

Freudian Keynes: Spending Man and Spending State

S. Sevinç Orhan

Department of Economics, Pamukkale University

Metin Sarfati

*Department of Public Administration and Political Science,
Marmara University*

Abstract

While Keynes defines all pre-Keynesian economics that analyzes on the Euclidian plane as Classical Economics, he writes the general theory of economics using his own approach. In Keynes' approach, the Euclidian world is rejected while unpredictable investment and spending behavior of men under unmeasurable risk and uncertainty are emphasized. In this way, *spending state actor* is added to the theory against uncertainty by the animal spirit image in the capitalist system, and the new political economy of the theory is created. According to Freud infinity and self-realization drive with regard to the Eros-Thanatos dilemma takes men to death. With liberation, unlimited development and never-ending enrichment passion, men clash with the civilization and strive to destroy it whether knowingly or not. In the Freudian approach, men are those that are not the *owner of themselves*. While human nature is dispersed by the effect of *drives* rather than *ratio*, it destroys itself in the search of wealth and prepares for its own death. According to Keynes, capitalism is a system that reminds Freudian death drive. Based on the Freudian approach, Keynes crit-

Introduction

icizes saving aspiration and gets rid of human nature that piles up with spending behavior. Keynes adds a new actor in spending man image to the theory of economics by Freudian psychoanalysis.

Keywords

Keynes, Economic Methodology, Methodological Individualism.

John Maynard Keynes, in his pursuit to write a general theory of economics, defines the whole of the economics science prior to him, which made its analysis in the Euclidean plane, as classical economics. In rejecting the Euclidean world, Keynes discusses the investment and spending trends that were not foreseen under risks and uncertainties. In this way, his theory produces new economic policies while the actor of the consuming state is imparted to the theory through animal spirit images of the capitalist system in the face of uncertainty.

In the Eros-Thanatos dilemma, as asserted by Freud, eternal existence and the drive for self-actualization leads the individual to death. Although this process can be postponed, the possibility of its elimination is low. As for Freud, who has brought individual analysis to the social level, human beings will try to destroy civilization either knowingly or unknowingly by having to clash with the civilization with the passion for emancipation, endless development and infinite enrichment. Since human in the Freudian approach is the “non-owner of self”.

This paper will analyze firstly, the transformation of the *accumulating destroyer man* into a producing, spending and wealth-creating man via the drive received from the universal human context of Freudian Keynes. Furthermore, the policy of economics will be put forward through a discussion of the *consuming state/consuming man* actor against the inclination to accumulate, with the impact of animal spirit within uncertainty in Keynes’ approach.

According to Freud, being a ‘non-owner of self’ or being irrational is associated

The Dialectics of Life or Eros –Thanatos Dilemma

with *erotic-oral* and *erotic-anal* processes of early childhood. The ‘being incomplete’ in these periods affects the entire life of the adult, and according to Freud, this affects individuals’ economic relations as much as their relationships with the opposite sex. As stated by Freud, an individual’s relationship with goods or symbolic objects such as gold and money are affected by this process. Dissatisfaction experienced during the period of early childhood makes the individual greedy for those objects. Human being is driven away not by his own ration, but by the effect of impulses. He prepares his own death by depleting himself in hunt of his desire (Sarfati 2014, 12-13).

To avoid death, or in Freud’s words, running from death is the operative function of all living creatures. Moreover, Freud states that the impulse of human action is primarily hedonistic. Freud analyzes two basic instincts in his essay *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* written 10 years after the *Crisis of Civilization*. The first are those behaviors that set benefits or even the search for pleasure, the ‘Pleasure principle’, as the basic motivation of individual action. The other instinct is the death drive that humans actually unconsciously serve while pursuing pleasure.

The human quest for pleasure starts in infancy, from the sucking process at the mother’s breast. However, the inevitable break from the mother’s breast creates a sense of great loss. In order to compensate for this loss, humans try constantly to capture a similar pleasure until maturity. Plucked from the satisfaction of pleasure, humans face scarcity. The transition from the existence to absence means the beginning of the state of ‘rarity’. At this very stage, the ‘Economy’ becomes a current issue. (Sarfati 2014, 21) This state is embodied by states of *pleasure and life* – Eros as well as *death* – Thanatos for the rest of human life. Death paradoxically will come to life within the process of the pursuit of pleasure.

