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The Concept of ‘Commercial Anarchy’ in Fichte’s The Closed Commercial State

Abstract

Fichte’s *Der geschlossene Handelstaat* presents a concept that, on the one hand, plays a role of primary importance for a critique of the ‘liberal liberty’ and, on the other hand, allows for a critical understanding of the aporias of today’s ‘neoliberal condition.’ This concept is *Handelsanarchie*, the ‘commercial anarchy’ of a historical world that aspires to remove every political constraint in order to let the depoliticized economic become the undisputed master. In the following pages, we will conduct an examination of the Fichtean concept of *Handelsanarchie* in *Der geschlossene Handelstaat*, then we will outline some considerations (albeit impressionistic) about its critical scope in the current economic convergence of *laissez-faire* and neoliberal deregulation.

Keywords: commercial anarchy, state, liberal liberty, neoliberal deregulation.

1. Foreword

Among Fichte’s works, *Der geschlossene Handelstaat* (1800) is the most affected by repression and defamation by some of the critics, perhaps even more than *Reden an die deutsche Nation*. The core of this work written in 1800 is the program of commercial closure of the State: this concept keeps to be presented as a perverse denial of the principles of liberty. For that very reason Fichte is often depicted as a reactionary and anti-libertarian thinker, and many critics consider this work as the turning point (*Kehre*) of Fichte’s political *Denkweg*.

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For the sake of truth, Fichte was not included in the list of authors mentioned by Popper in *The Open Society and Its Enemies*: however, there is no doubt that the thinker of Rammenau, since 1800, is considered as an enemy of the ‘open society’ by every single supporter of liberal thought. Isaiah Berlin, for instance, places Fichte among the enemies of human liberty. Of course the liberty in question is the liberal one, i.e. the freedom of the abstract and anti-communitarian individual, who has to be protected from every intrusion by the State and should be free to inhabit a social space that has been reduced to a mere plane for mercantile transactions.

Certainly, Fichte aimed to fight against this concept of liberty, but he didn’t want to deny the liberty tout court. Rather he wanted to promote liberty in a different sense, adopting a meaning that is both form and content, i.e., a non-liberal liberty, trying to awake his contemporaries from the dogmatic slumber of the automatic identification between liberty and its neo-liberal interpretation. Fichte’s struggle is still topical for us, as we are the victims of the nightmare of the ‘end of history’.

In this regard, *Der geschlossene Handelstaat* presents a concept that, on the one hand, plays a role of primary importance for a critique of the ‘liberal liberty’ and, on the other hand, allows for a critical understanding of the aporias of today’s ‘neoliberal condition.’ This concept is *Handelsanarchie*, the ‘commercial anarchy’ of a historical world that aspires to remove every political constraint in order to let the depoliticized economic become the undisputed master. In the following pages, we will conduct an examination of the Fichtean concept of *Handelsanarchie* in *Der geschlossene Handelstaat*, then we will outline some considerations (albeit impressionistic) about its critical scope in the current economic convergence of *laissez-faire* and neoliberal deregulation.).

2. Structure of *Der Geschlossene Handelstaat*

The first of the three books of the *Der geschlossene Handelstaat*, titled *Philosophy*, begins with a discussion around what seems to be, according to Fichte, the greatest theoretical misunderstanding about the essence of the State. The book discusses, in fact, the ideality of the State, i.e. how the State should be if its ontological potentialities would be actualized. This is what Fichte calls *Vernunftstaat*, the ‘State regulated by

Reason.' So the great misunderstanding in the conception of the State - that has imposed itself in the course of history - is the belief that "the state has nothing further to do beyond protecting the personal rights and property of every citizen (jeden bei seinen persönlichen Rechten und seinem Eigenthume zu erhalten)".

In opposition to this dominant belief, the first book of *Der geschlossene Handelstaat*, that outlines the philosophical profile of the *Vernunftstaat*, is based on a different vision: *es sey die Bestimmung des Staats, jedem erst das Seinige zu geben, ihn in sein Eigenthum erst einzusetzen, und sodann erst, ihn dabei zu schützen*, "the vocation of the state to first give each what is his, to first put each in possession of his property, and only then to protect him in this".

