

# “The four core resolutions” of the Politburo: Strategic role, cohesion, and mutual support

DR. NGUYEN TAN HUNG

*University of Finance and Marketing*

MA. TRAN HUNG PHI

*Political Academy Region II*

● **Abstract:** The Politburo has successively issued four strategic resolutions on science, technology, innovation, and digital transformation; on international integration in the new situation; on innovation in law-making and enforcement; and on private economic development. These are not separate policies but the "four core resolutions" - an integrated, interconnected, and mutually supportive strategic structure. This article analyzes the strategic role of each resolution and points out the connection between the fields: institutions, technology, market, and integration. On that basis, the long-term impact of the resolutions on national development until 2045 is assessed, and solutions for synchronous and effective implementation throughout the political and social system are proposed.

● **Keywords:** Four resolutions; renovation; international integration; institutions.

## 1. Introduction

After four decades of renovation and intensive international integration, Vietnam has achieved many important development achievements, while also facing major challenges from within and without. The world is witnessing rapid changes via the Fourth Industrial Revolution, supply chain disruptions, strategic competition between major powers, new forms of war, along with the need to ensure non-traditional security, energy transition, digital transformation, etc. Domestically, the growth model has revealed many limitations, institutions have not kept up with practical requirements, science and technology have not become the central driving force, private economic development has not been commensurate with its potential, while the pressure from integration is increasingly fierce.

In that context, from the end of 2024 to mid-2025, the Politburo successively issued four breakthrough resolutions, including: Resolution No. 57-NQ/TW dated December 22, 2024 on breakthroughs in developing science, technology, innovation, and national digital transformation; Resolution No. 59-NQ/TW dated January 24, 2025 on international integration

in the new situation; Resolution No. 66-NQ/TW dated April 30, 2025 on innovation in law-making and enforcement to meet the requirements of national development in the new era; Resolution No. 68-NQ/TW dated May 4, 2025 on developing the private economy.

The four resolutions were issued within a short period of time, and all specify structural and fundamental aspects. This is synchronous and proactive implementation of the Party's strategic thinking to shape the national development model in the new era. The special feature of these "four core resolutions" is not only in the content of each resolution, but also in their interconnected, interactive, and mutually complementary structure. Institutions are a necessary condition; science, technology, and innovation are the driving forces; international integration is the space; the private economy is the most important driving force. When implemented synchronously, they create a closed but open development circle - where policies drive technology, technology leads the market, the market spreads globally, and institutions are the foundation for all to operate harmoniously.

The simultaneous establishment and promulgation of these four resolutions is a clear manifestation of systemic development thinking, policy integration thinking, and substantive reform thinking. These resolutions not only address current challenges, but also look to the future: Vietnam must not only catch up but also rise to become a country with real competitiveness, strategic autonomy, and a new position in the global economic and political structure.

## **2. Content**

### ***2.1. The strategic role of each resolution***

*Resolution No. 57-NQ/TW on breakthroughs in developing science and technology, innovation, and national digital transformation*

In the context digital transformation is taking place at a rapid pace, countries leading in science, technology, and innovation are often the countries that take the initiative in the global value chain, thereby establishing a new economic and political position. For Vietnam, despite many efforts in recent years, innovation has not really become the main driving force of growth. According to the ranking of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), Vietnam has been in the leading group of lower-middle-income countries in terms of the innovation index for many consecutive years, but mainly thanks to the input index, while output, especially technology commercialization, is still weak.

Resolution No. 57 was issued to overcome the "innovation bottleneck", targeted at a synchronous ecosystem, in which digital transformation is placed alongside science and technology as two cores leading sustainable development: "Developing science, technology, innovation and national digital transformation is the foremost important breakthrough, the main driving force for rapidly developing modern productive forces, improving production relations, renovating national governance methods, developing the socio-economy, preventing the risk of falling behind, bringing the country to breakthrough development, wealth and strength in the new era"<sup>(1)</sup>. The Resolution mentions renovating investment mechanisms for science and technology, mobilizing private resources, forming national innovation centers, building and protecting



*Presenting awards to outstanding government agencies in digital transformation and outstanding enterprises and public service units in digital transformation at the Vietnam Digital Awards (VDA) 2025 Ceremony \_ Photo: dangcongsan.vn*

intellectual property, improving the level of high-tech human resources, especially linking technology with businesses.