The come up of the death within the process of pursuit of pleasure is described as the death drive by Freud (Freud 2010, 23). Freud, as quoted in Philips (2002, 80)

says that “the *goal of all life is death*, and, casting back, *the inanimate was there before the animate*”. According to Freud, “except the life instincts, there should be a destructive instinct in opposite direction to maintain cohesion and consistency of the living matter and form larger units” (Freud 2010, 42). This impulse aims to render the first original, inorganic state from life particles. According to this; “Human beings become the scene of a war between the two types of impulses. A part of this impulse tries to drag life towards to death, while sexual impulse attempts to maintain life renewing it.” However, within this process the unlimited and continuous pursuit of pleasure of Eros encounters Freud’s ‘the reality principle’ and is blocked. The ‘Reality’ of the external world will teach Eros that infinite pleasure is impossible and pleasure will be forced to decline. In this way, man will go towards death in the endless quest for pleasure by pursuing infinite pleasure and fighting against nature and civilization.

Apparently, life is formed in dilemma between Eros and Thanatos. As stated by Freud: “Eros or sex instinct continuously produces the primary form of the living beings, the life will be prolonged only through sexual intercourse and this effort will create an illusion of immortality” (Freud 2010, 112). Death can be postponed solely and only thanks to Eros. Freud argued that because of the nature of Eros, the sexual drives in quest for pleasure are also aggressive ones. As such, destruction is inevitable. All sorts of relationships contain destructive inclinations (Pestre 2010, 7). Life is a scene where everyone is hostile to each other almost as in a Hobbesian “omnes contra omnes” fiction (Sarfati 2014, 25). Eros is not satisfied with preparing his own death; it is in pursuit of the other’s death as well. The quest for making the never-ending pleasure out of continuous one will open the door for extinction and this process resembles the dialectical process. The life and death impulses progress within a dialectical process, evoking each other; death and pleasure constantly seek each other.

Economic Fiction in Freudian Approach

Freud says: “The origin of the interest on money is not rational, since its libidinal nature, we are used to find it in defecation pleasure” (Abraham 1977). According to Karl Abraham, call for accumulation is “earning money, obtaining possessions, all these are the outward stroke of the internal accumulation”. In economics, Abraham sees humans as patients captive of things. This captivity is a pathological case in the Freudian approach. In this way, money’s identity with anal character is established in Freudian approach. When unsatisfied oral requests continue with anal request that becomes pathological, the adult becomes the prisoner of accumulation action in passing through these processes (Sarfati 2014, 32).

As for Freud, the pursuit of money as well as the passion for continuous accumulation carries a pathological meaning. “Normal human being is revealed when he fully pulls himself away from the libidinal effects within his all relationships with money” (Freud 1996, 266). It will be clear that Freudian ‘normal man’ has a different meaning from the ‘representative agent’ of economics, and human living with the impulse of accumulation. Freudian human does not manufacture, instead he saves, and he keeps. According to Ferenczi, “money is actually a form of odorless, shining and dried-out faeces” (Ferenczi 1914).

At this stage, the human who is acting through Freud’s accumulation impulse should be discussed: by assimilating pleasure with moment, Freud criticizes the dominance of impulses on the mind. However, when saving means future expectations or renunciations it will not be analyzed within the criticism of saving tendency analysis (Sarfati 2014, 36-7). Nevertheless, the ability to postpone pleasure and to wait can be interpreted as a sign of the mind’s ability to take impulses under its control (Keynes 2009, 163-183). Even though Freud’s thesis includes authenticity share, it is a controversial issue that acts of saving can only be reduced to this idea.

On the other hand, unlike many biographers, Bernard Maris (2007, 8) stated that

Keynes who made analysis with the prediction that “the economic problems will end in more than one hundred years”, based his economic analysis really on the Freudian approach by putting psychology at the center of economic theory. Keynes builds savings tendency upon the desire of Freudian lethal money. He analyzes the community of individuals who dedicated their life satisfaction to continuous enrichment through the Freudian ‘Eros-Thanatos’ dichotomy (Sarfati 2014, 13). The instinct of ongoing savings, accumulation and enrichment in Keynes’s approach corresponds to a world where individuals remain in the oral-erotic period (Diamond 2009). In this sense, it is fatal. The system will get caught into the nets of Thanatos. However, Keynes is separated from Freud with his optimistic approach on the future of the system. With the help of Keynesian spending policies civilization will solve economic problems and overcome the crisis (Keynes 2005). Death drive will be surmounted under these conditions (Sarfati 2014, 14).

