



The Politics of Economic Justice: Subhas Chandra Bose's Vision for a Postcolonial India

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ARTICLE INFO ABSTRACT

Subhas Chandra Bose's socio-economic vision occupies an exceptional and transformative position within modern Indian political thought, far surpassing his reputation as a militant nationalist. This paper examines Bose's developmental philosophy, with particular emphasis on his vision of Samyavada, a doctrine of ideological synthesis that sought to reconcile democratic values, socialist planning, and cultural nationalism. It also explores Bose's conception of freedom extended beyond political independence to encompass social justice, economic equity, and moral regeneration. His advocacy for centralized planning, land reforms, scientific agriculture, cooperative farming, and state-supported industrialization forms the core of the analysis. Drawing on his speeches, institutional interventions—such as the establishment of the National Planning Committee—and comparative references to global economic models, the paper traces Bose's nuanced response to Western capitalist modernity and Gandhian rural idealism. By analyzing Bose's socio-economic ideas within the broader context of anti-colonial political economy, the paper argues that he must be recognized not only as a revolutionary nationalist but also as a pioneering thinker of postcolonial development. His integrative approach remains relevant for rethinking nation-building in the Global South.

Keywords: Subhas Chandra Bose, Samyavada, Indian National Congress, social justice, Haripura Session.

Introduction

"If freedom is to be the cardinal principle of our life...it should also be made the basis of social reconstruction. It will be seen at once that if the principle of freedom is to be applied to society and made the fundamental basis of the society of the future, it will mean nothing short of social revolution...Thus, freedom means equality and equality connotes fraternity....the inequalities in wealth, which stand in the way of social advancement, will have to be removed and equal opportunities for education and development will have to be given....There should be some basic principles of the new society, we want to build".¹

Subhas Chandra Bose remains one of India's most formidable revolutionary leaders, emblematic of the nation's resolute anti-colonial struggle and indomitable nationalist spirit. Revered by Mahatma Gandhi as the 'Prince of Patriots,' Bose occupies a contested space in Indian historiography, often polarizing interpretations of his ideological commitments. To those entrenched in rigid ideological frameworks be it fascism, Nazism, or communism, Subhas Chandra Bose presents an interpretive challenge. Bose's political philosophy resists facile categorization; efforts to subsume his thought under rigid ideological labels tend to obscure its inherent complexity, strategic pragmatism, and the contextual responsiveness that defined his approach to anti-colonial struggle and nation-building. His divergence from Gandhian principles, particularly his rejection of absolute nonviolence as a tool for national liberation, further intensified the ideological rift between him and the mainstream nationalist movement. Consequently, Bose was often subjected to polemical scrutiny by British colonial authorities, who regarded him as a formidable threat, and also by sections of the Indian nationalist leadership who viewed his revolutionary methods and ideological eclecticism with skepticism. His departure from dominant political currents, particularly his critique of constitutional gradualism and nonviolent resistance, positioned him as a contentious figure within the broader independence movement. However, for

¹ Amrita Ghosh. *Netaji: A Realist and a Visionary* (Varanasi: Vijayashree Enterprise, 1986), 178.

those who regarded anti-imperialist struggle as the supreme moral and political imperative, Bose emerged as a radical visionary: a militant nationalist and leftist thinker whose uncompromising resistance to colonial domination was complemented by a far-reaching and structurally informed socio-economic vision for postcolonial India.

This paper examines Bose's economic ideology and the blueprint for India's future, arguing that his contributions transcended conventional theoretical dogmas. Rather than articulating a monolithic doctrine, Bose synthesized elements of socialism, communism, and state-planning models into a distinct framework tailored to India's historical and material conditions. His proposals for economic planning, industrialization, welfare socialism, and cultural unity were not merely pragmatic adaptations but innovative interventions in anti-colonial thought. By interrogating these dimensions, this study illuminates Bose's enduring intellectual legacy, which sought to reconcile national liberation with transformative socio-economic justice.

Subhas Chandra Bose's economic analysis encompassed a broad spectrum of penetrating and progressive ideas, reflecting a nuanced understanding of India's evolving needs during the colonial era. Unlike his more explicitly articulated political ideology, his socio-economic vision resists simplistic categorization, as it remained deeply intertwined with his immediate preoccupation, the anti-imperialist struggle, and the quest for national independence. However, Bose's socio-economic framework cannot be examined in isolation from his political thought; he perceived the liberation from British rule as a foundational step toward establishing a transformative socio-economic order. For him, the Indian freedom movement comprised two sequential revolutionary phases: the initial political revolution, which he viewed as an indispensable precursor to the far more consequential objective—the comprehensive socio-economic emancipation of the nation.

