

REVIEW ARTICLE



This article is dedicated to memory D. E. SOROKIN, Dr. of Economic Sciences, Corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Professor of the Financial University.

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Vectors, Stages and Problems of Nonorthodox Foundations of Economic Science Formation

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ABSTRACT

The relevance of the study is underpinned by continuing sharp scientific and practical discussion on the evolution of economic science aimed at obtaining exhaustive answers to such questions as: "What is orthodoxy in economic science? Why is it that the theoretical and methodological orthodoxy that accompanies the emergence and transformation of alternative directions of world economic thought cannot be overcome not only in the past but also at the present time? What is the historical significance of a retrospective analysis of vectors, stages and problems of the formation of unorthodox foundations in the development of this branch of human knowledge? and others. The findings of prominent Russian and foreign scientists-economists, allowing to reveal and comprehend the diverse methodological and theoretical components of orthodoxy in the past and present set **the subject** of this review article. **The purpose of the study** is to consider, systematize and generalize the evidentiary warnings published in the works of prominent modern researchers about the urgent need to overcome the negative consequences of orthodox maxims, which, having been absolutized since the time of the "fathers of political economy", continue to manifest themselves to this day. **The key research methods** include systematic approach, evolutionary and cross-industry analysis. **The results of the review** incorporate conclusions and evidence that make it possible to unbiasedly comprehend the key scientific and practical problems for the fate of this science in the past and present. In particular, the author's position is argued that the examples of postulating judgments about the presence and coexistence of "Western-non-Western", "bourgeois-non-bourgeois" economic science, which are still found in Russian economic literature, are based solely on the class-formational research approach and therefore are completely untenable. It has been proved that from its "ancestors" and "fathers" of economics, i.e. adherents mercantilism and classical political economy principles to modern economists (from institutionalists to Keynesians and neoliberals) the existing palette of orthodox theoretical and methodological innovations accompanying the development of economic science explicitly or implicitly along with its commitment to the class analytical approach are due to a certain subtext of the absolutization of "objective economic laws".

Keywords: unorthodox foundations of economics; the main directions of economic thought; class analytical tools; system analysis; intersectoral approach

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to provide the community of economists and a wide readership with an overview of the essential aspects of the diverse theoretical and methodological components of orthodoxy that constantly accompanies the evolution of economic science and to offer the author's conceptual vision of vectors, stages, and problems of the process of formation of unorthodox foundations in its development based on the innovations of modern researchers.

To fulfill this research purpose and achieve a logically consistent understanding of the problems of the emergence and overcoming of orthodoxy in economics, the author's definition of the term "orthodoxy" is given in the article. The author's concept of levels of systematization of economic ideas and views is proposed (*Fig. 1*) and the author's classification of epochs, periods, and directions in the development of world economic thought is given (*Fig. 2*).

The term "orthodoxy" (derived from the Greek words: *orthos* meaning 'straight, correct' and *doxa* meaning 'opinion') is formulated in the article, based on the fact that this concept, once being the purely religious a priori axioms, is now intersectoral — going beyond the scope of science — a priori axiomatic judgment. In this regard, both before and now the essence of "orthodoxy" is reduced to a priori "correct" opinion, concept, and category, or to an a priori "correct" system of views and teachings that form a universal evaluation scale of knowledge and a system of irrefutable (dogmatic) convictions. For this reason, the concepts, views, and teachings, which in their content include the term "orthodoxy", by virtue of their introduction into circulation by an authoritative person representing the relevant sphere of religious, state, philosophical, scientific public life, should be taken as a given, having for all researchers fixed and mandatory for understanding and use.

The phenomenon of the palette of theoretical and methodological orthodoxy

that has developed in economic science is considered in the article through the prism of studying economic ideas and views and their systematization by many generations of researchers of different levels (*Fig. 1*).

The beginning of orthodoxy is associated with the first political and economic research paradigms in the history of world economic thought, such as mercantilism and classical political economy (*Fig. 2*).

Turning to the completed review material, first and foremost, to the scientific and economic community of modern Russia, it should be noted that the original research message in the work takes into account the uniqueness of Russian economic science and economic life [1, 2].

This approach allows us to characterize the centuries-old Russian history as a special civilization and force in the world community, experiencing the scientific and practical realities of the transition from the Orthodox maxims of the formation model of the recent Soviet past to the civilizational one. The completion of Russia's transition to the values of the civilizational model will make it possible to overcome the orthodox understanding of evolution as a unilinear process capable of describing "only tomorrow for the less developed", and will make it possible to talk about the rejection of "the monopoly on truth, the recognition of the natural and logical diversity of different views and approaches" [3, p. 5, 6].

However, unfortunately, we have to admit that over the course of three decades of the post-Soviet period, in the spirit of more than seven decades of the Soviet era, the structure and especially the content of scientific publications, including historical and economic literature, are undergoing changes very often accompanied by clear, completely unambiguous anti-market-class-formation stamps of orthodoxy [4, p. 3; 5–8]. In particular, in the process of university education and the formation of personal professional competencies, a post-Soviet economist is strongly advised to know that now in Russia, as in other modern countries,