However, it is now clear that Keynes was wrong in predicting a solution to the ‘economic problem’ in a hundred years. To the extent of Keynes’s forecast, the economic problem has changed its magnitude and it is in a continuous process of transformation. In contrast to Keynes’s proposal or hope, today’s world has been locked in the grip of economic problems. The problem of scarcity is now perpetuated with different inference than explained in classical economics. Today, “in the world of economics” (Sarfati 2012) expenditure has been crowned, while economics has evolved into consumption despotism beyond sovereignty consumption. Keynesian spending policies have had serious contributions on the domination of the world of economics over society and the perpetuation of economic problems. Nowadays, Eros is running towards Thanatos and this justifies Freud.

According to Keynes, capitalism is a system reminiscent of the Freudian death drive. “Freud is a genius; it is common that all scientific hypotheses are fed from

Spending Man with Animal Spirit in Keynes’s Approach

him” (Maris 2007) influenced by Freud, Keynes is optimistic about the future of capitalism. Civilization, with its spending policies, can overcome the crisis; and the death drive will be overwhelmed by the proposed expenditure policies. According to Keynes, capitalist production creates uncertainty in relationships. The source of uncertainty is the market – the network of monetary affairs. Money is an indispensable institution of capitalism. The oblivion of possibility is the reason behind the uncertainty. Uncertainty depends on the obscurity.¹ “There is no scientific value of analysis measuring uncertainty via any calculable probability prediction. We simply do not know” (Keynes 1937a, 217).

Uncertainty is the source of risk, profit and competition in markets functioning under laissez-faire principles. Risk cannot be priced under these conditions. The state will always be in the economy due to uncertainty and the prediction problem. Keynes writes the Monetary Theory and General Theory (GT) with this methodological manner. According to Keynes, GT “is the monetary theory of production.” Keynes, in the GT, defines money as a “thing” that has its own unique characteristics. Money is irreducible to a set of measurable probabilities and it is the source of all uncertainty created cases.

According to Keynes (1936), uncertainty is the reason for liquidity demand in the monetary economy. The approach that falsifies the classics with its speculative money demand and the liquidity trap is based on uncertainty. In the Keynesian approach, investors act under the influence of ‘animal spirits’ under uncertain conditions. Uncertainty is the main argument of the theory of demand for money, which is presented as the monetary theory of production, and where the Quantity Theory is refuted within GT. Keynes criticizes the Classical economists for doing analysis in a Euclidean ground. Whereas, the world is not Euclidean, it is uncertain. Keynes draws attention to unforeseen investment and spending behavior

¹ A Tract on Monetary Reform (1923, Ch. 3), Keynes: This long run is a misleading guide to current affairs. In the long run we are all dead. Economists set themselves too easy, too useless a task, and if in tempestuous seasons they can only tell us, that when the storm is long past, the ocean is flat again (Economics, 139).

within immeasurable risks and uncertainties by refusing the analysis in Euclidean plane. In this way, the state is obliged by the impact of the animal spirit² in a Non-Euclidean world.

In statistical terms, time and future is managed through the process of stochastics³ (probability) according to the ergodic world axiom. The expected results of decisions are determined by the distribution of probability. Statistically significant estimates are made on value/output created in the future within Ergodic process. However, in ergodic stochastic process, both samples of the past and the current period are considered hypothetically equal since there is no future-proof sample in economics. In the ergodic axiom, the future is a statistical shadow of the current and previous periods. Stochastic process⁴ defines the value of the sample of a multidimensional variable at a certain moment of time (Davidson 2007, 33).

