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**JOSEPH BROZ TITO: SOCIAL PROJECT
OF THE SFRY THROUGH THE PRISM OF VISUAL
ANALYTICS AND SOCIAL SYSTEMOLOGY
IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (PART 1)**

It's stated that Tito's set of identities shows the features of the autopoiesis of the so-called fragmented society, a society – a social aggregate that was created as an imitation of the disappeared Austro-Hungarian Empire, in which, in the final period of its existence, the confederal social project of the United States of Greater Austria was articulated. Tito in Yugoslavia, in a shortened historical perspective, first implemented an aggregate pan-Yugoslavist “gluing” of six republics in an imperial manner; and in the 70s he took a course towards regional decentralization.

It's stated that the traits that brought two seemingly different societies closer together was dictatoid political absolutism, which Tito tried to eclectically combine with “revisionist” Marxism, cultural-regional pluralism, industrial self-government, hedonistic and consumerist social morality, and the economy of labor export and mass consumption based on external loans. Historical and psychobiographical events, in particular – the Balkan genocide of Croats against Serbs during the NGH period and the emergence of a poor family in conditions – contributed to Tito's disidentification with the ethnic identity of the Croats.

It's noted that being in a left-wing radical (communist) environment contributed to the combination of imperial and communist cosmopolitanism in the propaganda metanarrative of the SFRY, which will become for Tito an ideological instrument for integrating the non-integrating ethnic groups of the Yugoslav federation, artificially kept together during his reign. For the religious and national-ethnic self-identification of Tito, the key event was the move to Vienna, which, as the capital, represented the cultural space of ritual Roman Catholicism. Tito's biographical frustrations in individual attempts to make a career as a minister were recursively reinforced by secular Christian-Catholic values, which contributed to the final formation of an atheist-conformist and ritual-Catholic religious identity. The latter circumstance in socialist Yugoslavia resulted in the practice of simultaneously converting Catholic and Orthodox churches into houses of culture, warehouses and barracks, and Tito's guest visits to Orthodox and Catholic monasteries with generous gifts. For most of his life, Tito positioned himself as an atheist, from time to time blurting out about himself as a Catholic, which, however, was typical of the bearer of a diffuse religious

identity. In national-ethnic identities, the same recursion of diffusion, ritual and duality took place.

It's specified that Tito's philosophical, ideological and moral identities reflected attempts to combine inconsistent nationalism / chauvinism with communist cosmopolitanism. The ideology of equality of all national and ethnic communities in Yugoslavia was more of a decorum for the nationalist and ethnocentric course of non-alignment in international relations and confederation within the state than a real vector of the development of society. The attitude of Tito himself and the Titoites to communism as an ideological doctrine was more cynical, nihilistic and pragmatic than consistently accepting. Tito's characteristic deficit of value consciousness presupposed the use of philosophical and ideological linguistic games rather than reliance on Marxism as a real philosophy and ideology.

It's noted that using the geopolitical authority of the USSR, Tito initially tried to implement the pan-Yugoslavist project of a consociational aggregate society in the form of an unrealized version of the "united states" of Greater Austria, which, in addition to six socialist republics and two autonomous socialist territories, would also include Bulgaria and Albania. Later, due to disagreements with Stalin, Tito had to confine himself to a society-aggregate of a quasi-imperial type, which, again, was represented in Austria-Hungary before the reformer Franz-Ferdinand, who did not manage to implement the territorial-political reform.

It's stated that in Tito's social status identity, nomenclature identity was realized as a reverse-revanchist form of eclectic mixing of peasant and proletarian social identities (with incomplete identification) with the identity residues of social groups in a transitional (modernizing) society that combines feudal institutional superstructure and social stratification with elements of a market economy culture and consumerism. Tito's nomenclature identity, in contrast to similar identities of political elites in the USSR and neo-Stalinist societies, did not acquire a pronounced despotism and malignant torture.

The latter circumstance was due to the fact that the Tito party nomenklatura was recruited not from criminal-ochlotic elements, but from representatives of the industrial working class and peasantry, urban philistinism and the intellectuals, as well as from two ethnic groups-leaders of the Yugoslav federation, who managed to smooth out interethnic contradictions and temporarily tame the radicalized ethnic periphery. On the other hand, Tito's national-ethnic identities prevented the complete criminalization and oholisation of the Yugoslav party nomenklatura, since Tito himself was neither a consistent opponent of the bourgeoisie, nor the feudal patriciate, but secretly imitated both the first and the second with his way of life.