This is a statement of capital importance. First of all, the *Bestimmung* - the 'determination' assigned to the State by the thinker of Rammenau - has a radically different meaning from the one assumed in present times: moreover, thanks to that very mystification, the State can present its negation of the ideal as if it was right and natural, due to the fact that the true vocation of the State is repressed and replaced by the perversion where the State has actually fallen down (in a real reabsorption of the 'ought' into the 'is')². Opposing this ideological purview, Fichte upholds a non-liberal conception of liberty, i.e. a different perspective in contrast with the liberal outlook that conceives the State as a mere guarantor of individual rights and accumulated properties. The goal is to realize the ideal, instead of the *modus operandi* of ideologies that are prone to adaptation, i.e. idealize the real. The State described in Fichte's work is not a simple and indifferent policeman that ensures the acquisition, preservation and growth of the property of individuals. Such a State is entirely subordinate to agonal individuals, and therefore to the disruptive force of self-referential economy that has unlimited growth as its sole purpose and causes the dissolution of the human community - a topic that was already discussed in *Naturrecht*, written in Jena in 1796-97³.

Fichte's reasoning leads to the consideration that the duty of the State regulated by Reason (that allows for a critical evaluation of what actually exists and to act in view of its transformation) is rather to ensure that each *Vernünftiges Wesen*, within the boundaries of the state, should gain the free possession of what imprescriptibly belongs to him as a

2 See T. Harada (1989); also López-Domínguez (1994).

3 See: Siep (1992).

member of the human race. The liberal definition of the State as a force devoted to the protection of the property of citizens is inevitably partial, says Fichte: surely, the *Bestimmung* of the State consists also of this, but it's just a secondary moment. The *Vernunftstaat*, in fact, as it has been pointed out, is the State that protects the citizen after having previously secured the property that belongs to him as a *Vernunftwesen*.

The second book *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat*, dedicated to the History, leaves the celestial realm of the 'ought' of *Vernunftstaat* ("State regulated by Reason") for a *katabasis* in the underworld of effective reality: the perfectly accomplished commercial anarchy, which will be thoroughly examined in the following sections of this work. This second book is developed around the Fichtean belief that philosophical reason has to graft itself on historical concreteness - the present time - and act in view of the rationalization of the real, or either the realization of the ideal. In the preamble to the second book, the essence of Fichtean thought as a *System der Freiheit*⁴ is clarified: the *transzendentaler Idealismus* conceives the historical concreteness as the realm of *possibilitas*, interpreting reality as a provisional and never definitive outcome of a *praxis* that articulates itself in historical temporality. All that is - this is the cornerstone of the *Wissenschaftslehre* (hereinafter, *WL*) - is the result of action, the *Tat-Sache* of a *Tat-Handlung*: as such, it can always be transformed again in view of a concordance between the reason and the real, between the subject-agent and the passive object⁵, though this concordance is always deferred.

The dichotomy between *Dogmatismus* and *Idealismus* (dogmatism and idealism) is at the center of the 'First Introduction to the *WL*' dated 1797⁶ and represents the necessary starting point by the light of which, in *Der geschlossene Handelstaat*, we may compare the two different practical attitudes with respect to the logic of the real. While the dogmatic believes that history is structured according to a strict necessity, i.e. a given reality to which we must adapt in a passive manner, the idealist, on the contrary, argues that the *ordo temporum* coincides with the set of free objectivations of human *praxis* that articulates itself *sub specie temporis* and, thereby, it proves to be the natural place of the materialization of human liberty.

4 See: Pareyson (1950).

5 See: Mittmann (1993).

6 See: Hickey (2004); Betteridge (1988).

In keeping with the principles of the WL, the object is nothing else than the subject that has objectified to itself; therefore, it coincides with the past of the active I in relation with its present. The subject posits the object to itself through a contraposition; so the object is opposite and, at the same time, identical to the subject itself. The object is the subject considered not as a deed-act (Tat-Handlung), i.e. as an action in the present, but as a result of that activity, an objectified praxis (Tat-Sache). The object does not have the opaque traits of unmodifiability, but presents itself as a result that is always transcendible and never definitive in action, according to the very essence of WL as a deduction of 'being' from 'doing': according to the grammar of WL nova methodo, the not-I is "what it endures and is determinable throughout all different determinations it receives through the liberty of the I."