Keynes uses the terminology of the “ergodic axiom” in discussions of uncertainty and liquidity demand especially within the GT. Improbable deterministic models regulating axioms are likened to the ergodic axiom in the classical approach (Davidson, 2007). According to the ergodic axiom, with the data of current and past period, probability calculus statistically gives the opportunity for predictions in economics. The rejection of the ergodic axiom means an acceptance of the uncer-

² The notion of ‘animal spirit’ can be traced back to Erasistratus of Chios (310-250 BC) for more than 2,500 years. There is a belief in history of anatomy that the existence of various spirits that moved through the veins, arteries and nerves of the body and between themselves were responsible for perception, sensation and motor control. Within the brain this spiritus is refined into *spiritus animales*. Here the *spiritus animales* carries out higher brain functions and mental activities as well as it is responsible for sensory activities and movements of the body (Ochs 2004, 22). Animal sprite is used in GT’s: In Chapter 11: marginal productivity of capital; 12nd Chapter: expected profitability of investment (capital assets); In Chapter 13: discussions of interest rates. It evaluates the Entrepreneur’s behavior to invest and increase the company’s capital stock (Barens 2011). According to Keynes, entrepreneur decides to invest only when the price of the demand investment goods is higher than the offering price (Keynes 1973, VII, 161-2).

³ If stochastic process is ergodic one, time and space statistics can occur illimitably beyond random errors. In other words, as the number of observations increases, calculated time and space statistics approaches probability unit. In the ergodic axiom system, with data of the present and the future estimation of space statistics can be made and results can be predictable through the time series or movement of the cross-sectional data. (Davidson 2007). Although the future is always risk as probability in ergodic system, it can be still predicted with existing statistical analysis.

⁴ Stochastic models use stochastic processes. At a certain time, these models use economic values. In econometric models, all parametric forecasts or hypothesis tests concerning procedures are based on these models.

tainty content of the future. Keynes's criticism of the Euclidean world in classical theory means rejection of ergodic axiom.

In Keynes's approach, instinctive behavior expressed in terms of the animal spirit is the cause of the hoarder trend that postpones consumption and investment spending, and the speculative demand for money in the face of uncertainty. In the Freudian approach, hoarding is a universal impulse that is a part of human nature and unrelated to uncertainty. In the Keynesian approach, instinctive behavior preparing the grounds for public spending is connected to uncertainty and bounded rationality. Encouraged by the Freudian approach, Keynes finds opportunity to see hoarder behavior as a human condition borne out of uncertainty. In this way, the grounds are prepared for policies that smooth out spending behavior. According to Keynes, the accumulation tendency, reduced to human nature by the Freudian impulse, gains the consuming man / state actor to economics. There is a more solid ground for public spending than uncertainty.

There is no room for either shortage of savings or income inadequacy problems in the Keynesian approach. The meaning attributed to the concept of finance delays the entrance of indebtedness and the solvency problem into economics literature. The financial sources of expenditures carrying economies into full employment income level are usually ignored. The financial sources of both public expenditure and household spending cannot be questioned. In the Keynesian approach, finance is the amount of kept money that is required for the purpose of buying and conducting financial transactions. Finance does not mean the sale of debt to the bank in order to buy again. The downward trend of expenditure capacity of credit institutions as well as the end of the payment obligations of the debtor cannot be questioned in the Keynesian approach. Keynes stated that liquidity refers to the recirculation or rotation of money. The concept of 'finance' does not mean bank loans. Finance refers to the concept of cash temporarily kept to meet the cost of

every new investment initiative (Keynes 1973b, 229).

Methodological traces of the Freudian individualist psychoanalytic approach may be found in the Keynesian approach. The Freudian psychoanalytic method attributes hoarder tendency, which is fed by individual impulse, to social behavior. A similar methodological individualistic approach that ignores the social context can be found in Keynesian as well as mainstream economics. There is a possibility of Keynesian economics to realize universal constraints of the hoarder behavior through Freudian literature. The behavioral motivations of economics are deepened with Freud's psychoanalytic approach. Keynesian economics gives a context of macroeconomics to microeconomics behavior.

In case of ambiguity, the State retains its legitimacy against universal hoarder trend rather than animal spirit. Influenced by the Freudian methodology, Keynesian economics strengthens the grounds of mathematical formalism. Bounded rationality becomes insignificant in the face of uncertainty within the Keynesian approach. Due to uncertainty and bounded rationality, Keynes considers the state to be necessary, and in this way the ways of Keynes and the Keynesians are separated. Keynesians methodology ignoring uncertainty gives the chance to use the math. While economics gets underway to uncertainty with Keynes, Keynesian economics bids farewell to Keynes, social context, uncertainty and weakened ratios as well as critical realistic approach (Orhan 2015). In Keynes's approach, animal spirit, which could not direct savings into investments and income consumption within the risks and uncertainties, evolves into growth, accumulation and distribution models together with consuming state/man actor within all levels of insufficient income and capital units.