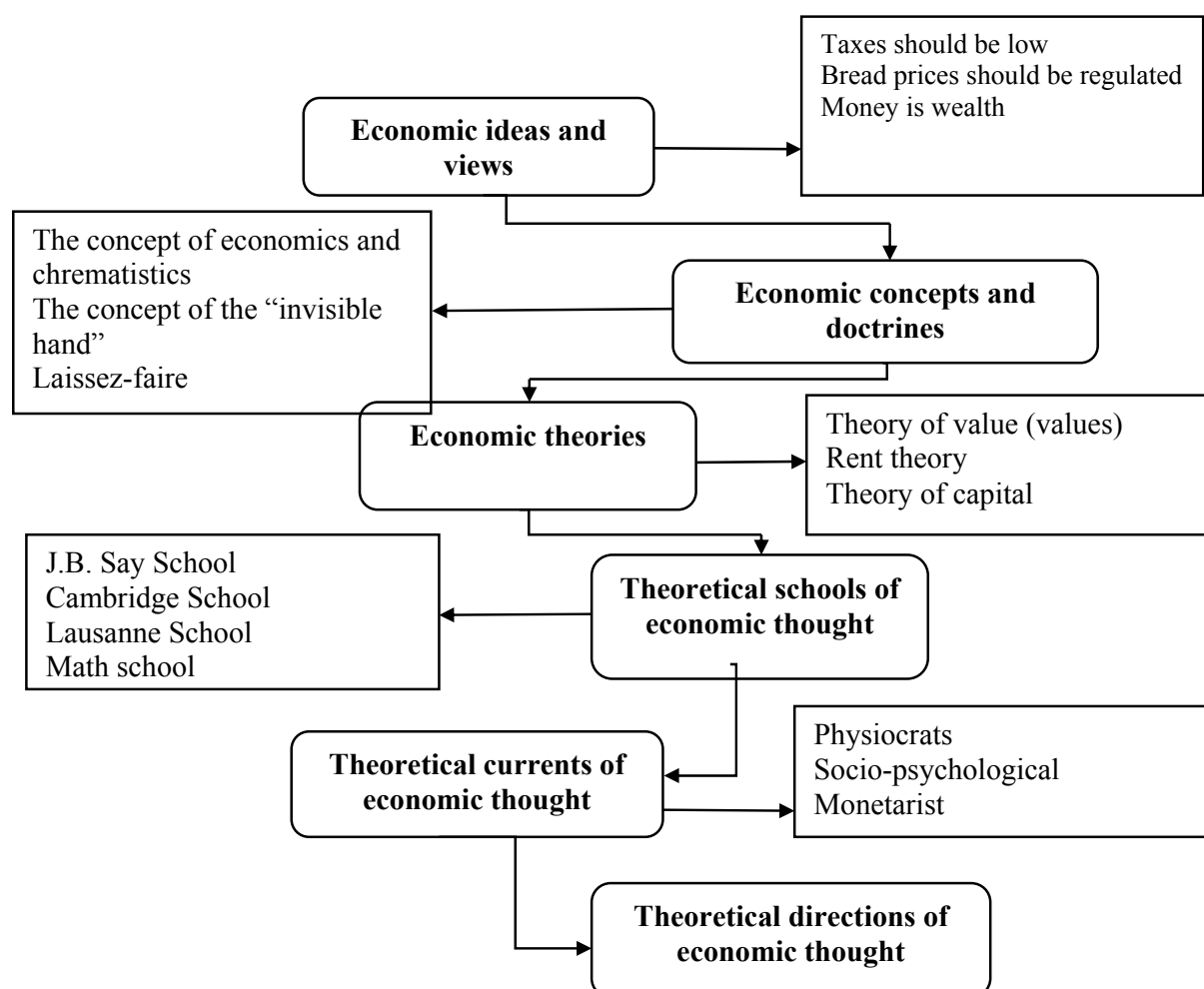


Fig. 1. Economic ideas and vision statements classification

Source: Yadgarov Ya. Epy History of Economic Thought. Moscow: INFRA-M; 2020. P. 15.

there is a “capitalist path of development”,¹ to remember that “in a narrow sense, economic history studies economic activity ... classes”.² In addition, he must also understand that the “capitalist evolution” at the beginning of the 20th century, having determined the “completion of the process of monopoly capitalism”,³ preserved the class-antagonistic structure of society, that each “social class” is “a large group of people, different from other groups in terms of wealth and income level”,⁴ etc.

¹ Konotopov M., Smetanin S. The History of Economics. Moscow: Academic Prospect; 1999. P. 76, 77.

² Kovnir V. The History of the Russian Economy. Moscow: Logos; 2005. P. 17.

³ Ibid P. 274, 275.

⁴ Orekhov A. Methods of economic research. Moscow: INFRA-M; 2009. P. 361.

The a priori dogmatic and odious parting words of the “class-formation” orientation given above indicate that post-Soviet domestic economic science has not yet passed the path of an unbiased and de-ideologized understanding of the achievements that have taken place in the world economic life and those values of the scientific and practical heritage that are associated with the work of the best representatives in the history of the world and Russian economic thought. Moreover, it is orthodoxy that has historically embraced the Russian economic community on an equal footing with the world scientific community, which determines the well-founded distrust in the past and present of the well-known theoretical and methodological innovations of those pioneers who are commonly called the founders of the main

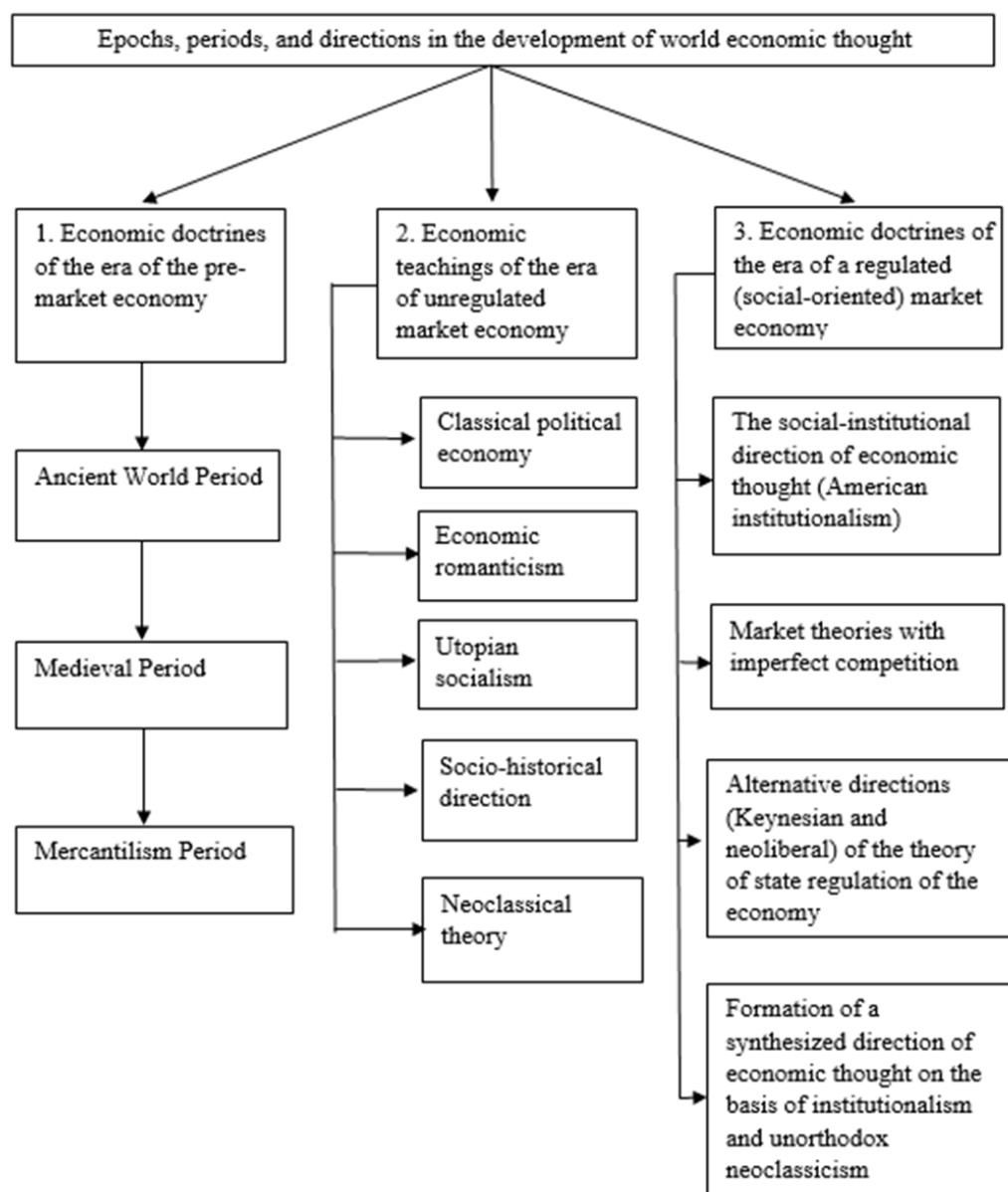


Fig. 2. World economic thought development periodization

Source: Yadgarov Ya. Epy History of Economic Thought. Moscow: INFRA-M; 2020. P. 16.

directions, currents and theoretical schools at different stages of economic science development.

