. Practice shows that mass mobilization made an important contribution to strengthening people's trust, promoting great national unity, maintaining political and social stability, and mobilizing resources for national development, particularly during difficult times such as natural disasters and epidemics.

However, the dissertation also shows that the effectiveness of mass mobilization from 2011 to 2021 was not truly uniform. In some places, the dissemination and implementation of the Party's policy orientations remained slow; the content and methods of mass mobilization changed slowly and showed signs of bureaucratization; the grasping of the people's situation and handling of emerging issues were sometimes untimely; and mechanisms for promoting the people's right to mastery, especially in social supervision and criticism, remained insufficient and ineffective. These limitations demonstrate the need for continued and stronger renewal of mass mobilization under new development conditions.

Based on analysis of the Party's leadership of mass mobilization during 2011-2021, the dissertation draws five valuable lessons: (1) regularly strengthen comprehensive leadership and direction over mass mobilization; (2) consistently and deeply grasp the view that “the people are the foundation” and the concrete center of the renovation process; (3) closely link mass mobilization with socio-economic development and national defense and security; (4) renew the content and methods of mass mobilization toward modernity, flexibility, and practical relevance; and (5) build a corps of mass mobilization officials who “stay close to, respect, understand, learn from, and are responsible to the people.”

The findings contribute to clarifying the development of the Party's thinking and leadership methods regarding mass mobilization during the renovation period and provide a scientific basis for further improving policy orientations and enhancing the effectiveness of mass mobilization in the following period.

As the country enters a new era, increasingly demanding requirements are being placed on building and improving the socialist rule-of-law state, removing institutional bottlenecks; developing science and technology, digital transformation, and innovation; and continuing to streamline the organizational apparatus of the political system while improving the effectiveness and efficiency of local authorities under the two-tier local government model. These requirements place increasingly high demands on the Party's mass mobilization. Continuing to renew mass mobilization on the basis of lessons from 2011-2021, toward substantive and modern approaches and using people's satisfaction and trust as measures, will be important for strengthening the close relationship between the Party and the people, promoting great national unity, and contributing to the successful achievement of the goal of rapid and sustainable national economic development.

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

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2. Luong Thi Thuong (2025), “The Role of the Party's Mass Mobilization in Ethnic Minority Areas in Improving People's Material and Spiritual Living Conditions,” *Thanh Nien Journal*, No. 81, pp. 77-79.
3. Luong Thi Thuong (2025), “Ho Chi Minh Thought on Mass Mobilization and the Party's Application of It during the Renovation Period,” *Journal of Party History*, No. 12, pp. 32-36.
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