It's noted that Tito converted his professional identity as a metalworker into a political party nomenclature capital, in which this professional identity was only a legitimizing segment of his biography, which allowed him to receive unlimited privileges from the government. All that remained of her was fanatical car collecting.

It's stated that in family identity, Tito hesitated between inconsistent patriarchy (quasi-patriarchy) in the scenario of official promiscuity (choosing a partner based on the criterion of her "reliability" for the nomenclature environment), which was combined with elements of domestic prostitution and political favoritism (when it comes to Tito's last two wives). At the same time, the first type of identity dominated the second, while Tito's political entourage consisted of a part of the party nomenclature, with which he went to the conquest of power. As it will become clear from the second part of the article devoted to this topic, Tito's inconsistency in family choice, on the one hand, and the peculiarities of his

character structure led either to a breakdown in relations, or to political favoritism and attempts by wives-mistresses to influence the selection of his entourage and, in part, on politics (the influence on the latter can hardly be considered significant in comparison with attempts).

Key words: *social project of the SFRY, Tito, titoism, visual analytics, cultural and social systemology, sociology of international relations, identification of identities, higher value identities, ethnic identity, social identity, professional identity, family identity, gender identity.*

Formulation of the problem. The problem of any multiethnic community, where dividing lines between ethnic groups run through value identities, is both its heterogeneity and permanent conflict. When value identities are formed as a result of an autochthonous path of development and consistent choice, this allows a community to define its own cultural boundaries and recognize the right of communities coexisting with it to an autonomous path of development. The situation changes when higher value identities are formed by other societies as a result of external influence, the introduction, which not only disrupts the autopoiesis of the ethnic group that is the object of influence, but also distorts its historiogenesis, profanes its socio-historical time to a large extent.

The Yugoslav federation of the period of the establishment of the communist dictatorship of Joseph Broz Tito was able to develop for a certain period as a consocial community with a high level of latent conflict, religious-value heterogeneity and significantly weakened autopoieticity. How did Tito manage to assemble this cultural aggregate from heterogeneous ethnic groups that in different historical periods found themselves under the external influence of empires and whose value identities were, in a significant number of cases, the results of the cultural intrusion of these empires?

How did Tito, representing one of the ethnic groups-instigators of Serbocide (Croats), manage to act as an integrator leader without having sufficient cultural and educational capital? What identities inculturated by him made it possible to present a unifying Yugoslav metanarrative and build an original course for the development of society? In what visual projections can the value identities of a political leader be considered? The very formulation of these questions allows us to formulate a key research problem: how communist pan-Yugoslavism could be realized through the set of identities of Joseph Broz Tito as a dictator who managed to retain a good memory of himself, avoiding many extremes of Stalinist paranoia and despotic genocides, and how these identities were visualized in his microcosm of everyday life.

Analysis of recent research and publications. The literary sources of the first block devoted to the SFRY, according to the subject-thematic criterion, are represented by studies on historical Balkan studies and Yugoslav studies, biographical works dedicated to the personality of Joseph Broz Tito and numerous political and journalistic works thematically focused around Tito and Titoism [28-30; 32-33].

A. Evans, I. Banac, V. Dedier, E. Matonin, R. West, M. Djilas, V. Winterhalter, R. West and other researchers present from different sides the biography of Tito both in connection with the history of Yugoslavia and communist movement. It is these sources that provide extensive psychobiographical material that can be used for further visual-analytical portraiture. In the visual-analytical portrait of Tito, both psychophysiological and pathopsychological typologies are used, the application of which is based on the six-level algorithm of visual-analytical identification of identities described in the author's works [21-26].

In portraying Tito and identifying his identities, the author used the key provisions of cultural and social systemology, focused on the development of functionalist and neofunctional theory of identity by T. Parsons, N. Luhmann, S. Eisenstadt, E. Schills [10; 16-17; 37]. Understanding the personality as a «collapsed» (single) recursion of identities, and the recursion of identities – as «expanded» in the culture and society of the personality presupposes the identification of markers of recursion in the mental and bodily characteristics of the personality, and the mental and bodily characteristics of the personality (in the circumstances of the macrosocial influence of such a personality) – in projections on the social institutions of society and the features of its everyday life.

In the article are used the techniques of psychoanalytic identification and the appropriate methodology presented in the political psychoanalysis of S. Freud, E. Fromm, W. Reich, G. Lassuel and E.-V. Wolfenstein [8; 14-15; 18-20].