Samyavada: Bose's Doctrine of Synthetic Socialism

The foundational principles that Subhas Chandra Bose envisioned for organizing the collective life of a free India were justice, equality, freedom, discipline, and love, values he regarded as the core ethical tenets of socialism². As a staunch advocate of *Purna Swaraj* (complete independence), his vision extended beyond mere political sovereignty to encompass comprehensive socio-economic liberation. He consistently emphasized the inseparability of political and socio-economic emancipation. In his own words: "*By freedom, I mean all-round freedom—freedom for the individual as well as for society; freedom for the rich as much as for the poor; freedom for men and women alike; freedom for all individuals and all classes....*"³ For Bose, such a vision of freedom entailed more than the end of colonial rule; it necessitated the equitable distribution of wealth, the abolition of caste-based hierarchies and social stratification, and the elimination of communalism and religious intolerance. Bose's socio-economic ideology, therefore, emphasized not merely structural transformation but also a profound moral and cultural reorientation of Indian society, anchored in the principles of inclusive nationalism, egalitarian reform, and progressive social justice.

A critical examination of Subhas Chandra Bose's political thought underscores his firm conviction that the socio-economic challenges confronting post-independence India could be meaningfully addressed only by adapting a socialist framework. He was acutely aware that a liberal democratic model, particularly one rooted in Victorian notions of democracy and devoid of state-directed economic planning, would serve primarily the interests of the propertied elite and capitalist classes, thereby perpetuating inequality. This belief was articulated unequivocally in his 1938 Haripura presidential address: "*I have no doubt that our chief national problem relating to the eradication of poverty, illiteracy, disease, and to scientific production and distribution can be effectively tackled only along socialistic lines*"⁴. Bose's advocacy for socialism was not rhetorical but rooted in a pragmatic assessment of India's socio-economic realities. In his Tokyo University address of 1944, he reaffirmed this commitment by emphasizing the inadequacy of private enterprise in resolving structural issues such as poverty and unemployment. "*Public opinion in India,*" he observed, "*is that we cannot leave it to private initiative to solve the problems of poverty and unemployment, for instance, it will probably take centuries*"⁵. He argued that whether the challenge was industrialization or agrarian reform, the state needed to assume direct responsibility and implement decisive measures within a limited timeframe. Bose envisioned a proactive, interventionist state that could mobilize national resources, accelerate modernization, and uplift the masses through planned development. His brand of socialism, though eclectic, was fundamentally oriented toward economic justice, national reconstruction, and the rapid material advancement of the Indian people.

The vision of a free India was anchored in the ideals of a Socialist Democratic Republic grounded in the principles of perfect equality and comprehensive freedom. At the heart of his socio-economic ideology was the doctrine of *Samyavada*, a term signifying equality, which Bose reinterpreted and expanded upon, drawing

² Sisir K. Bose & Sugatha Bose (ed.). *The Essential Writings of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose* (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1977), 133.

³ *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose* (New Delhi: Publication Division, 1962), 57.

⁴ Sisir K. Bose (ed.). *Crossroads* (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1981), 19.

⁵ Sisir K. Bose & Sugatha Bose (ed.). *Netaji: Collected Works, Letters, Articles and Speeches*, Vol. 5 (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1994), 89.

inspiration from earlier thinkers such as Swami Vivekananda. While *Samyavada* had pre-existing philosophical currency, under Bose, it evolved into a comprehensive socio-political doctrine that integrated economic justice with spiritual humanism. For Bose, *Swaraj* was not an abstract nationalist ideal, but a transformative agenda aimed at uplifting the marginalized—peasants, workers, and the downtrodden. In Bose's conception, political freedom was inseparable from social and economic regeneration; true independence, he argued, could not be realized without addressing the structural inequalities that afflicted India's marginalized communities.