The fundamental ontological modality of the dogmatic is the necessity, while the idealist adopts the possibility. The former idealizes the real, where the latter aims to realize the ideal. The dogmatic confuses reality as an outcome of the free praxis with a given and unamendable objectivity: his incurable disease, as Fichte explains in *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat* by openly taking up the issues already discussed in *Erste Einleitung* (1797), lies in mistaking the accidental for the necessary, thus passively surrendering to the logic of the world transfigured into *Ding an sich*, a world that escapes the sphere of influence of the free transformative praxis. What 'is' on the ontological level, as what happens on the historical level, is necessary for him and, as such, worthy of being passively accepted.

For the Dogmatismus, all derives from the object, considered as autonomous from the subject. As knowledge is a mirroring of being, so politics is the preservation of the world in its effective configuration. The *adaequatio* is, at once, gnoseological and political: the knowledge of effective reality translates into a passive adaptation to it, resolving the possibility into reality. Conversely, for the Idealismus, everything derives from the 'doing': 'knowing' is the action that entails the subject-objective unity, and politics is the inexhaustible transformation of the existing in view of its always deferred identity with the *Ich*. In the light of the above, the structure of *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat* is even clearer. As a consistent political interpretation of transcendental idealism, the study of the 'being' is functional to its transformation, in order to make it correspond to the 'ought'. In the words of Reinhard Lauth, "our *voluntas-in-actu* will determine which 'world' we would realize as objectively existent" (Lauth

2004: 57): anyway, to translate our will into action, we should be able to know the historical concreteness in which we are living.

The third book of *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat* is dedicated to Politics, i.e. a concrete way to mediate between ideality and reality, allowing the former to graft itself on the latter and reconfigure it *ex novo*. The goal of politics coincides then, according to the vivid formula that Fichte employs in the first chapter of the third book, with the “path that leads from the anarchy of trade to its rational arrangement”⁷. In other words, politics should operationally ensure the transition from the real State to the rational State, allowing the latter to remodel the former. This first general framework already shows how Fichte’s thought can rightly be considered, according to the title of the monograph by Marc Maesschalck, *une philosophie moderne de l’action politique* (Maesschalck 1996: 35). The primacy of action over the being, of the ‘doing’ over the ‘done’ is determined, on the political level, in the absolute primacy of the political praxis as a concrete way through which the ideal could gain its citizenship in the real.

The third book in *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat* is not only programmatically devoted to politics, namely the art of concrete *Weltveränderung*, but the very principles of WL, in every *Darstellung*, present a natural political-transformative expressiveness, not only by virtue of their ‘defatalization’ of the existing (through the transcendent-philosophical purview of ‘mediacy of positing’), but also thanks to the infinite *Streben*, devoted to make the I and the not-I coincide.

For this very reason, in the dedicatory letter of *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat*, Fichte puts much emphasis on the unconditional necessity to take leave of a concept of politics that could be qualified as ‘empiricist’. According to the empiricist vision (which is the political declination of dogmatic fatalism), politics coincides with the mere realism, that is, with the simple and disenchanting analysis of the present conditions, without ever supporting the claim to transcend the boundaries of reality and lean towards the ideal (Wallwitz 1999). Here we understand clearly in what sense *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat* should be read in continuity with the earlier writings of Fichte and how it can be considered as fully consistent with the main structure of the WL as a ‘system of liberty’ (*System der Freiheit*), including its code of deduction of being from liberty. The deeper meaning of the text written in 1800

⁷ SW, III, p. 476.

is actually based on rediscovering the meaning of possibility against the triumphant mystique of necessity, together with defending the process of emancipation of mankind - a topic already treated in its most explicit form during the lessons held in Jena in 1794 about the *Bestimmung des Gelehrten* (Oesterreich 1999).

3. Handelsanarchie and the Breakup of States

From the point of view of the transcendental idealism of WL, the attention to the historical concreteness is subordinate to the will to redesign the schemes of reality. This is, after all, the project clearly outlined in the second book of *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat*, perfectly consistent with the principles of Fichtean *Strebungsphilosophie*. In order to accomplish such a mission, one needs to be aware of the actual configuration of power and power relations, of the gap existing between the reality and the ideal, between how things are and how they might be. In other words, the study of concrete reality should not be aimed at neutralizing the *possibilitas* according to the hegemonic vision, but to maximize it instead, through the practice of operational translation of the ideal in the real. It is precisely for these reasons that - explains Fichte - *gegenwärtig haben wir diesen wirklich eingetretenen nur zu schildern, welches ein Theil der Zeitgeschichte wäre*, "at the moment we shall outline this actual state, which is etched in the history of our time".⁸ Moreover, the title we chose for this book, *History*, is a generic term, as Fichte adopted the more specific formula *Zeitgeschichte*: it refers mainly to the most recent times of history and, therefore, it could be more accurately translated as "history of the present time", in order to underline how the Fichtean interest in the Closed Commercial State revolves around a knowledge of present that should be functional to the transformative action.