Purpose of the article. The aim of the article is a visual-analytical portrait of the personality of Joseph Broz Tito as a recursion of the identities of the Yugoslav society in connection with the socio-political order built during his regiment.

Statement of the main provisions. Valuable (religious, philosophical, ideological, moral and legal) identities.

In the religious identity of Tito, the two-main inconsistency of the failed religious choice between Catholicism and atheism manifested itself. After joining the communist movement, Tito, like most of the Stalinists, unconsciously “shared” the cult of hero-worship, which originated in the mythologies of pre-industrial societies. R. West, reproducing the psychological portrait of Tito according to V. Dedier, notes that Tito's mother dreamed of seeing Tito as a minister (a servant boy at a Catholic church). However, such a career trajectory was prevented by the priest, who gave him “a slap in the face, after which he never again crossed the threshold of the church” [27, Chapter 3].

The religious identity of Croatia as part of the Balkans was originally formed in intercultural confrontations and invasions of the culture of the two Slavic peoples of Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Islam. The Cyrillic alphabet and Orthodoxy coexisted with the Latin alphabet and Catholic churches, forming a motley mixture with the Islamic kuttabs of the Bosnian Serbs and

Albanians. Such a multivariate nature has had and has an indirect negative impact on both orthodoxy (in terms of an unambiguous understanding of doctrine / creed) and orthopraxia (application of the norms of religious law in everyday life). The multiplicity of religious identity recurs in other higher value identities, which, in the corresponding forms of value consciousness, correspond to non-constructive pluralism and eclecticism.

Tito's biography is that very lifelong attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable communities within the SFRY, ignoring their spiritual and value differences. Achieving unity in any community seems to be an important life-forming goal, followed by its functionality, peace, security and consensus. At the same time, no community could build unity while ignoring or forgetting the differences existing within it. The personality as a single representative of the community represents the community in miniature, its structural and functional recursion. And if a political leader is born in this community, then in his personality he expresses all his essential features, contradictions and problems.

R. West, as one of Tito's sympathizers, in the first chapter of his book *Tito: The Power of Force*, notes that, contrary to the statements of the foreign press and some of the Yugoslav demagogues, there are no "ethnic" differences between the warring parties of Bosnia-Herzegovina, since they are all close relatives – both in blood, appearance and language, and in its warlike spirit. **All that separates these people is the religion inherited from their ancestors** (*italics mine – Yu.R.*); those who profess Greek Orthodoxy call themselves Serbs, Roman Catholics – Croats, and unfortunate Muslims who are accustomed to calling themselves Yugoslavs or Bosnians are very often only nominally considered as such, because in reality they do not believe in anything"[27, Chapter 2] ...

In fact, the skeptical understatement of the role of religious differences is hardly justified from a scientific point of view and understanding of religion as the highest axiosphere, in which a particular community presents to the world its own vision of absolute values. Therefore, a realistic attitude to religion would imply the recognition that religion is not just everything that can divide people, but the most important of all that can divide them.

E. Matonin, one of the Russian researchers of Tito's biography, asks on behalf of many authors the question: "How did Tito succeed for more than thirty years under the slogan "Brotherhood! Unity!" to save the country, whose peoples, it would seem, only dream of cutting each other?" [11, c. 5].

Tito, as a representative of the South Slavic ethnic groups, shared a conditionally ritual attitude towards Catholic Christianity. As one of the common proverbs says, such people act according to the principle "at rest – to hell, in anxiety – to God." However, the indicated duality / duality in relation to Catholicism (as well as to Orthodoxy) did not prevent Tito, after coming to power, first to try by all available means to save Stepinats, then to endow Orthodox monasteries in a situation of infertility of his wife, and,

on the other hand, to allow taking care of themselves in the last days of life to Catholic nuns.

The psyche of a person is best revealed not where the person implements pro-social behavior, but where the masks of the latter “fly off” due to the person’s falling into an altered state of consciousness. In Tito, such altered states of consciousness were observed in situations of admission to a hospital in Russia, the death of children, as well as in the final period of life. In the Sviyazhsky hospital, where Tito spent 13 months with a through wound, he himself, reconstructing one of the episodes of this stay from the words of those who were in the same room with him, in a delusional state swears with the saints, who allegedly wanted to steal his things [41, p. ... 33, 34, 63, 64].