The digital transformation strategy is not simply defined as administrative digitalization, but as a new development model where big data, artificial intelligence, blockchain, and the internet of things (IoT) become the foundation for management, production, and social service. Resolution No. 57 not only aims to increase productivity but also aims to enhance competitiveness and technological sovereignty - a vital factor in the context of fierce global strategic competition.

*Resolution No. 59-NQ/TW on international integration in the new situation*

After 18 years since Vietnam joined the WTO and participated in new-generation free trade agreements (FTAs), such as CPTPP, EVFTA, and RCEP, the economy has gradually transformed from closed to open, from passive to proactive in accessing international markets. However, integration is not only a matter of trade or investment, but has expanded to non-traditional areas, such as energy, environment, digital transformation, global minimum tax, intellectual property, and non-traditional security.

Resolution No. 59 is an update of the Party's integration thinking in the new context, where global competition is increasingly fierce, the role of global institutions is changing, and new requirements for "high-standard integration" are increasingly strict. The highlight of the resolution is the orientation that integration is not only to expand the market, but also to establish position, proactively contribute to multilateral institutions,

and shape the rules of the game in the region and globally: “Improving the quality, efficiency, synchronization, comprehensiveness, and depth of international integration... strengthening the country’s overall strength; enhancing the country’s role, position, and international prestige”<sup>(2)</sup>. The resolution establishes a vision: integration must be associated with political mettle, self-reliance, and economic and institutional strength.

This is a shift in focus from “going out” to “going together”, “participating” to “leading”, from “economic integration” to “comprehensive integration”. The Resolution also emphasizes the need for a deep connection between State diplomacy, Party diplomacy, and people’s diplomacy, creating a multilateral diplomatic posture, consolidating Vietnam’s international position.

*Resolution No. 66-NQ/TW on renovation in law-making and enforcement to meet the requirements of national development in the new era*

Institutions, especially legal institutions, have been identified as one of Vietnam’s three strategic breakthroughs since many National Party Congresses. However, implementation in recent years has shown that there are still overlapping laws, intransparency, ineffective enforcement, and many legal regulations do not keep up with the requirements for innovation, investment, and social management. Many businesses believe that compliance costs are high, legal risks are unpredictable, and people lack confidence in the stability of the law.

Resolution No. 66 raises the issue: to have an effective market economy, a democratic and civilized society, a unified, feasible, and highly predictable legal system is needed. The Resolution calls for comprehensive renovation from the legislative and regulatory processes to implementation, inspection, and evaluation. The consistent idea is: “the law is not only a control tool, but also a tool for creating and protecting human rights”. The Resolution sets the goal: “By 2030, Vietnam will have a democratic, fair, synchronous, unified, public, transparent, and feasible legal system with a strict and consistent implementation mechanism, ensuring a legal basis for the normal, continuous, and smooth operation of agencies after restructuring the apparatus, removing obstacles arising from practice, paving the way for development, mobilizing all people and businesses to participate in socio-economic development; etc. With the vision to 2045, Vietnam will have a high-quality, modern legal system, approaching advanced international standards and practices suitable to the country’s reality, strictly and consistently implemented, respecting, ensuring, and protecting human rights and civil rights effectively”<sup>(3)</sup>.

For the first time, the Politburo resolution mentioned “digitalization of the legal system”, “building a digital government of law”, and promoting technological models to support the development and enforcement of laws. This shows that the institution is being put in the right position: not lagging behind reality, but leading reality, especially in the context of the digital age and comprehensive reform.