Fichte, in the second chapter of the second book about *History*, defines in a clearer way the concept of *Handelsanarchie*, assumed as the cipher of the present time. The title of this second chapter is of particular importance: *Die bekannte Welt als ein einiger grosser Handelsstaat angesehen*, "The known world considered as one great unitary commercial state".⁹ Here Fichte outlines - with an adherence that should in-

8 SW, III, p. 449.

9 SW, III, p. 450

duce to reflect those who persist in dismissing him as a thinker who doesn't pay attention to the dynamics of historical concreteness¹⁰ - the situation of the world ruled by the anarchy of trade that has unified the globe and started a process that, if not stopped in time, will result in the suppression of national realities and cultures in favor of the universal monarchy of the profit, elevated as the sole leading criterion of human life and management of politics (Maesschalck 1996: 104). Fichte argues that liberal politics has no principle to oppose to this condition, because it completely shares the idea that the State is necessary to ensure the property: the liberal idea symbolically duplicates what already is, i.e. the actual submission of politics to the autonomized economy, resulting in a reduction of the State as a mere guarantor of the *mos economicus*.

Fichte identifies the genesis of this immense and global *Handelsstaat* with the formation of Christian Europe itself: *lassen die Völker des neuen christlichen Europa sich betrachten als Eine Nation*, "the peoples of modern Christian Europe may be considered as one nation".¹¹

In this framework of unity provided by Christian Europe, the gold and silver currency was universally recognized and, ipso facto, it made possible the exchange across borders. This exchange has gradually become the basis for the establishment of the modern *Handelsstaat* and of the ruinous *Anarchie* that ensued. Christian Europe, united by faith and values even in a plurality of cultures and languages, constituted a whole, in which the autonomy of the parties was respected: "If Christian Europe was a whole, then the trade of the Europeans among themselves must be free".¹² Subsequently, Fichte argues that the situation has been per-versely turned upside down: the economy is autonomized and, thanks to the Christian unity, tends to destroy the cultures and to impose itself as the only principle of reference. The positive Christian unity has been dialectically reversed in its denial, in the false universality of the trade as an end in itself, which drags peoples, cultures and values that form the basis of the Christian civilization down into the abyss.

This is what Fichte describes in this passage as the modern *Anarchie des Handels* that we have to fight for the harmful effects it entails. At this point, Fichte takes up what he argued since the publication of the first book of *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat*: if the duty of the State is to

10 See: Crone (2005); Gurwitsch (1924).

11 SW, III, p. 450.

12 SW, III, p. 453.

protect each citizen in his property after having secured him into it, so that his basic needs are firmly satisfied, then we must fight unconditionally against that force - the *Handelsanarchie* - which tends to destroy this balance.

This is a decisive conceptual turning point that should be analyzed in detail. The *Handelsanarchie* destroys the primacy of the human over things, of politics over economy, and produces what Carl Schmitt defined as “depoliticization”, i.e. the deprivation of politics and its reduction to a mere *ancilla oeconomiae*. Commercial anarchy regularly turns down into political anarchy. For this reason, the overcoming of the traditional state form, according to the dynamics that are coessential with the anarchy of trade, constitutes an unavoidable step towards the depoliticization, in order to annihilate and weaken any politics that would be still able to act on the economic in a way that could regulate it and put it at the service of the human *Gemeinschaft*. The inefficiency of the entities of the State is the condition needed to impose the two convergent principles of commercial anarchy and integral depoliticization of the economic sphere. These are two great evils that characterize the present time that Fichte, in *Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters* (1806), qualifies as *Stand der vollendeten Sündhaftigkeit*, “The Age of Completed Sinfulness”¹³