Permanently manifesting features of innovations of the leaders of economic science throughout the 19th, 20th, and first decades of the 21st century are considered in the article in the context of the most important periods of disagreement and attempts to overcome the orthodoxy of the mercantilists and the “classics” by the generations of their opponents that

followed them. Such is the first half and the middle of the 19th century, for example, there was a post-manufacturing period associated with economic romanticism, utopian socialism, and the German historical school. This was followed by periods of marginalism, Chamberlain, and Keynesian revolutions, which led to the innovations of subjectivism, early neoclassicism, and institutionalism (respectively from the 70s – 90s of the 19th century to the 20s – 30s of the 20th

century). Then the time of Keynesian and neoliberal innovations came (from the 30s of the 20th century to the present), during which attempts to overcome orthodoxy in economic science and the formation of unorthodox foundations in its development have continued and continue to this day.

Particular attention is supposed to be paid in the work to the consideration of each of these periods (and directions) and the stages, vectors associated with them and, accordingly, their inherent problems on the way, so to speak, to the “final” overcoming of the maxims of orthodoxy in economics and the formation of a “truly scientific” synthesized unorthodox research paradigm. At the same time, the fundamental result in each section of the review should be a reasoned justification for the generalizing conclusions of the author. Their essence briefly boils down, on the one hand, to the fact that in the past and especially in the present, the formation of unorthodox foundations of economic science is increasingly manifested in the context of a permanent process of synthesis (interpenetration) of once-opposite conceptual positions, doctrines, and theories. On the other hand, to the fact that this process is still hindered, firstly, by an explicit or implicit commitment to “class analysis”, which goes beyond the scope of science, and the absolutization of “objective economic laws” and, consequently, the rejection of intersectoral, evolutionary and systemic analysis methods. And, secondly, tendentious mathematization, deliberately excessive mathematical formalization of the analytical, methodological, and theoretical apparatus, also acts as a deterrent in overcoming orthodoxy.

Thus, the implementation of this study, which is devoted to a review of the prehistory and history of the emergence and overcoming of orthodoxy in economics and the identification of vectors, stages, and problems of the formation of its unorthodox foundations, is essential and has an urgent and relevant scientific and practical nature.

1. THE BEGINNING OF ORTHODOXY IN ECONOMIC SCIENCE DURING THE PERIODS OF MERCANTILISM AND CLASSICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

Economics is one of the young branches of human knowledge. It arose after a relatively long period of the historical dominance of the natural and economic ideology of the times of the Ancient World and the Middle Ages, during the 16th – 17th and partly the 18th centuries this ideology was pushed into the background by the market economic ideology of the supporters of the research paradigm of mercantilism and the mercantilist political economy concept based on the principles of protectionist economic policy. Further from the end of the 17th — the beginning of the 18th centuries. Until the second half of the 19th century, another theoretical and methodological metamorphosis became apparent, which led to the formation and self-assertion of economic science as a separate branch of scientific knowledge in the field of economic life. The reason for this was the emergence of an alternative research paradigm to mercantilism, called “classical political economy” in K. Marx’s “Capital” [9], and the corresponding concept of political economy, based on the principles of the dominance of liberal economic policy.

Mercantilism [10] laid the foundation for economic science, but at the same time laid the foundations of orthodox maxims. Then the adherents of the liberal research paradigm of classical political economy, seeking to overcome the orthodoxy of mercantilism, uncompromisingly (according to the “either-or” principle) strive for positive scientific and practical results through the indispensable absolutization of the principles of laissez-faire, just like the mercantilists, could not exclude “sliding along surface of economic phenomena”, falling into the “capture” of their own orthodoxy.

In a generalized form, the orthodox maxims of the mercantilists and classics elevated to the rank of an absolute manifested themselves in a number of orthodox dogmatic ideas, which are presented in *Table 1*.

Table 1 data analysis seems appropriate to anticipate to conclusion, on the one hand, that the transition from a subsistence economy to the dominance of entrepreneurial activity and commodity-money relations and, as a result, the emergence of a market economic system (market economy) is historically conditioned mercantilism. Hence, it is logical and understandable why the prominent historian of modern economic thought M. Blaug considered it possible to characterize the supporters of mercantilism and the mercantilist research paradigm proper as follows: "...uneducated authors, caught up in the stream of public opinion, discovered amazing and sometimes convincing reasons for defending mercantilist economics from the layman and, in a fight with the logical consequences of their presumptions, revealed economic theory in infancy" [11, p. 15].

On the other hand, it was the mercantilists, being adherents of the mutually exclusive principle of "either-or", that actually predetermined the need for their adherents to recognize the first theoretical and methodological components of orthodoxy introduced into economics. They raised to the rank of an absolute the position that "mercantilism, no matter how persistently it raised universal commercialization to the rank of national policy, took care of the development of the market system in completely non-market ways ..." [12, p.12]. In this context, we are talking about such orthodox postulates as:

1) reducing the subject of economic analysis to the primary study of the problems of the sphere of circulation in isolation from the sphere of production;

2) the lack of a systematic study of the spheres of the economy due to the absolutization of empiricism and "sliding on the surface of economic phenomena";

3) the dominance of protectionist economic policy in economic life and the rejection of the policy of economic liberalism;

4) identification of "wealth of the country" and "personal wealth" exclusively with money;

5) understanding the theoretical essence of money in the context of their artificial invention by people and the contract between them;

6) theoretical understanding of the value of goods through the prism of the natural properties of money (gold, silver) and their quantity in circulation;

7) vision of the only source of wealth in foreign trade through constant regulation (coordination) of economic life by the state.

The maxims of mercantilist orthodoxy, well-known from the heights of modern economic science, are quite clearly manifested, for example, in the writings of the Frenchman A. Montchrestien and the Englishman T. Mun. Each of them, addressing their conclusions to the monarchs of the country, counted, in the words of N. D. Kondratiev, on protectionist "practical politics" in order to correctly answer "the question of what the national economy should be like and how the government should behave in relation to it" [13, p. 292].

Thus, in A. Montchrestien's book "Treatise on Political Economy" (1615), the ways of dynamic economic growth and the increase of monetary national wealth in France are closely linked with a permanent protectionist economic policy, coupled with the postulation of orthodox ideas that [14, p. 168–182]:

- trade exchange between nations ... like art has something admirable ... in the form of honor and profit;

- merchants are more than useful to the state;

- trade ... depends only on the condition of which merchant is engaged in it: respected or despicable;

- the ruler of the state...measures everything from the point of view of necessity, usefulness..., and never goes beyond the power given to him by laws;

- credit is the soul of any trade, it is necessary to maintain its reputation;

- rulers must order and see to it that ... limit the arbitrariness of product monopolists.

- T. Mun [15, p. 153–161], unlike A. Montchrestien, relies on his own many years of practical experience in the East India

Table 1

Orthodox components in research fundamentals of Mercantilism and Classical Economics