*Resolution No. 68-NQ/TW on developing the private economy*

The private sector has been affirmed as an important driving force of the economy in Resolution 10-NQ/TW (2017). However, to date, this sector still faces many barriers in terms

of institutions, resources, market access, as well as a social mentality that is not really open. Many businesses are still concerned about legal risks, discrimination, and lack of transparent support mechanisms.

With the viewpoint that “in a socialist-oriented market economy, the private economy is the most important driving force of the national economy, the pioneering force promoting growth, etc.; together with the state economy and collective economy, the private economy plays a core role in building an independent, autonomous, and self-reliant economy associated with deep, substantial, and effective international integration, helping the country escape the risk of falling behind and rise to prosperous development”<sup>(4)</sup>, Resolution No. 68 demonstrates a step forward in the Party’s thinking when it clearly establishes that the private economy is not only a supporting economic component, but also a subject playing a pioneering role in transforming the growth model, technological innovation, and integration. The Resolution emphasizes the building of a team of ethical, cultured, globally competitive entrepreneurs, while perfecting institutions to protect property rights and encourage investment and innovation.

A special point is that the Resolution closely links private economic development with digital transformation, green transformation, and sustainable development. Thereby, a strong, modern, socially responsible, and market-leading private sector will become the center of Vietnam’s economic structure in the new era.

## ***2.2. The cohesion and mutual support of the “four core resolutions” in the national development model***

The Politburo’s four strategic resolutions in less than half a year, focusing on core areas (science, technology and innovation, international integration, law and the private economy), is not a single technical event, but a synchronous implementation of restructuring the national development model towards modernity, flexibility, and adaptation to the new era.

These resolutions do not exist independently, but complement, support, and are closely linked together in an “inter-sectoral - inter-institutional - inter-objective” structure. This interaction creates a combined strength that each resolution, if standing alone, cannot fully promote itself. General Secretary To Lam affirmed: “The four core resolutions of the Politburo have together created a unified whole of strategic thinking and action for the country’s development in the new era. Although each resolution focuses on a key area, they are closely linked, complement, and promote each other in the process of dissemination and implementation”<sup>(5)</sup>.

*Firstly, institutions - technology - integration - market: four cores constituting national development capacity*

General Secretary To Lam affirmed: “Up to now, the above four resolutions can be called the “Four Cores” to help us take off”<sup>(6)</sup>. Specifically, Resolution No. 66 (on law) plays the role of an institutional foundation, aiming to ensure a transparent and unified legal environment, creating trust and predictability for economic and social entities. Stable laws are “soft infrastructure” for all innovation, creativity, and investment. Resolution No. 57 (on science, technology, innovation, and digital transformation) is an endogenous driving force to improve productivity, create competitiveness, and transform the growth model from breadth to depth.

Resolution No. 59 (on international integration) opens up development space, allowing Vietnamese enterprises, technology, and institutions to connect with global markets, global standards, and global initiatives. Resolution No. 68 (on the private economy) identifies the subject of economic operation, that is, the private economy is the “most important driving force,” where all policies, technologies, and integration need to go through the business system for effective implementation.

Therefore, the four resolutions form a “development architecture” with sufficient foundation, motivation, space, and subjects - a strategic and synchronous complementarity, not only supporting one another, but also resonating to maximize value.

*Secondly, the causal relationship among resolutions*

In practice, it is impossible to develop science and technology without a dynamic private sector that dares to innovate and take risks. Conversely, businesses cannot innovate without a legal framework to protect intellectual property rights, encourage risky investments, and without the ability to access open markets through international integration.

Similarly, for international integration commitments to truly become opportunities rather than barriers, there needs to be a legal system compatible with international practices; a business platform with appropriate production, technology, and governance capacity; and a development model based on innovation rather than exploitation of resources and cheap labour.

It can be said that this is a closed cause-and-effect relationship: a resolution cannot be implemented without the conditions created by the remaining resolutions. This mutual support is not only an ideological logic but also a policy operational logic.

*Thirdly, from the four core resolutions to the modern development ecosystem*

At a higher level, the “four core resolutions” are the model for building a national development ecosystem, where institutions (law), technology (innovation), businesses (private sector), and markets (integration) interact and support one another to form a sustainable and modern growth model.