The fact that the liberal State is a mere formal guarantor of property that does not take care of the substance is the preferred way to subsume politics under *Handelsanarchie*, reconfiguring it as a simple mean to achieve trade's own goals, and reducing it to a tool at the service of the *mos economicus*. As specified in the sixth chapter of the second book, “Trade interests ultimately give rise to political concepts that could not be more perilous”¹⁴ These concepts, if read in a transparent way, reveal themselves to be absolutely functional to the consolidation of the immense power of the economic negative. Paraphrasing the well-known Carl von Clausewitz's formula, politics is now debased and reconfigured to be a mere continuation of economy by other means. In the opinion of the thinker of Rammenau, this is the mortiferous condition in which Europe has fallen into: a continent now debased as an immense *Handelsstaat*, where the laws of economics are forcing people into misery and disintegrating every form of communitarian solidarity.

13 GA, I, 8, p. 201.

14 SW, III, p. 468.

Concerning the diseases that arise from the anarchic situation generated by the depoliticized economic, Fichte discusses them in the third chapter of the second book of *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat*, programmatically entitled “The reciprocal relation of the individuals in this great commercial state”.¹⁵ The *Handelsstaat*, modelled according to the principles of *Handelsanarchie*, and therefore on the basis of depoliticization and destructurement of every state form that could be able to put up any kind of resistance, brings into being the exact opposite of what Fichte identified in the first book as the essence of the *Vernunftstaat*. In this State, as we have seen before, and as reminded by Fichte en passant also in this book, the money would be equally distributed among individuals, so that everyone would have an equal right for an equal amount of the existing goods: equal liberty would be the foundation of a State built in accordance with the principles of *ordo ordinans* of reason, as Fichte pointed out in the first book on the *Philosophy*.¹⁶ The issue of equality is at the center of every work and every phase of the Fichtean reflection¹⁷, and it was theoretically founded in 1794 during the lessons held in Jena on the *Bestimmung des Gelehrten*.

The immense commercial State of Europe, destined to become global, stands as the exact opposite of the *Vernunftstaat* outlined according to the principles of the WL. In place of communitarian solidarity, the acquisitive and selfish individualism ends up to dominate; in lieu of moderation, excessiveness becomes the norm; the social peace is replaced by the perpetual struggle between individuals, reduced to social atoms who feel hostile to each other like Hobbesian wolf-men, eager to have it all to the detriment of others.

Fichte describes in no uncertain terms the global scene of *Handelsanarchie*, interwoven with injustice and conflicts, selfishness and sad passions, misery and exploitation¹⁸. Therefore, the historical reality of the present time is configured as the greatest denial of the ideal that one can think of. In practice, in this historical situation there is no other way to be idealists other than to operationally oppose the *Handelsanarchie* and supporting the theory of the State regulated by Reason, which is the only power able to curb commercial anarchy by repoliticizing the

15 SW, III, p. 454.

16 SW, III, pp. 454-457.

17 See: Schenkel, 1987.

18 SW, III, pp. 454ss.

economy and restoring the primacy of the human *Gemeinschaft* over the anonymous and self-referential mechanisms of the absolutized economic. Human solidarity gives way to the sad spectacle of ruthless competition, in which each man aspires to destroy his fellow man: kurz, keinem ist für die Fortdauer seines Zustandes bei der Fortdauer seiner Arbeit im mindesten die Gewähr geleistet; denn die Menschen wollen durchaus frei seyn, sich gegenseitig zu Grunde zu richten, "In short, no one will be provided with the slightest guarantee that, if he continues to work, he will continue to enjoy his present state of existence. For men wish to be completely free that they may destroy one another"¹⁹.

In the fourth chapter of the book on *Zeitgeschichte*, Fichte thoroughly investigates and radicalizes the logic of the previous one, i.e. an examination of the oppositional relations among individuals within the State. Fichte now explores - so reads the title of this fourth chapter - the *Gegenseitiges Verhältniss der Nationen, als Ganzer im Handelsstaats*, "The reciprocal relation of the nations as wholes in this commercial State". Even at the international level, the *Handelsanarchie* gives rise to a condition that is closely akin to the *status naturae* outlined by Hobbes: the States face each other as *magni homines*, with a menacing and gladiatorial attitude²⁰. Each sees in the other the traits of a dangerous commercial rival that has to be subdued, or else annihilated.