Mercantilism doctrine	Classical Economics
The main principle of Orthodoxy in economic policy	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Absolutization of protectionism, which can lead to the narrowing of the domestic market ("colbertism"); • the policy of free competition is objectively impossible 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The absolutization of the policy of economic liberalism or complete freedom of entrepreneurial activity (laissez-faire)
Orthodox aspects in the subject of economic analysis	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary study of the problems of the sphere of circulation in isolation from the sphere of production 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary study of the problems of the sphere of production in isolation from the sphere of circulation
Orthodox aspects in the method of economic analysis	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Absolutization of empiricism; • description on a causal basis of the external manifestation of economic processes; • absence (due to observance of the mutually exclusive principle of "either-or") systematic study of economic spheres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Absolutization of the causal method of analysis and the method of logical abstraction; • underestimation (due to observance of the mutually exclusive "either-or" principle) of the reverse influence on the sphere of production of the factors of the sphere of production; • class (class-formational) analysis of socio-economic processes; • division of the nature of labor into productive and unproductive
Orthodox aspects in the concept of economic growth	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By increasing the exclusively monetary wealth of the country, thanks to the achievement of an active trade balance (surplus in foreign trade) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By increasing national wealth created by productive labor in the sphere of material production
The orthodox principle of achieving macroeconomic equilibrium	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Due to coordinating and regulatory measures of the state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-balancing of aggregate demand and aggregate supply due to Say's Law of the Market
Orthodox principle in the field of money theory	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Money is an artificial invention of people and an agreement between them; • money is the only main factor in the growth of national wealth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Money is a spontaneously released commodity in the world of commodities, which is a technical tool and a thing that facilitates the process of exchange
The orthodox principle in the field of value theory	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the cost of goods is due to the natural properties of money (gold, silver) and their quantity in circulation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Costly interpretation of the nature of the origin of value (based on labor costs – thorium labor, or total production costs – cost theory)
Orthodox positions in the field of population theory	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reasonableness of keeping wages low due to population growth (labor supply) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adherence to the Smithian doctrine of a working fund that provides for a living wage ("Iron Law of Wages" by Malthus), taking into account the supply and demand for labor

Source: developed by authors.

Company, on the basis of which he states in his book "England's Treasure by Forraign Trade ..." (1664):

- enrichment is possible by increasing the amount of money in the country, "increasing the export" of goods, and reducing the "consumption of foreign goods";
- the source of wealth and money is foreign trade;
- annual exports must exceed imports;
- should be sold cheaply so as not to "lose the sale of goods".

Meanwhile, adherents of mercantilism tried to consolidate their personal and public conviction that the creation and increase of monetary wealth require appropriate legislative acts by some inherently orthodox legal conclusions. This, in particular, is noted in the "Principles of Economics" (1890) by A. Marshall, emphasizing that the mercantilists, through a huge number of legal documents, "pursued the goal of predetermining to each individual what he should produce and how he should do it, how much he should earn and how he should spend his earnings" [16, p. 186].

As for the adherents of classical political economy, they (especially A. Smith) [17], following the mercantilists, did not avoid the mutually exclusive principle of "either-or", which determines orthodoxy. But in the end, the classics further expanded the odious tools of orthodoxy in economics, which contributed, firstly, to the absolutization of the principles of unlimited freedom of entrepreneurial activity (or the principles of laissez-faire) in a market economy and, secondly, to the postulation of the comprehensive nature of universal "objective economic laws". As a result, for the classics (and then for the early neoclassicists), it became an a priori statement of the fact that Orthodoxy unconditionally acquired an axiomatic (dogmatic) status, manifesting itself as an "economic doctrine", which, in turn, allegedly due to its corresponding content, "economic law", which is "immutable" and does not depend on the will, consciousness, desire of the individual.

The main components of the orthodoxy of the classical political economy appear in the following a priori and dogmatic maxims:

- 1) reducing the subject of economic analysis to the predominant study of the problems of the sphere of production in isolation from the sphere of circulation;
- 2) the lack of a systematic study of the spheres of the economy due to the absolutization of the causal method of analysis, the methods of deduction, induction, and logical abstraction;
- 3) absolutization of the concept of complete freedom of entrepreneurial activity (economic liberalism);
- 4) division of society (for research purposes) into main (basic) classes interested in the harmonization of relations;
- 5) postulation of provisions on "pure" ("perfect") competition, which determines the self-regulation of economic life;
- 6) vision of the goal of political economy in the identification of "objective economic laws" that do not depend on the will, consciousness and desire;
- 7) understanding the theoretical essence of money in the context of its interpretation as a technical means and a thing that can facilitate the process of exchange;
- 8) commitment to a costly (dead end) approach to understanding the nature and mechanism of value formation;
- 9) division of the nature of labor in a market economy into productive and unproductive types;
- 10) the theoretical proposition about the always temporary and automatically transient nature of crises in the economy of free competition.

As for the narrowness of the boundaries (framework) of the subject of study by representatives of classical political economy and, accordingly, the orthodoxy of non-systemic economic analysis and the narrowing of the field of study of economic science (political economy), associated with clearly reasoned critical judgments among other modern scientists, in particular, J. Schumpeter. Having singled out in this respect the four

most striking, in his opinion, classics (J.-B. Say, J. McCulloch, N. Senior, J.S. Mill), he points out the subtle differences in their methodological positions on the boundaries of the subject matter of political economy, consisting only in the fact that [16, v. 2, p. 700]:

- J.-B Say “defined political economy as ‘the account of how wealth is created, distributed and consumed’”;
- J. McCulloch “defined political economy as ‘the science of the laws of production, accumulation, distribution, and consumption of those items that are necessary, useful or pleasing to a person and which at the same time have an exchange value’”;
- N. Senior — as “a science that considers the nature, production and distribution of wealth”;
- J. S. Mill was “satisfied with what he called political economy, the science of ‘the essence of wealth, the laws of its production and distribution. Directly or indirectly, this includes the operation of all the causes that determine the prosperity or growth of mankind’”.

Well-known foreign and domestic researchers of our time are also very critical of the subsequent components of a wide range of methodological and theoretical provisions of orthodoxy, noted above in the works of the classics of political economy. This applies, for example, to such general scientific methods of analysis as deduction and induction, which were actively used by the classics (and later by the early neoclassicists) quite arbitrarily, as if according to a template projected in their political and economic terms. research work. This circumstance prompted, in particular, P. Samuelson to state the following: “... the exaggerated statements of classical authors about the power of deduction of a priori reasoning that existed in economic theory ... make me tremble for the reputation of my science” [cit. by: 19, p. 149]. I. Schumpeter agreed with P. Samuelson and noted that the author of *The Principles of Political Economy*, J.S. Mill [20] “placed excessive emphasis on ‘deduction’”, which, in essence, “explains the ridiculous dispute of later times about the

preference for one of the methods: induction or deduction” [18, v. 2, p. 704].

In the final section of the article, the main components of orthodoxy noted above in the works of adherents of mercantilism and classical political economy, are considered in the context of their rejection by followers of historically established alternative research paradigms and introduced innovations that determined the vectors, stages, and problems of the formation process unorthodox foundations of economic science, which continued over the past two centuries.

2. FORMATION OF UNORTHODOX FOUNDATIONS OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE IN THE RESEARCH PARADIGMS OF THE XIX – BEGINNING OF THE XXI CENTURY

The main qualitative shifts in the evolution of economic science and the breakthrough evidence-based research associated with them on the way to overcoming heterogeneous orthodox maxims in it were manifested in the newly emerging research paradigms of the 19th and early 21st centuries, which became widely known among the scientific economic community. These are the paradigms of economic romanticism, utopian socialism and the German historical school, marginalism (including subjectivism and neoclassicism) and institutionalism, Keynesianism and neoliberalism, as well as the now emerging synthesized research paradigm.

At the indicated time, first in the post-factory period — in the first half and middle of the 19th century — research paradigms that are essentially illiberal and alternative to classical political economy, such as economic romanticism, utopian socialism, and the German historical school, have declared themselves. Based on the non-absolutization of the principles of *laissez-faire*, the innovations of their representatives laid the foundation for a real refutation of the orthodoxy of their outstanding predecessors (mercantilists and classics), who were perceived as the “ancestors” and “fathers” of political economy — economic science.