After the funeral of the son and daughter of Hinko and Zlatitsa, in early 1924, Tito erected a monument to them, in the upper part of the monument a Catholic cross and the inscription were carved: “Here rest in God’s peace Zlatitsa Broz, age 2, and her brother Hinko, age 3 days.” [11, c. 27].

In the following years of his rule of Yugoslavia, Tito will continue to demonstrate the same ambivalent attitude towards church and religion. Some churches and monasteries will be requisitioned and reorganized into military units, warehouses, and other civilian objects, some will be in a state of semi-desolation, which will not show any meaningful differences between Titoism and Stalinism.

The idealization of mother and motherhood was associated in Tito’s worldview with genicolatric and maternolatric “inclusions” in the religious dogma of both the Catholic and Orthodox denominations. saints, the Most Holy Theotokos and the Virgin Mary.

The cult elements of religious identity, maternolatric and feminolatric in origin, are signs of feminine and / or feminoid identifications in both Catholic and Orthodox men. The inculturation of the feminine-mother in the mental system of men, with the accompanying idealization of the female-mother principle as a spiritual-sublime (as opposed to the male principle, identified with rudeness, strength, power, despotism) conditions the accompanying male communities androphobia / homophobia.

The latent devaluation of masculinity corresponds to the conflict-tense relations between sons and fathers and the group narcissistic deficiency of men, which manifests itself in varying degrees of latent hostility and rejection. The identification of men in the cultural and ethical aspect with the pole of rudeness, strength, power and despotism presupposes the formation of such an ideal I (Ego-ideal), in which interactions with both men and women are based on emotional morality and aesthetic maximalism. Overestimated claims, a combination of pride and humiliation while maintaining a mask of equanimity, a weakening of the ability to process toxic emotions (in fact, the ability to forgive) are accompanied by false communications and manifestations of false friendships.

Such false friendship, as the number of microcommunications with false friends and girlfriends from the corresponding ethnic environment grows,

destroys social capital, feelings of mutual trust and security, which undermines the primary ethnocentrism necessary for the formation of a socio-historical “security territory”. False friends turn into traitors to each other, calling on real enemies and rivals to mediate in endless disputes over the primary determination of their own worth.

Tito managed to partly “get out of the dry” out of the above processes of moral erosion, partly due to the influence of Stalinism, which as an ideology contains elements of group paranoia and group idealization. This group paranoia instilled during his studies in Moscow, which is partly criminal-minority, partly ethnic in origin, allowed Tito in his ascent to the Olympus of power to keep Yugoslavia from an internal split during his lifetime and to put up a barrier to interventions from both the Euro-Atlantic / European and the Soviet bloc. On the other hand, Tito did not show any militant dogmatic atheism and blasphemous abusive attitude towards Christianity, and in one of the sources he even called himself a Catholic.

Moral erosion in Tito’s psyche was also overcome through contact with the Austro-Hungarian and German culture and occupying societies, which demonstrated a high level of social cohesion [42, p. 9].

Ideology, theory for Tito, as noted by M. Djilas, were “inseparable from politics. True, he does not turn ideology into an instrument of power – which is typical of the Soviet leadership. But he will not separate power from ideology: ideology, “consciousness”, for Tito – only the other side of power. “ In ideology, Tito found himself, using the jargon of the Stalinist orthodox, a communist revisionist. “If Tito had been analyzed according to communist doctrine, it would have turned out – more because of his royal lifestyle than because of his authoritarian rule – that he is one of the most inconsistent, most ‘non-communist’ rulers. And despite this – and in fact, this is precisely why – he is one of the most successful” [35, p.51].

In fact, the ideological difference between Titoism and other varieties of “socialism in a single country” turns out to be completely insignificant. This version of socialism presupposes not an evolutionary maturation of societary and social solidarity, a gradual departure from the bourgeois-corporate model of a liberal-type night watchman state towards a social rule-of-law state with a democratic representation of civil society, but a direct seizure of power and occupation, the acquisition of “state independence” and the building of ideology on the basis of a “mishmash” of social democratic verbalism and Leninist party monopoly” [35, p. 57].

Tito’s national and ethnic identities. The absence of religious monotony, the diffusion of religious identity, and the underdevelopment of the ideological and socio-moral structures of self-reference determined Tito’s search for ego-ideals in the person of representatives of the elites of other nations. His ethnic identity was formed at the intersection of Croatian, Slovenian, German and Hungarian cultural influences, he was a multiethnic. Historians of Yugoslavia and biographers of Tito [11; 34; 39] note that his “lingua franco” was German. At the same time, Tito, as the son of a

Croatian and a Slovenian, being a biethnor by birth, later became a multiethnor and a “multifile” thanks to his movement across cultures and continents.