Each field is guided by an innovative mindset: in terms of institutions, not just control rules, but as a creative tool; in terms of science and technology, not just applications, but as an innovation ecosystem; in terms of international integration, not just opening up, but proactively shaping and participating in the rules of the game; in terms of the private sector, not just a productive force, but as a core of sustainable development.

With this approach, the resolutions are not only strategic orientations, but also the concretization of Vietnam’s development model: a modern socialist-oriented market economy model, based on the foundation of the rule of law, with technology as the driving force, proactive integration, and the private sector as the core of implementation.

*Fourthly, linking politics - economy - society in an integrated development structure*

Another profound meaning of the “four core resolutions” is not only to connect development areas, but also to connect these aspects into a unified development structure. Legal institutions contribute to building a rule-of-law state, ensuring fairness and democracy - political aspect. Science, technology, and innovation improves production capacity and growth quality - economic aspect. International integration strengthens

national position and ensures national interests in the new world order - foreign affairs - security aspect. The private economy promotes job creation and equal opportunities (social-humanistic aspect).

With the mindset of “one resolution - many levels of goals”, the “four core resolutions” create strategic harmony in the development process: not sacrificing fairness for growth; not trading sovereignty for integration; not weakening the State for market expansion.

### ***2.3. The long-term impact of the “four core resolutions” on the national development strategy to 2045***

In 2045, the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is an important milestone to determine the country’s strategic vision: Vietnam must become a developed country with high income, a democratic, equitable, civilized society, a strong rule-of-law state, and with an enhanced international position. In the Socio-Economic Development Strategy 2021 - 2030 and the 13<sup>th</sup> National Congress Documents, our Party clearly identified three strategic breakthroughs: perfecting synchronous institutions, developing human resources, especially high-quality human resources, and building an infrastructure system<sup>(7)</sup>; at the same time, affirming that transforming the growth model is an inevitable requirement to escape the “middle-income trap” and the “structural trap”.

The “Four core resolutions” were issued at a crucial time, when Vietnam is entering the middle of its journey towards 2045. These resolutions not only address current bottlenecks, but also create a solid foundation for long-term development, laying the foundation for a modern - smart - self-reliant - innovative national model. Specifically:

*Firstly*, modern legal institutions - the foundation for the socialist rule-of-law state.

Resolution No. 66 not only renovates legislative techniques or law enforcement, but also aims to establish a unified, transparent, and highly predictable legal environment. This is a prerequisite for attracting quality investment, protecting intellectual property rights, improving the competitiveness index, and building social trust. A modern legal system will be the “glue” that binds the Government, businesses, people, and international investors in a transparent, democratic, and effective development order.

In the long term, this will be an important foundation for strengthening the Socialist rule-of-law State, where state power is controlled, human rights are guaranteed, and the law becomes a tool to regulate behavior, not a barrier to development. The model of “digital rule-of-law” first set forth in the Resolution symbolizes a shift from “state management” to “state service”, from paper-based administration to management by data, artificial intelligence, and legal technology.

*Secondly*, science, technology, innovation, and digital transformation - key drivers for high-quality growth

Taking science, technology, innovation, and digital transformation as a breakthrough as proposed in Resolution No. 57 is a shift in focus from a growth model based on capital, resources, and labour to a model based on productivity, quality, efficiency, and innovation capacity. This is the key for Vietnam to overcome the limitations of developing countries: fast but unsustainable growth, low-end products, technology dependence, and raw exports.

By 2045, Vietnam aims to become a high-income country, so labour productivity must increase many times compared to today. Only innovation linked to businesses, education, research, and markets can create great added value, technological leaps, and global quality competition. Digital transformation helps Vietnam not to fall behind but to “take shortcuts - get ahead”, from the Government to businesses and social life.

If it is implemented effectively, Resolution No. 57 will create a “dual technological thrust”: accelerating digital transformation and stimulating innovation in private enterprises; at the same time, helping Vietnam become more proactive in protecting digital sovereignty, data security, and controlling technological risks in global integration.