Further strengthening in the second half of the 19th century in developed countries, the trends of monopolization of economic life, and improvement in the 1870–1890s in economics, “marginalist” revolutions were exogenous preconditions for the completion of classical political economy. However, the theoretical and methodological innovations of the adherents of the research paradigms of marginalism (both subjectivists and neoclassicals), based on the same principles of laissez-faire, turned out to be by no means sufficient to overcome the orthodoxy of the times when the views of mercantilists and classics of the political economy dominated.

Then carried out contrary to “Say’s law” [21] in 1929–1933 the global economic crisis has shown its lack of self-sufficiency in the process of overcoming orthodoxy in economics, not only marginalist innovations but also those isolated by the 1920s–1930s research paradigm of institutionalism. But the “Chamberlain” and “Keynesian” revolutions that occurred after the global economic crisis led to a fundamentally new metamorphosis in economics, which has been manifesting itself since the 1930s of the 19th century to the beginning of the 21st century within the framework of the process of formation of a synthesized research paradigm.

The features of this synthesized paradigm, due to the interpenetration and addition of once alternative theoretical and methodological provisions, are manifested, on the one hand, in the process of synthesizing the tools of marginal economic analysis with newly emerged research paradigms of state regulation of the economy, i.e. Keynesianism and neoliberalism (the current stage in the evolution of the neoclassical direction of economic thought). On the other hand, the synthesis of the analytical tools of modern neoclassicism with intersectoral, evolutionary, and systemic methods for analyzing the research paradigm of institutionalism (the social-institutional direction of economic thought).

Thus, it is the interpenetration of the research paradigms of neoclassicism

(including Keynesianism and neoliberalism) and institutionalism that creates real opportunities for modern researchers to form a synthesized research paradigm that makes it possible to exclude sliding on the surface of economic phenomena and tendentious mathematization and formalization of research and to overcome orthodoxy, which is still manifested in economics.

2.1. Milestones of overcoming orthodoxy in economics in research paradigms of the first half – the middle of the 19th century.

Evaluative judgments about the milestones of overcoming orthodoxy in economics in the first half and middle of the 19th century are associated with the post-manufacturing period and research paradigms of economic romanticism, utopian socialism, and the German historical school. In their work, their leaders advocate the need to overcome the diverse orthodox maxims that have become commonplace among adherents of mercantilism and classical political economy, considering it unacceptable to absolutize either the postulates of mercantilist protectionism or those conditioned by the action of Smith’s “invisible hand”, i.e. some objective economic laws, the basis of economic liberalism. Moreover, rejecting this concept of A. Smith, based on the principles of complete freedom of enterprise (laissez-faire) and all-powerful “objective” economic laws, they deny the supposedly guaranteed by the “invisible hand” (“laws”) functioning of the economy of free competition as a self-regulating system in which only random, temporary, automatically transient (in line with “Say’s law”) crises are possible.

Clear evidence of this is, for example, the position of the founder of economic romanticism, S. Simondi, for whom, as K. Marx noted, “crises are not an accident, but essential manifestations of immanent contradictions that flare up in a stormy form ... and repeat after certain periods” [22, p. 527]. It is precisely the overcoming of orthodoxy in modern economic science that S. Sismondi, in essence, is devoted to his main work, in which,

contrary to D. Ricardo's book "Principles of Political Economy" (1817) [23], he added one more word to the first word the title of his work is "new". And, having published his "New Principles of Political Economy" (1819) just two years after the Ricardo's "Principles", the founder of economic romanticism declared that political economy is a "moral science" and "largely an ethical science" [24, p. 291, 360]. Unequivocal in New Beginnings is his judgment that political economy cannot be reduced "to a simple ... principle of laissez-faire" [24, vol. 1, p. 1, p. 133]. He also insists that "the growth of wealth is ... only a means to ensure universal happiness", and "an increase in wealth and population is only an abstraction ..." [24, vol. 1, p. 1, p. 134, 143].

It is important to add to the above that, opposing D. Ricardo, S. Sismondi (from the point of view of the Ricardo's "labor theory of value") very critically characterizes in his New Principles the position of the "classics" about the unconditional balance and efficiency of economic life on the principles of economic liberalism. Disagreeing with them, he put forward a reformist concept based on the principle he formulated: "Better directed private interests themselves will correct the evil they have caused to society" [24, vol. 1, p. 2, p. 176]. Only reforms aimed at state regulation of the market mechanism, the leader of economic romanticism is convinced, are capable of guaranteeing the dominance of small businesses in it through constant interference in the economic life of the state, ensuring the social orientation of the crisis-free developing economy and solving closely related socio-economic problems of overcoming the principles of economic economy, absolutized by the classics. liberalism.

Based on the foregoing, the positive assessments of C. Gide and C. Rist expressed at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries regarding the innovative, including reformist ideas "from above" of their compatriot S. Sismondi aimed at overcoming orthodoxy, seem quite understandable and appropriate. In particular, for the latter, they argue, "... the whole interest

of political economy from a theoretical point of view was reduced to explaining crises, and from a practical point of view to finding measures to prevent them and improve the situation of workers" [29, p. 145]. They also have no doubts that the author of the New Principles, "not leaning towards socialism... greatly undermines liberalism", proving "the falsity of the position... about the natural coincidence of private and public interests" [25, p. 154].

The rejection of orthodoxy in post-manufactory political economy in the work of S. Sismondi is given credit among modern economists by M. Blaug, P. Samuelson, and other researchers. According to P. Samuelson, "each era gave birth to people who dreamed of a more perfect world, a world in which altruism took the place of selfishness, and equality or joint ownership of property would take the place of inequality". Among them, among the now "famous names of the 19th century," he writes, is S. Sismondi, who "was convinced that capitalism would periodically suffer from underconsumption and insufficient purchasing power" [26, vol. 2, p. 342].

M. Blaug, like P. Samuelson, sees S. Sismondi's indisputable merits in understanding in his "New Principles" the phenomenon of insufficient aggregate demand in an economy of free competition. For this reason, according to Sismondi, "the new industrial system is doomed to inevitable recurring crises and a chronic trend of underconsumption", which can only be overcome through "deep state intervention" in order to ensure [27, p. 274–275]:

- a guaranteed minimum wage for employed and unemployed people;
- limitation of minimum working hours;
- limiting the maximum/minimum working age;
- introduction of a profit distribution system.

Believing this, M. Blaug admits that of the two well-known outstanding post-Ricardians in the person of S. Sismondi and T. Malthus, "the main opponent of Pax Ricardia" (post-

Ricardianism) [11, p. 162], from his point of view, is S. Sismondi. The reason for this, according to Blaug, is that "... in fact, the spirit of Keynesianism in the work of Sismondi is much stronger than in the work of Malthus" [27, p. 275].

The position of rejecting the orthodoxy of the post-manufacturing period is very close to the position of S. Sismondi in another prominent representative of economic romanticism — P.-J. Proudhon [28]. Unlike S. Sismondi, P.-J. Proudhon advocated immediate reforms in the name of crisis-free development of the economy, social justice in society, and giving the leading role in economic life to small proprietors, small commodity production — small business — not "from above" (with the participation of the state), but "from below" — on the initiative of workers.