Bose's humanistic socialism was deeply influenced by Vivekananda's dictum, *Atmano Mokshartham Tayacha Jagaddh*, "For one's salvation and the welfare of the world"⁶ Grounded in this ethical foundation, Bose upheld a steadfast belief in the intrinsic unity and inherent dignity of all individuals, a conviction that served as the moral and philosophical underpinning of the egalitarian thrust of his socio-economic vision. His *Samyavada* inspired movement, the *Samyavadi Sangha*, advocated a progressive and inclusive program for national reconstruction. It emphasized state planning, the reorganization of agricultural and industrial sectors, the creation of self-sufficient village communities, and the establishment of a just monetary and credit system. Bose also advocated for the abolition of landlordism and the implementation of a uniform land tenure system—reforms he viewed as essential to realizing an egalitarian social order⁷. At the core of his vision was a delicate balance between collective welfare and individual liberty, reflecting his belief that social justice need not come at the expense of personal freedoms. Bose advocated for sweeping agrarian reforms, including the abolition of landlordism and the introduction of a uniform land tenure system, as foundational steps toward an egalitarian society. Central to his vision was the reconciliation of collective welfare with the preservation of individual liberty. He firmly believed that the future Indian state must be built upon "the eternal principles of justice, equality, and freedom," reflecting both moral conviction and pragmatic governance⁸. His ideological synthesis of democratic values and socialist economic planning constitutes one of the earliest and most sophisticated contributions to the development of modern Indian political thought. In articulating a holistic model of nation-building, Bose sought to integrate structural equity with moral idealism, envisioning a just and inclusive society grounded in social transformation and ethical responsibility.

Samyavada (doctrine of synthesis) was central to Bose's ideological framework, reflecting his commitment to synthesizing diverse socialist traditions while adapting them to India's unique historical and cultural context. Bose sought to assimilate progressive ideas from global socialist movements without dogmatic adherence to any single school of thought. International currents of socialism were not accepted uncritically; instead, they were filtered through a pragmatic lens and adjusted to suit the Indian socio-cultural and economic milieu. Bose did not privilege one particular model of socialism, be it Marxian, Fabian, or Democratic⁹. Although Marxian socialism left a discernible impact on his thinking, especially in his endorsement of state planning, labour rights, and the dignity of work, he resisted the deterministic economic reductionism associated with orthodox Marxism. He firmly rejected the idea that "economic forces alone" were the sole drivers of historical evolution. In Bose's framework, the formation of political strategy and national development was seen as inseparable from historical and geographical context.

In his presidential address at the All-India Trade Union Congress held in Calcutta on 4 July 1931, Bose's ideological position was articulated precisely. It was asserted that the experiences of other nations should be learned from and drawn upon, yet methods tailored to India's specific needs and environment should also be developed. The idea was conveyed that geography and history must not be excluded when applying any theoretical framework to practical contexts; any attempt to do so would be destined to fail. Consequently, it was proposed that a distinct form of Socialism should be evolved within India. Given the widespread engagement with socialist experiments globally, it was argued that India should refrain from undertaking similar efforts. It was further suggested that the model of Socialism ultimately formulated in the Indian context might possess original and innovative elements capable of contributing meaningfully to global thought¹⁰. Through this articulation, Bose's commitment to a context-sensitive socialism, shaped by both international insight and indigenous realities, was exemplified. Rather than being adopted as a rigid doctrinal position, *Samyavada* was envisioned as a flexible ideological framework through which a just, equitable, and self-reliant Indian state could be constructed.

State Planning & Industrialization

Within the progressive socialist faction of the Indian National Congress's younger leadership, Subhas Chandra Bose emerged as the most prescient advocate of centralized economic planning as the indispensable

⁶ Swami Jyothermayanada (ed.). *Vivekananda, His Gospel of Manmaking* (Pondicherry: All India Press, 1938), 34.

⁷ History of Freedom Movement Papers, Tile No. 44/82/3, National Archives of India. New Delhi.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Subbier A. Ayer. *Unto Him a Witness: The Story of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in East Asia*. (Bombay: Thacker & Co. Ltd., 1951), 9.