The capitalist system, which was going to inevitable end as predicted by Marx's 'money-goods-money' approach, was saved with the help of Keynes's speculative demand for money. Keynes ignores macroeconomic issues such as monetary and

financial wealth dimensions exceeding the real economy; the declining profit rates of the real economy and increasing financial returns; income distribution problems and debt spiral. Microeconomic concepts such as marginal consumption tendency and the marginal productivity of capital are discussed under the impact of animal spirits. Methodological individualist approach with neoclassical marginal means is enough to Keynes and Keynesian economics. However, there is no room for both microeconomic problems such as insufficient income and savings, the debt or solvency problem and macroeconomic problems such as lack of national savings or as the current account deficit (Orhan 2016).

In Keynes's approach, the spending requirement of the accumulation tendency is stronger than the spending requirement of uncertainty. Since, neither Keynes nor Keynesians in GT part ways with the Euclidean world. Keynes silently approves Keynesians' method that ignores uncertainty. The Freudian approach is quite convincing in the face of widespread use of mathematics in economics. Traces of Freudian psychoanalysis approach, which was transmitted into social behavior from the individual one, can be observed in Keynes's approach.

Freud's methodological individualist psychoanalysis context is close to the methodology of the neoclassical synthesis in Keynesian economics. Keynesian economics bids farewell to social context and the critical realist approach while getting underway to psychology. The orientation to macroeconomic balance is questioned through the microeconomic terminology in GT. In a sense, micro methodology and macro methodology can be considered similar. However, the macroeconomic theory started by Keynes does not aim at a unique macro methodology. Today modern mainstream macro consensus economics maintains the same methodological impasse with New Keynesian and New Classical Consensus. Expected 'Godot' economics is neither Keynes nor Keynesian economics. Moreover, in the mainstream economic literature, there is no chance to rise and to settle in mainstream for economics that rejects Keynesian heritage (Orhan 2016).

Conclusion

In the Eros-Thanatos dilemma Freud states that infinity and the *drive* for self-actualization leads individuals to death. With the passion of liberation, boundless development and infinite enrichment, Man destroys civilization intentionally or unintentionally through clashes with civilization. In the Freudian approach, man is a *non-owner of self*. Human nature rather than *ratio* is dispersed under the influence of *impulses* and depletes itself in the cloisters of wealth. Thus, it prepares itself for death. According to Keynes, capitalism is a system that evokes the drives of Freudian death. Keynes criticizes the accumulation motives through the Freudian approach. Man gets rid of his hoader nature through spending behavior. Through Freudian psychoanalysis, Keynes brings a new actor into the theory in the image of the consuming man.

As stated by Freud, the impulses of eternity and self-realization drag humans to their death in the Eros and Thanatos dilemma. Keynes introduces one more new actor to economic theory in the image of the consuming man through basing on Freudian psychoanalysis. There is no state of concern about both the *consuming man* as well as the *consuming state* actors within the balance of expenses and income. There is no form of financial behavior.

Today, in the face of a global recession, neither J.M. Keynes nor Keynesian economics is welcomed in developed or developing countries. Both Keynes and the Keynesian experience is far removed from the context of discussing the real impact of the price bubbles detached from basics of macroeconomics, the process of global financial integration and the problem of global financial fragility. The economy which can explain global real and financial problems as well as produce new policy options is far away from political context.