In his most famous work, *The Philosophy of Poverty* (1846), P.-J. Proudhon, claiming the first experience of implementing a dialectical-analytical approach to understanding economic life outside the context of the maxims of the orthodoxy of his predecessors, categorically rejected judgments about the revolutionary transformation of socio-economic conditions in society, which was the decisive reason for breaking off friendly relations with K. Marx. In particular, on the eve of the publication of this book, P.-J. Proudhon wrote that he did not accept "revolutionary action as a means of social reform, because this imaginary means would be a call to violence, to arbitrariness, in a word, would be a contradiction. He concluded: "I set myself the following task: to bring into society, by means of an economic combination, the wealth that came out of society with the help of another economic combination" [cit. by: 25, p. 511].

By the way, C. Gide and C. Rist, paying tribute to their compatriot P.-J. Proudhon, among his creative merits highlighted his desire to instill in humanity "a deep sense of the unconditional necessity for industrial societies of individual freedom as the engine of economic activity". Guided by this feeling,

they noted, the author of *The Philosophy of Poverty* considered it possible to insist that "every deep reform must be based on this freedom", which, in turn, is based on "a deep sense of economic reality". It is precisely the legitimacy of these feelings, in their opinion, that testifies to the fact that "the social task today is set within the same framework in which it was put by P.-J. Proudhon: to implement justice in freedom" [25, p. 245].

Orthodox stereotypes and myths in the economic science of the post-manufacturing period were perceived in a special way in their works, along with romantic economists, by adherents of the research paradigm of utopian socialism: from the triad of scientists Owen — Saint-Simon — Fourier to their numerous followers. In the spirit of adherents of economic romanticism, they sought to refute the stereotypes of mass consciousness that had developed in the specified period and the wider research and analytical approaches. But in their work, peculiar socially oriented reformist ideas are manifested, guaranteeing the overcoming of orthodoxy in modern economic science and "refusal to understand the unity of market mechanisms and state regulation" [29, p. 7]. Therefore, it is by no means accidental that the leaders of utopian socialism R. Owen, H. Saint-Simon, and Ch. Fourier are classified by R. Heilbroner among the "philosophers of this world" and "the reformers of the 19th century, which we call 'utopian socialists'" [30, p. 137], and M. Blaug refers them to the "100 great economists before Keynes" [27].

For example, R. Owen [31], a co-owner of a textile factory at the beginning of the 19th century, was ahead of factory legislation by almost half a century by reducing the working hours of adult workers from 17 to 10 hours at his enterprise, banning the work of children under 10 years of age and abolishing fines for workers [25, p. 69].

H. Saint-Simon [32], according to Blaug, believed that "he can be better described by the term 'utopian reformer'" [27, p. 269]. He proceeded from the fact that this utopian socialist advocated that the government

should not be a political, but an economic unit, guided by “the law that establishes property and regulates its use”.

Ch. Fourier connected the reforms with the need to form a “public order” and “social regime” in the phalanstery — the socio-economic structures of the future. He expressed the conviction that thanks to his reforms, “women will very soon return to the role that nature intended for them, the role of rivals, and not male subjects” [33, vol. 1, p. III, p. 307].

Declared themselves in the middle of the 19th century B. Hildebrand [34] and other founders of the German historical school differed, on the one hand, in their orientation towards the reformist postulates of the prominent predecessor F. List [35]. On the other hand, they proceeded from the provisions on the need to form a market economic system with its inherent factory and farm structures, taking into account the national and historical characteristics of the country and allowing protectionist measures within the framework of appropriate reforms. Obviously, therefore, characterizing their innovations, the American historian of economic thought B. Seligman noted that “representatives of the German historical school rebelled against the rigid classical doctrine that seemed to them”. This was manifested in the fact that they understood “an increased awareness of the role of the human factor” and expressed frank doubts about “whether a simple imitation of physics is enough for the development of a practically useful social science” [36, p. 20, 23].

The position on the rejection of “simple imitation of physics”, put forward by B. Seligman as a merit of German researchers in the middle of the 19th century, is also manifested in the value judgments of N.D. Kondratiev, who understood the non-identity of the nature of economic and natural laws (including physical ones), which invariably appear under the influence of previously known components and elements. Therefore, according to Kondratiev, the founders of the German historical school

deserve respect for the fact that they “rely on the fact of the diversity and dynamism of historical life and therefore deny the possibility of abstract laws of political economy in general and laws of economic development in particular”. Moreover, the Russian scientist explains, that they proceed from the conclusion about the “relativity of the laws of economic life” in order to “give specific empirical laws for the development of the economy” [13, p. 97].

Finally, adherents of the German historical school, guided by the principles of non-class formational historicism, which takes into account the impact on the economic life of traditions, customs, religion, and other non-economic factors, for research purposes began to focus on the need to publish fundamental historical and economic monographic works, the results of which contributed to further disagreements and scientific research discussions devoted to the topical and the current problem of overcoming orthodoxy in economics.

2.2. Milestones for overcoming Orthodoxy in the economy in research paradigms of the late 19th – early 20th centuries

The accomplishment of the “marginalist revolution” at the end of the 19th century, which led to the change of the research paradigm of classical political economy by subjectivist and neoclassical paradigms and then the emergence in the first third of the 20th century, as opposed to early neoclassicism, of the research paradigm of institutionalism, became the most important milestones in the process of refutation of diverse theoretical and methodological components of orthodoxy in economics that began in the post-manufacturing period. In this regard, special attention is drawn to the innovations that arose in this period as a result of alternative research by subjectivists, neoclassics and institutionalists in the field of theories of exchange and value.

The innovation associated with overcoming the orthodox notion of the classics about the allegedly proportional (equivalent) nature

Table 2

C. Menger's arithmetic table characterizing the relationship between the processes of value formation and the exchange

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	
7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0		
6	5	4	3	2	1	0			
5	4	3	2	1	0				
4	3	2	1	0					
3	2	1	0						
2	1	0							
1	0								
0									

Source: Menger C. The Fundamentals of Political Economy [37, p. 91].

Note: Roman numerals denote different types of goods; Arabic numerals – the number of acts of consumption of a small amount of each of them.

of the exchange and opposing it with the position of mutually beneficial exchange was introduced into scientific circulation for the first time (at the end of the 19th century) in the theory of exchange by K. Menger, an adherent of the subjectivist research paradigm and head of the Austrian school of marginalism. Then (at the beginning of the 20th century) J. Commons, an adherent of the research paradigm of institutionalism, made his contribution to overcoming orthodoxy in the theory of exchange. At the same time, both K. Menger and J. Commons are unanimous that there is no exchange of goods of equal value and that it is impossible for an individual who is selfish by nature to receive the necessary benefits for free since the quantities of exchanged goods are not proportional to each other and are not “equivalents”.

B. Seligman, in particular, drew attention to this innovation in the field of exchange theory among modern researchers, noting that, according to K. Menger, “buying and selling do not simply mean an equal exchange, as assumed by the labor theory

of value; precisely because there is no such equivalence, an exchange can take place” [36, p. 163].

We note further that K. Menger in his “Principles” devoted the third chapter to the theory of value and the fourth – to the doctrine of exchange. As from the table he proposed (*Table 2*) [37, p. 91], both of these teachings are interrelated and complement each other, which makes it possible to understand the principle of diminishing the marginal utility of goods in the process of their consumption and make sure that the process of exchanging economic goods is always non-equivalent.