¹⁰ Publication Division, no. 3, 50.

mechanism for addressing postcolonial India's intersecting crises of communalism, structural unemployment, caste oppression, and endemic poverty. Bose's socialist orientation is most substantively manifested not in rhetorical declarations alone, but in his concrete institutional proposals aimed at national reconstruction in the aftermath of independence. The 1938 Haripura Congress presidential speech exhibited Bose's most comprehensive articulation of this vision, marking a decisive leftward departure from the Congress's prevailing economic orthodoxy. His programmatic agenda encompassed:

1. Establishment of a National Planning Commission (realized during his presidency)
2. State-directed rapid industrialization
3. Socialization of core productive sectors (including collectivized agriculture)
4. Abolition of feudal landholding systems (zamindari)
5. Cooperative production models
6. Constitutional secularism
7. Linguistic reorganization
8. Universal public education
9. Decentralized municipal socialism

This institutional blueprint - unprecedented in Congress's history - reflected Bose's synthesis of Marxist productivism and Gandhian distributive justice, tempered by pragmatic recognition of India's postcolonial realities¹¹. As he asserted in the Haripura address:

*"The movement for Indian emancipation has reached a stage when Swaraj is no longer a dream—no longer an ideal to be attained in the distant future... I have always held the view, and I said so in my Presidential Speech at the Haripura Congress, that the party that fights for freedom cannot liquidate itself when power is won. That party should face the tasks of post-war reconstruction as well. Hence, Congressmen of today have not only to strive for liberty, but they have also to devote a portion of their thought and energy to problems of national reconstruction."*¹²

This dialectical conception of revolution, viewing political sovereignty as merely the precondition for further structural change, distinguished Bose from gradualist reformers and insurrectionary radicals. His Planning Commission initiative¹³ (1938) institutionalized this vision, representing the first systematic attempt to theorize India's developmental trajectory beyond formal decolonization. Bose's framework for effective national planning required the systematic implementation of six cardinal principles:

1. Comprehensive Provincial Surveys: Methodological economic assessments of each region's productive capacities and needs
2. Industrial Complementarity: Deliberate coordination between cottage and large-scale industries to optimize resource allocation
3. Regional Specialization: Strategic geographical distribution of industries based on comparative advantages
4. Technical Education Framework: Structured programs for domestic and international technical training
5. Research Infrastructure: Institutional support for technological innovation
6. Expert Consultation: Establishment of specialized committees to advise on industrialization challenges¹⁴

The National Planning Commission implemented Bose's vision through an elaborate organizational structure consisting of 29 specialized subcommittees, each addressing critical dimensions of national development.¹⁵ These committees systematically examined: productivity enhancement and living standards; comprehensive resource mapping and raw material availability; agrarian reform encompassing credit systems and marketing networks; infrastructure development, including transport, energy, and power systems; human capital formation through technical education; national security requirements; gender-inclusive development

¹¹ Bose, *Crossroads*, 6-7.

¹² Bose & Bose. (ed.). *Netaji Collected Works*, 44.

¹³ The National Planning Committee was formally inaugurated in 1938, with Jawaharlal Nehru appointed as chairman. The committee included several prominent figures, such as Dr. M. Visvesvaraya, Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Ambalal Sarabhai, A.D. Sarabhai (then Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee), Acharya J.B. Kripalani, M.L. Patel (Local Self-Government Minister of Bombay), Vallabhbhai Patel, Bhulabhai Desai, and Jamnalal Bajaj, among others. Despite its diverse composition in terms of regional and professional representation, the committee's ideological direction was notably guided by Subhas Chandra Bose's comprehensive framework for national reconstruction.

¹⁴ Bose & Bose. (ed.). *Netaji Collected Works*, 46.

¹⁵ The Planning Commission circulated detailed questionnaires about various aspects of national development, including industrial growth, agriculture, and economic regeneration. These were directed to provincial governments, princely states, and a wide range of stakeholders—such as trade organizations, industrial and commercial bodies, agricultural associations, cooperative firms, and individual experts—who had engaged in the serious study of issues central to the broader objectives of national reconstruction. The initiative reflected a comprehensive effort to gather informed perspectives on matters of all-around national importance, to formulate an inclusive and empirically grounded planning framework.

policies; and financial systems restructuring.¹⁶ This multilayered approach ensured that planning accounted for macroeconomic priorities and sector-specific needs.