References

- Abraham, K. 1977. Développement de la libido. Paris: PbP.
- Barens, Ingo. 2011. 'Animal Spirits' in John Maynard Keynes's General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money: Some Short and Sceptical Remarks. *Darmstadt Discussion Papers in Economics*, Arbeitspapiere der Volkswirtschaft lichen Fachgebiete der TU Darmstadt, No. 201.
- Davidson, Paul. 2007. *John Maynard Keynes: Great Thinkers in Economics*, Series Editor: A. P. Thirlwall. Palgrave MacMillan.
- Diamond, J. 2009. Effondrement. Comment les sociétés décident de leur disparition ou de leur survie, Collection, NRF Essais, Paris:Gallimard.
- Economics, PDF generated using the open source mwlib toolkit. See <http://code.pediapress.com/> for more information.
- Ferenci, S. 1978. Sur l'ontogenèse de l'intérêt pour l'argent. (Borneman içinde). Paris: Puf
- Freud, S. 1996. *Olgu Öyküleri II*, (çev.) Ayhan Eğrilmez. İstanbul: Payel.
- Freud, S. 2010. *Au-delà du principe de plaisir*. Petite Bibliotheque. Paris: Payot.
- Keynes, John. M. [1923] 1971. *A Tract On Monetary Reform*. reprinted as The Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes 4. London: Macmillan.
- Keynes, John M. [1936] 1973. *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, C. W.* Vol. VII. London: Macmillan.
- Keynes, John. M. 1973. *Collected Writings*. Vol. XII. *The General Theory and After*. Part 1, Preparation. Ed. D. Moggridge. Royal Economic Society. London: Macmillan.
- Keynes, John. M. 1973. *Collected Writings*. Vol. XIII. *The General Theory and After*. Part 1, Preparation, ed. D. Moggridge. Royal Economic Society. London: Macmillan.
- Keynes, J. M. 2005. *Théorie générale de l'emploi, de l'intérêt et de la monnaie*, Paris: Payot.
- Keynes, J. M. 2009. *Sur la monnaie et l'économie* içinde. s.163-183, Paris: Payot.
- Maris, B. 2007. *Keynes ou l'économiste citoyen*. Sciences Po. Paris: Les Presses.
- Orhan, Sevinç S. 2016. Modern makroiiktisadi uzlaşımın kayıp ekonomi politiği: yerleşik formalist, yerleşik kuramsal ve yerleşik politik uzlaş. *Sosyoekonomi Dergisi*. 24 (27), 139-160.
- Orhan, Sevinç S. 2015. *Godot'yu Beklerken, J. M. Keynes ve Keynesyenler*. D. T. Kılınçoğlu ve E. Özçelik, der. *John Maynard Keynes... Yine Yeniden*, içinde. İstanbul: İletişim.

- Pestre, É. 2010. Trauma, pulsions de vie et de mort, contrainte de répétition: le Grand tournant théorique. S. Freud içinde: *Au-delà du principe de plaisir*. Petite Bibliothèque Paris: Payot.
- Phillips, A. 2002. *La mort qui fait aimer la vie*. Paris:Désir Payot.
- Sarfati, M. 2012. İktisadın gizemi, iktisadın geleceği, içinde: *İktisat Felsefesi Dergisi*. Sayı 2. sayfa: 7-23. Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi. İstanbul.
- Sarfati, M. 2014. *Uygarlığın Bunalmı.*, İstanbul: Giza Yayıncılık.

Freudyan Keynes: Harcayan Adam, Harcayan Devlet

Öz

Keynes, Keynes öncesi Euclidyen düzlemde analiz yapan tüm iktisadı klasik iktisat olarak tanımlarken, kendi kuramıyla iktisadın genel kuramını yazar. Keynes’de Euclidyen dünya reddedilerek, ölçülemez risk ve belirsizlik altında insanın ön görülemeyen yatırım ve harcama davranışı öne çıkarılır. Bu yolla, kapitalist sistemde animal spirit imgesiyle belirsizlik karşısında *harcayan devlet aktörü* kurama kazandırılırken, kuramın yeni ekonomi politikası üretilir. Freud’a göre Eros–Thanatos ikileminde sonsuzluk ve kendini gerçekleştirme itkisi insanı ölüme sürükler. İnsan özgürleşme, sınırsız gelişme ve tükenmez zenginleşme ihtirasıyla, uygarlıkla çatışarak, bilerek ya da bilmeyerek uygarlığı yok etmeye çalışır. Freudyan yaklaşımda insan *kendinin sahibi* olamayandır. İnsan doğası rasyo yerine etkilerin etkisiyle savrulurken, zenginliğin dehlizlerinde kendini tüketerek ölümünü hazırlar. Keynes’e göre kapitalizm Freudyan ölüm itkisini çağrıştıran bir sistemdir. Freudyan yaklaşımdan hareketle Keynes biriktirme güdüsünü eleştirirerek harcama davranışıyla istifleyeni insan doğasından kurtulur. Keynes, Freudyan psikanalizle iktisat kuramına harcayan adam imgesinde yeni bir aktör daha kazandırır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Keynes, İktisadi Yöntem, Metodolojik Bireycilik