At the same time, J. Commons, developing K. Menger's ideas about the always non-equivalent, but mutually beneficial nature of the exchange of goods, added a behavioral component to the understanding of the mechanism of value formation, pricing, and exchange of goods, which is closely related to his concept of legal relations between collective institutions. As a result, according to J. Commons, in line with

Table 3

Marginal and Behavioral Value Theories Conceptual Foundations

Marginal Value Theories Fundamentals	Behavioral Value Theories Fundamentals
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The concept of marginal utility; • the concept of marginal utility and marginal production costs; • concepts of marginal utility and labor cost 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concept of consumer behavior; • the concept of imperfect competition market; • the concept of the behavior of collective institutions

Source: Developed by authors based on: Yadgarov Ya. Epy History of Economic Thought. Moscow: INFRA-M; 2020:452.

K. Menger, in the process of assessing future benefits, one should take into account the economic behavior of the exchanging parties, considering the time factor and the possibility of the future affecting the present, since transactional values can disappear with unjustified expectations reflecting the state of affairs throughout the economy [38, p. 429].

A significant contribution to overcoming orthodoxy was made by the authors of the newly emerging at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries (largely due to the rejection and critical understanding of costly theories of value) various versions of marginalist and behavioral versions of the interpretation of the theory of value, the conceptual foundations of which are given in *Table 3*.

Among such innovators are K. Menger and other pioneers of the subjectivist-marginalist theory of value in the 1870s designated as its basis the concept of marginal utility inherent in economic goods. Thus, they emphasized the importance of a subjectivist (psychological) approach to understanding the phenomenon of value and the conclusion that “marginal” utility is formed in the sphere of consumption (demand), manifesting itself only in monetary terms of value (market prices) in human consciousness. Hence, if for the classics the “reason” for the formation of the cost of goods (pricing) is seen in the costs in the sphere of production, then for the subjectivists it is in the level of marginal utility formed in the sphere of demand, because outside the consciousness of the individual it cannot exist in principle.

A. Marshall in his “Principles of Economics” (1890), and then his like-minded people, introduced the two-criteria marginalist theory of value into scientific circulation, concluding that the formation of value (market pricing) is based on two principles — marginal utility and marginal costs. Marshall’s figurative judgment in this regard about the two blades of scissors is reduced to the following proposition: “When one blade is stationary and cutting is carried out at the expense of the second, we can say with carefree brevity that the second blade cuts, but such a conclusion must be carefully defended because it is not a matter of those when one can confine oneself to a formal derivation” [16, vol. 1, p. III, p. 282, 283]. This is an innovation of A. Marshall, according to V. S. Avtonomov, “made an attempt to synthesize the main achievements of the classical school, marginalists, and the historical school became the founder of the neoclassical trend in economic theory” [39, p. 98, 99].

Further, following the neoclassics, adherents of the research paradigm of institutionalism successfully attempted to substantiate the synthesized foundations of the value formation mechanism in its behavioral versions in the first third of the 20th century. T. Veblen considered it necessary to take into account the simultaneous influence on the process of value formation, both economic prerequisites and habits, instincts, inclinations, and other psychological factors that determine the behavior of an individual. According to him, the classical and

neoclassical interpretation of the theory of value, in essence, was reduced to “reducing the purpose of economic science to the evaluation of goods without an appraiser”, believing that they managed to “reveal the normal cost and the normal state of equilibrium from the normal equations of supply and demand” [40, p. 175]. J. Commons, in the same connection, saw the role of behavioral factors in the process of market pricing in that, under their influence, and primarily due to various legal measures, to influence the behavior of the collective institutions of society in order to achieve a “reasonable” cost; that is why, outside of legal transactions between people, reflecting their attitude to an economic good, which is subject to transfer (alienation) within the framework of legal norms, up to a change in the title of ownership of this good, a scientifically based interpretation of value is impossible [38, p. 390]. According to W. C. Mitchell, political economy can be recognized as a “full-blooded science” only when A. Marshall’s theory of value is no longer “recognized as the only true and exhaustive one” [41, p. 371].

2.3. Milestones for overcoming orthodoxy in economics in the research paradigms of the 1930s 20th – early 21st centuries

Diverse components in overcoming orthodoxy in economics from the 1930s to the present, it is possible, as noted above, to link with the period of the interpenetration of the theoretical and methodological foundations of the research paradigms of neoclassicism (including the paradigms of Keynesianism and neoliberalism) and institutionalism, which are now widely known to the modern scientific and economic community, and institutionalism, which determines the formation of a holistic – synthesized research paradigm.

In this context, the world-famous book by P. Samuelson “Economics” attracts attention. In it, starting from the fifth edition (1961), the concept of “neoclassical synthesis” is permanently mentioned, recommended “to denote a wider range of ideas – a synthesis of

those truths that were established by classical political economy, and the provisions proven by modern theories of income formation” [26, vol. II, p. 211]. Taking into account this Samuelson’s position on the milestones of overcoming orthodoxy in economic science, the achievements of adherents of the research paradigms of Keynesianism and neoliberalism are briefly considered below in terms of such innovations as the justification of the synthesized theoretical essence of value, the rejection of the concepts of productive and unproductive labor, as well as the rejection of class economic analysis, the absolutization of mathematical analysis and “economic laws”.

The Keynesian research paradigm, as one of the components of modern unorthodox neoclassicism, is associated with the “Keynesian revolution”, which became the scientific and practical support of F. Roosevelt’s “New Deal” launched in January 1933, which made it possible to overcome the main hardships and devastating consequences of the global economic crisis of 1929–1933. The key innovation of J. M. Keynes, according to the value judgments of M. Blaug, is as follows: “If there is anything truly new in Keynes’s theory, it is precisely a thoughtful criticism of this belief in the internal restorative forces of the market mechanism. After reading Keynes, one can reject every single element of his argument, one can even question the logical validity of the entire Keynesian scheme, but one cannot maintain faith in the ability of a free market economy to automatically maintain full employment ... In any case, the Keynesian revolution marked the true end of the “doctrine of laissez-faire” [19, p. 607]. At the same time, this historian of economic thought is convinced that “... only Keynes proposed an effective and realistic remedy against the Great Depression” [27, p. 122].

Without a doubt, the innovative “basic psychological law” formulated by J. M. Keynes, in defiance of the adherents of the “objective economic laws” of the classics and neoclassics, reduced them to the following postulate: “The psychology of society is such that

with the growth of aggregate real income, aggregate consumption also increases, but not to the same extent as income grows" [42, p. 155]. Thus, according to Keynes, the validity of state regulation of economic life is predetermined, rather, by the "psychology of society" than by the "laws of economics" and the psychologically determined (in the process of overcoming people's tendency to see their savings in liquid form) effect of the investment multiplier. Apparently, this Keynesian maxim allowed M. Blaug to state one of his eloquent statements: "The capitalists, Keynes taught us, can pull themselves out of a predicament with the help of their own shoelaces, namely, through a multiplier. The decisive moment, in this case, is the incentive to invest" [11, p. 235].

Within the framework of unorthodox neoclassicism, a neoliberal research paradigm arose, also emerging in the 1930s. Keynesianism is united by the idea of achieving conditions for the domination of free competition not in spite of state intervention in the processes of economic life, but thanks to its intervention. At the same time, if the Keynesians are in favor of measures of active state intervention in the economy, then the neoliberals are in favor of relatively passive measures of state regulation. More precisely, the former prefer direct state investments in various spheres and sectors of the economy and the fulfillment of orders and purchases by the state, as well as the tightening of tax policy, despite the possible state budget deficit and inflation. And the latter prefer the dominance of the principles of free pricing, and private property, relegating the state to the role of a "sports referee" or "night watchman" within the framework of the principle once proclaimed by one of their leaders L. Erhard "competition wherever possible, regulation where necessary". Moreover, their ideological predecessor A. Müller-Armak, having introduced the "concept of a social market economy" into scientific circulation in 1947, expressed confidence that the "fundamental differences" of alternative models of a non-self-regulating economy would become much more obvious

to us. He is convinced, moreover, that "if we turn to the market core of the social market economy, then we will encounter fundamental differences ..." [43, p. 249].