The Commission's work fundamentally reflected Bose's unique socialist philosophy, manifesting in several key policy orientations. First, it advocated state stewardship of strategic sectors such as energy, defence, and transportation, recognizing their vital role in national sovereignty and development¹⁷. Second, it promoted agricultural collectivization and radical land redistribution to dismantle feudal structures. Third, it institutionalized cooperative production models to democratize economic participation. Finally, it prioritized equitable wealth distribution mechanisms to prevent postcolonial capitalism from reproducing colonial-era inequalities. As Bose articulated, the Commission's essential mandate was to achieve "holistic economic advancement through systematic planning that balances productive expansion with distributive justice".¹⁸ This comprehensive planning framework represented what contemporary scholars might characterize as a proto-developmental state model, adapted specifically to India's postcolonial context. Bose's approach creatively synthesized developmental pragmatism with socialist egalitarianism, acknowledging the necessity of rapid industrialization while insisting on its social embeddedness. The subcommittee structure operationalized this vision by translating ideological principles into actionable policy domains, from technical education to gender-inclusive development, demonstrating Bose's nuanced understanding of economic planning as simultaneously technical and political.

Subhas Chandra Bose distinguished himself as one of the most progressive advocates of industrialization among Indian nationalist leaders, articulating a vision of economic modernization that sharply contrasted with Mahatma Gandhi's village-centric idealism. While Gandhi warned that industrialization would "kill man ethically and spiritually"¹⁹. In contrast to Gandhi's assertion in *Hind Swaraj* that India's future should be built upon self-sufficient cottage industries, Bose envisioned a more balanced industrial model that combined the advancement of large-scale modern industry with active support for the revival of traditional small-scale enterprises. Bose's industrial policies were pragmatic and multidimensional. As Congress President in 1938, he established the National Planning Committee (NPC), which outlined concrete measures for industrialization, including:

- State-led development of heavy industries (steel, chemicals, machinery) to reduce foreign dependence
- Public-sector dominance in infrastructure (railways, power, telecommunications) to prevent capitalist monopolies
- Labor protections (minimum wages, trade union rights) to ensure equitable growth
- Technical education expansion, including overseas training for engineers²⁰

Critically, Bose's industrial vision avoided extremes. He rejected Gandhian austerity but cautioned against "blind imitation of the West", advocating a planned industrial economy that balanced efficiency with social justice. His 1944 "Post-War Reconstruction" blueprint even proposed coexistence between large industries and rural cooperatives, a synthesis reflecting his *Samyavada* (doctrine of synthesis) philosophy.²¹

In his post-liberation vision for national reconstruction, Subhas Chandra Bose emphasized that the core challenge confronting India was not merely the revival of existing industrial structures, but the initiation of a comprehensive program of rapid industrialisation. Superficial discussions around industrial "recovery" were dismissed by him as inadequate, as it was asserted that India remained in a pre-industrial stage of development. It was argued that meaningful economic advancement could only be achieved through an industrial revolution, even if such a transformation might entail social disruptions²². This revolution, it was noted, could not unfold gradually as it had in Britain, but would need to proceed as a "forced march", akin to the model adopted in Soviet Russia. In the prevailing international climate, it was assumed that a society that resisted industrialisation would not survive the pressures of global competition. Bose advanced a three-tier classification of industries: heavy, medium, and cottage. Heavy industries were identified as the backbone of the national economy and regarded as having the highest potential for facilitating rapid development.²³ These "mother industries," including power generation, machinery, and tools, were conceived as foundational, as they produced the means of production essential for enabling widespread and cost-effective manufacturing. Nonetheless, the relevance of small-scale and cottage industries was not dismissed. On the contrary, Bose

¹⁶ *Statesman*, 6 January 1939.

¹⁷ Gagan Kaushal. *Economic History of India*. (New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers, 1979), 85.

¹⁸ *Statesman*, 6 January 1939.

¹⁹ *Harijan*, 1 September, 1946.

²⁰ Sisir K. Bose, Vol 9, Speech at the inauguration of the National Planning Committee, 48.

²¹ Subhas C. Bose. *Selected Speeches of the Government of India*. (Netaji Research Bureau, 1965), 48.

²² Sisir K. Bose, Vol 9, 51.

²³ Concerns were expressed within Congress circles and by organizations such as the All-India Spinners Association and the All-India Village Industries Association, founded under Gandhi's initiative, about the potential threat that large-scale industrialisation posed to their continued relevance and survival.

advocated their revival and preservation, envisioning a symbiotic relationship in which small-scale industries would operate alongside large-scale sectors as complementary components of a balanced industrial economy.²⁴ This argument was illustrated through reference to the Japanese model, where the state was said to have ensured the availability of cheap power and machinery, and established institutional mechanisms for raw materials and marketing support. It was observed that, under such a system, families engaged in artisanal work could manufacture light industrial goods such as bicycles, toys, and writing instruments, thereby contributing meaningfully to grassroots-level economic development. It was further asserted that similar strategies could revitalize the traditional sectors in India, such as the handloom and silk industries. With proper state coordination and infrastructural support, it was believed that productivity levels could be raised, thereby improving the standard of living and delivering tangible benefits to the masses.²⁵