*Thirdly*, a strong private economy - the main core of the modern market economy.

Resolution No. 68 clearly defines the pioneering role of the private economic sector in the development strategy until 2045. By 2030, the resolution sets the target that the private sector will “contribute about 55 - 58% of GDP, about 35 - 40% of total state budget revenue, create jobs for about 84 - 85% of the total workforce; labour productivity will increase by an average of about 8.5 - 9.5%/year”<sup>(8)</sup>; then by 2045 “Vietnam’s private economy will develop rapidly, strongly, sustainably, proactively participate in the global production and supply chain; have high competitiveness in the region and in the world; strive to have at least 3 million enterprises operating in the economy by 2045; contribute about over 60% of GDP”<sup>(9)</sup>.

To achieve this, it is necessary to thoroughly remove barriers to access capital, land, markets, technology, and laws. There needs to be substantive equality between state-owned enterprises, private enterprises, and FDI’s in tax, bidding, credit, and innovation support policies. At the same time, an “entrepreneur ecosystem” needs to be formed, including start-ups, medium and large enterprises, and private corporations, with modern management capacity, linked to social responsibility and national identity.

This is not only an economic problem, but also a political and social one. A strong private economy will expand the space for economic democracy, arouse the spirit of self-reliance and legal enrichment, contribute to narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor, and reduce the burden on the state budget.

*Fourthly*, proactive integration - expanding strategic space, raising national status

Resolution No. 59 sets out the direction for deep, comprehensive, and proactive integration, not only to “open the door to the world”, but also to “enter the center of the new order”. By 2045, Vietnam will not only be a “reliable trading partner”, but also a country capable of contributing to the building and protection of international law, especially in areas such as cybersecurity, energy transition, digital trade, and sustainable development.

Integration helps Vietnam access knowledge, capital, technology, and international standards, but at the same time requires a strong enough internal capacity to “apply fair rules of the game”. Without innovation, weak businesses and inflexible institutions, integration will only be “opening the door to foreign goods”. Resolution No. 59 raises the issue of linking internal strength - external strength, national interests - global responsibility, in which the remaining three resolutions are the “foundation” for Vietnam to integrate internationally confidently and effectively.

### 3. Conclusion

Through four decades of renovation, Vietnam has gained many important achievements on all three cores: economic growth, political stability, and international integration. However, the further the development journey goes, the more stringent the requirements are; that is, a new development model is needed, which is in-depth, sustainable, and adaptable to a volatile world. In that context, the “four core resolutions” issued by the Politburo in late 2024 and early 2025 have demonstrated an important breakthrough in the Party’s leadership thinking.

The four resolutions are not only strategic orientations in each field, but also a system of policies structured according to the principles of mutual support - integration - connection. The “four core resolutions” are not only policy actions, but also a manifesto for national development in the new era. This is a transition from “administrative policy” to “strategic policy”, from “industry orientation” to “overall creation”, from “internal governance” to “comprehensive operation”. The success of the “four core resolutions” depends not only on the quality of policy content, but more importantly on the way of implementation organized in practice. In the context of the clear connection among the resolutions, the requirement is to implement them synchronously, uniformly, with assignment, coordination, and close supervision, to ensure that each resolution plays its own role, while supporting and resonating in the overall national development strategy ■

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Author's email: phith@hcma2.edu.vn.*

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#### ● Endnotes:

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- (1) Resolution No. 57-NQ/TW dated December 22, 2024 of the Politburo on breakthroughs in science and technology development, renovation, and national digital transformation.
- (2) Resolution No. 59-NQ/TW dated January 24, 2025 of the Politburo on international integration in the new situation.
- (3) Resolution No. 66-NQ/TW dated April 30, 2025 of the Politburo on renovation in law-making and enforcement to meet the requirements of national development in the new era.
- (4), (8), (9) Resolution No. 68-NQ/TW dated May 4, 2025 of the Politburo on private economic development.
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