The interpenetration (synthesis) of the research paradigms of Keynesianism, neoliberalism and institutionalism clearly manifests itself, among other things, in the concept of "neoclassical synthesis" by P. Samuelson, interpreted in the context of the synthesis of marginalist and behavioral theories of value, which (theories) were mentioned above in Section 2.2 of this review article. It is important to note that marginal and behavioral research principles allow modern scientists to display the value of any product in the context of the mutual penetration of economic and social factors (preconditions), including the human factor. In addition, understanding the phenomenon of value as a synthesized characteristic allows one to take into account the psychological inclinations of the individual, the expanding scope of the practice of market pricing and the assessment of future benefits through negotiation principles.

The synthesized research approach based on the synthesis of the paradigms of modern (in the works of Keynesians and neoliberals) neoclassicism and institutionalism has become breeding ground for the final refutation of orthodoxy, which has been conditioned since the time of classical political economy by the class interpretation of the theory of productive and unproductive labor according to the principle: creates or does not create a specific type of labor tangible material object (product). Obviously, for this reason, in the words of M. Blaug, "the distinction between productive and unproductive labor introduced by Smith is perhaps one of the most pernicious concepts in the history of economic thought" [11, p. 48]. But now, as L. Robbins rightly notes, "modern theory has so far moved away from the point of view of Adam Smith and the physiocrats that it does not recognize even labor that creates material objects as productive if the latter have no value." Now, he concludes, it

is clear that “the work of an opera singer or a ballet dancer is part of the wealth and economic science investigates the formation of prices for them in the same way as, for example, for the services of a cook” [44, p. 14].

Meanwhile, during the 20th — beginning of the 21st century in economics, orthodox research stamps of “generalization” of innovative achievements are still explicitly or implicitly obvious either in the context of the absolutization of mathematical analysis or through class analysis, tying the a priori conclusions arising from them to some “objective economic laws”. Moreover, adherents of this kind of archaic instrumentation of orthodoxy are convinced that their argumentation is impeccable and convincing and can neither be revised, nor transformed, nor rethought. It seems that W. W. Leontief addressed them with his warning, noting that “dozens of mathematical models” created by theoretical economists continue to “adapt algebraic functions of various types and forms” using previous sets of statistical data, “not being able to make significant progress in a systematic understanding of the structure and principles of functioning of the real economic systems” [45, p. 25]. No less convincing is the warning of Academician L. I. Abalkin in connection with the odious class analysis on which the theory of productive and unproductive labor is based, stating the following: “The primitive class approach (which is still widespread!) is fundamentally wrong. It determines in advance those who make mistakes, according to criteria that go beyond the limits of science” [46, p. 4].

Finally, with regard to the explicit and implicit absolutization of “economic laws” on the way to the formation of unorthodox foundations of economic science, it seems appropriate to confine ourselves to a very impressive warning and a message of P. Samuelson about the need for the modern scientific economic community to realize: “...how insidious economic “laws” are in economic life”, including such as: “Pareto’s law on constant income inequality; Denison’s

law on the constancy of the savings rate in the private sector; Colin Clark’s 25 percent cap on the share of government spending and taxes; Modigliani’s law on the constancy of the ratio of wealth to income; Marx’s law on the fall in the real wage rate and/or the fall in the rate of profit; no one knows who owns the law on the constancy of the ratio of capital to output. After all, he is convinced: “...if all these are laws, then Mother Nature is a born criminal” [cit. by: 19, p. 227].

CONCLUSIONS

The results of the study performed allow us to formulate the following conclusions.

1. According to the author’s definition proposed in this review article, the essence of the term “orthodoxy” in economics lies in a priori axiomatic judgments about a knowingly “correct” opinion, a “correct” system of views and undeniable dogmatic convictions. As a result, the content of economic concepts and theories postulated and put into circulation by an authoritative person should be taken as a given and even as an “objective economic law”, which is mandatory for all researchers and has no alternative to understand and use.

2. The content aspects of the author’s vision of the vectors, stages, and problems of the formation of unorthodox foundations of economic science are obvious from the understanding of the prehistory and history of the emergence and comprehensive dissemination in this industry of knowledge of Orthodox maxims about the declared “objective economic laws” through the prism of “class analysis”. This circumstance, in essence, predetermines the reasons why many generations of economists up to the present day do not accept the expediency of the dominance of intersectoral, evolutionary and systemic methods of analysis in it, they absolutize empirical or causal analytical tools, which do not allow them to be avoided a priori, as J. S. Mill of frivolous statements. Indeed, in Mill’s “Principles” (1848!), which is associated with the postulates of the “economic law of value” and the “class structure of society”, the expensive (and therefore dead-end) theory

of value by the classics of political economy is allegedly self-sufficient and complete and does not require its rethinking either by current or future generations of researchers.

3. The adherents of the research paradigm of mercantilism and classical political economy, having marked the beginnings of economic science, at the same time laid the foundation for odious theoretical and methodological orthodox foundations in it, demonstrating their commitment, at first glance, to uncompromising (according to the “either-or” principle) aspirations for positive scientific and practical results. But the mercantilists, while absolutizing the research principles of empiricism, did not exclude in their conclusions “sliding over the surface of economic phenomena”. The classics (and later the early neoclassicists), being committed exclusively to the principles of laissez-faire, turned out to be “captive” to a priori universal “objective economic laws”, which must be accepted and unconditionally followed, because they (the laws) are allegedly identical to natural ones and, therefore, do not depend on the will, consciousness and desire of the individual.

4. The formation of unorthodox components in the innovations of the research paradigms of the 19th – early 21st centuries is associated with economic romanticism, utopian socialism, the German historical school (19th century), subjectivist and neoclassical trends in economic thought (late 19th – early 20th centuries), institutionalism, Keynesianism, neoliberalism and with the currently emerging synthesized research

paradigm (from the beginning of the 20th century to the present). The adherents of these paradigms (with the exception of the marginalists of the late 19th century) deny the orthodox stereotypes and myths of numerous adherents of the concept of the “invisible hand” (i.e., “objective laws”) about the functioning of the economy as a self-regulating system, within which (thanks to “Say’s law”) only occasional, temporary, and for this reason, automatically transient crises are possible.

5. Overcoming the orthodoxy of the ancestors and fathers of economic science after the marginalist, Keynesian, and Chamberlain revolutions that took place at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries in this branch of knowledge is facilitated, firstly, by a scientifically based refutation of the orthodox conceptual position of the classics about the invariably proportional and equivalent exchange by opposing this position of integral systemic teaching about the principle of mutual benefit of exchange. Secondly, the introduction into scientific circulation of the Samuelsonian theory of the synthesis of theoretical and methodological research paradigms of Keynesianism, neoliberalism, and institutionalism, which, among other things, is manifested in the concepts of the interpenetration of Keynesian and neoliberal models of state regulation of the economy, the synthesis of marginalist and behavioral research principles in the field of theory cost, taking into account the simultaneous influence of economic and social factors.

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