At the Haripura Congress session in 1938, Subhas Chandra Bose advanced a comprehensive vision for the gradual socialisation of industrial and agricultural systems. His proposed reforms extended across the spheres of production and distribution, to modernise India's economy while simultaneously challenging and replacing entrenched rural mentalities rooted in pre-industrial traditions. Central to this vision was the advocacy of scientific production methods, designed to ensure affordable food for the masses, low-cost raw materials for industry, and the generation of surplus output to support foreign exchange earnings.²⁶ Bose's engagement with European agricultural models played a formative role in shaping his vision for rural transformation in India. His visits to countries such as Holland, Romania, and Denmark offered him firsthand exposure to modern and scientifically managed agrarian systems, which he viewed as adaptable frameworks for addressing the structural inefficiencies of Indian agriculture.²⁷ His experience in Ireland, in particular, strengthened his conviction in the efficacy of cooperative farming, which he regarded as a practical and scalable approach to reorganising India's rural economy along collective, equitable, and productivity-driven lines. During his leadership of the Azad Hind Government in Southeast Asia, Bose institutionalised these agricultural priorities by establishing a dedicated Agricultural Department under the Azad Hind Dal, with state-owned farms in Burma and Maymyo. He also initiated the separate Kisan Party, members of which were sent to Japanese experimental farms to receive training in the cultivation of scientific cash crops and food grain production.²⁸ Bose's blueprint for rural reconstruction was anchored in a series of radical agrarian reforms, including the abolition of landlordism, the liquidation of agricultural debts, the provision of low-interest rural credit, the promotion of free trade unions, and the creation of structured marketing infrastructures. He maintained that the scientific agricultural practices would enhance productivity, promote self-sufficiency, and facilitate the gradual transition of a significant portion of the rural workforce from agrarian dependence to industrial employment. This envisioned linkage between agrarian reform and industrial expansion formed a cornerstone of Bose's broader socio-economic philosophy, which aimed at a comprehensive regeneration of the nation through equitable and planned development.

Conclusion

Subhas Chandra Bose's social and economic ideology constitutes one of the most compelling yet understudied dimensions of modern Indian political thought. This paper has sought to critically examine the core tenets of Bose's socio-economic vision, highlighting how his political radicalism was deeply intertwined with a structurally ambitious and ethically grounded framework for national reconstruction. Moving beyond conventional ideological classifications, Bose articulated a distinctly Indian model of socialism, *Samyavada*, which synthesized democratic ideals, socialist planning, and moral humanism to address the complex realities of colonial and postcolonial India. The central objective has been to demonstrate that Bose's ideological contributions were not confined to his anti-colonial militancy but extended to a holistic blueprint for social justice and economic modernization. His vision emphasized the inseparability of political sovereignty from socio-economic emancipation, advancing proposals for centralized planning, rapid industrialization, land reforms, cooperative rural reconstruction, and the socialization of core economic sectors. Through the National Planning Committee and his advocacy of an interventionist developmental state, Bose positioned himself as a pioneer of Indian statecraft grounded in equity, efficiency, and inclusion. His approach was defined by strategic adaptability rather than doctrinal rigidity. His rejection of capitalist exploitation and Gandhian economic romanticism led him to conceptualize a mixed economy that embraced heavy industry while protecting traditional small-scale sectors. His commitment to scientific agriculture, rural credit, and agrarian reform further underscores the integrative nature of his developmental model. Drawing on transnational socialist experiments while tailoring them to India's unique cultural and historical conditions, Bose anticipated many questions that would later preoccupy post-independence planners and political economists. The ideological

²⁴ Sisir K. Bose, Vol. 9, n. 5. p. 48. Speech at the inauguration of the National Planning Committee.

²⁵ Ibid, 49.

²⁶ Ibid, 51.

²⁷ *Independent*, 13 February, 1936.

²⁸ I N A Records, File No. 253/INA. National Archives of India. Now Delhi.

legacy of Subhas Chandra Bose lies in the synthesis of structural transformation with ethical responsibility that continues to resonate in contemporary debates on inclusive development and postcolonial state-building.