The *bellum omnium contra omnes* traces the 'horizon of sense' of the immense *Handelsstaat*, in which the autonomized economic ends up to occupy the entire space that used to belong to the national political, forcing the latter to share the senseless goal of the former - the valorization of value - and producing, thereby, colonialism and imperialism, both demonized by Fichte from the dedicatory letter onwards (Thomas-Fogiel 2004: 235). So Fichte considers the commercial closure of the State as the only possible way to realize the *Vernunftstaat*, by means of the neutralization of commercial anarchy in order to grant equal civil and social rights for all.

The commercial closure will make possible, according to Fichte, the regulation of economy by politics (allowing the State to be as economically sovereign as it is legally), and will prevent the rise of colonialism from the anarchy of trade. Fichte condemns colonialism in no uncertain terms, as well as he does with the subjection of his fellow countrymen to

19 SW, III, p. 458.

20 See: James (2011: 419).

the economic relation of domination and inferiority made possible by the unregulated economy. In the closed commercial State, Fichte says, “No one can be cheated, and no one will need to cheat another. And if he wished to do so out of a pure love of fraud, he would not find anyone whom he could cheat”²¹.

Also the fifth and sixth chapters of the second book of *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat* are thoroughly exploring these issues and, in particular, contain a vibrant condemnation of the rampant sinfulness of the present time. In particular, the sixth chapter attempts to demonstrate how, when a nation has conquered the commercial hegemony, other nations are forced to undermine it, in order to restore a balance: if they can't do so at the expense of the dominant nation, they will inevitably turn their efforts toward the weakest ones. This context of unlimited potential for conflict, generated by the *auri sacra fames*, leads every nation to relentlessly try to expand itself beyond its borders, in order to become an economic power: in this process, all nations are potential losers, and especially the most vulnerable ones.

The thinker of Rammenau outlines the condition of upheavals and conflicts that characterizes the scenario of *Handelsanarchie* and, with as much farsightedness, foreshadows how wars between States always arise from the ‘economic question’, from the lust for domination and profit. The relations among States are replicating on a larger scale what happens in the relations among the conflictive individuals within the State, who are subjugated by the power of the absolutized economic.²²

According to Fichte, social harmony, intended as the foundation of the communitarian ethos, can only be achieved by the closure of the State at the commercial level. For this reason, once more, the *geschlossene Handelsstaat* is the only way suggested by reason to react to the current disintegration of the ethos²³ and, secondly, to pursue the ideal of an universalism of emancipation, different from the ‘bad universality’ put into practice by the *Handelsanarchie*.²⁴

In light of what we have been saying, can we argue that the Fichtean critique of commercial anarchy, and the related therapy consisting in a re-politicization of the economy mediated by the State form, could find

21 SW, III, p. 462.

22 See: Wood (2004).

23 See S. Furlani (2005: 45-46).

24 See: Picardi (2009); Picardi (2012).

its place in present times, in the era of globalized and completed sinfulness? Even if we don't agree with all the solutions proposed by Fichte (starting from the very idea of *Verschliessen des Handelsstaates*), his diagnosis is hard to refute, in particular for which concerns the perspective of the neutralization of the political by the autonomized economic obtained through commercial anarchy.

As suggested by David Harvey, globalization is the flexible and post-modern form of imperialism, i.e. the exact opposite of the soothing and irenic universalism of human rights, as it is presented by the politically correct *pensée unique*. For this reason, in the pages of *Der geschlossene Handelsstaat*, we can identify in nuce the understanding of the dynamics of internationalization of the market and of its tendency to produce a space delivered from any political and decisional sovereignty, that is, where the only sovereign is the autonomized economic moment. We live, in fact, in the age of *Handelsanarchie*, hailed today by neo-liberal policies such as deregulation, always pursued in the name of a global *laissez-faire*.

If properly brought up to date, the therapy proposed by Fichte could form the basis for a critique of the present that may outline the possibility of an alternative future. The teleological orientation of the process of emancipation of mankind, which coincides with a cosmopolitan, international, unified, organic and stateless community, composed of free and equal individuals, requires transformative action as a medium .

It needs the mediation of the power of the State. In Fichtean terms, the State is called upon to play the role of a particular that, by standing against the logic of the globalized *Handelsanarchie*, should universalize itself in order to gradually reverse the trend in view of a communitarian cosmopolitanism. This will be based on the universal recognition of individuals as parts of a single *Gemeinschaft* that will include mankind as a whole.

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