Fighting as part of the Austro-Hungarian army, Tito inevitably ended up in the camp of the Austro- and Germanophiles, who received their starting inculturation from the Latin-Catholic (Austro-Hungarian) cultural system. Roman jurists, regarding the strength and significance of primacy in time, noted: “qui prior tempore, potior est jure” (“who is the first in time, he is the strongest in law). Thus, the first cultural imprints of Tito’s identity (and the strongest in the manifestations of his ethnic identities) were Croatian, Slovenian and Austro-German.

Staying in the imperial social environment of Austria-Hungary affected Tito’s multi-ethnicity in the aspect of unconscious imitation of the Austrian and Hungarian military-monarchical elites. His early introduction to music, dance, literature took place under the influence of Austrian rationalism, pedantry, self-esteem, performative stiffness, emphasized theatricality of the behavior of the designated groups.

The space of political parties and philosophical circles, opera, theater, the grandeur of administrative buildings and industrial giants, petty-bourgeois consumerism of small shops mixed with brothels, cabarets, music halls, cinema salons was primary in the formation of Tito’s cultural imprints, which reproduced that very combination of cold rationalistic and the idealistic greatness of the image of power of the feudal patrician of Austria-Hungary and the hedonistic everyday life of the man in the street. Zagreb, Belgrade, and other large cities of Yugoslavia during the reign of Tito will become imitators of Vienna. Tito himself, after coming to power, will appropriate the palaces of the feudal nobility and will use them for his own needs, and the ordinary Yugoslavs, after some “tightening the screws” and a witch hunt in the face of the Stalinists, will allow, as they say, to consume and enjoy elements of bourgeois luxury unheard of for the USSR ...

In the rejection of Stalinism as philosophy and ideology, contacts with the British, Germans and Russians played the role of influencing Tito’s philosophical and ideological identity. With the weakened self-reference of the Croat, Tito looked closely and listened to those from whose side he expected to receive personal help and personal services in gaining and strengthening his own power. His close friend Milovan Jilas, who underwent a metamorphosis from friend to enemy, and in the opposite direction, would later blame Tito’s value deficiency and materialism. Jilas himself, however, supposedly shared the same defect of value consciousness as Tito, since he understood ethical principles primarily in a personalistic and aesthetic way.

A preoccupation not so much with morale as with aesthetic image played a role in Tito’s internalization of the British identity. Upon the arrival in Yugoslavia of General Korneev, as West notes, “Tito met Korneev with ill-concealed hostility,” which was facilitated by the luxurious ceremonial surroundings of the general himself and his escorts, which clearly contrasted with the field inconveniences of partisan life. Considering Tito’s

psychobiographical experience associated, on the one hand, with the despotism of his father, and on the other hand, with the socio-political despotism of the Stalinists during his stay in Russia, contacts with the Soviet mission contributed, rather, to a disengagement with the national and ethnic identities of Russians.

Tito, however, used the classic divide and conquer principle, demonstrating to Korneev and his mission that their status in his “residence” could not be higher than that of the British. Korneev himself experienced a state of confusion, from time to time “pouring out his soul” to Churchill’s emissary to Maclean, constantly complaining and asking questions about who was in command of the partisans, about what he received evasive and mocking answers from Maclean himself with a proposal to try to command the partisans himself.

Korneev and those accompanying him behaved emphatically rude, showing Tito’s surprise at the lack of specially prepared toilets. In this case, such “manifestations” of the ideology of “Soviet non-nobility”, which was only a decorum for ochlotic social groups, could, highly likely, cause an internal conflict in Tito. Even assuming that Tito did not display a good understanding of the ideological and moral advantages of the British military, he could at least appreciate the pronounced superiority of the latter in tolerance of inconvenience. On the other hand, he was irritated by the “plebeian” intolerance of Korneev and his retinue towards the military field disorder. One of the circumstances of irritation could be – no matter how banal it may seem – drunkenness, which, as a fact of Tito’s biography, was familiar to him firsthand. Tito’s father, Croatian Franjo Broz, in a state of alcoholic intoxication, was prone to assault for no particular reason, as indicated by V. Dedier [31, p. 151].

As West notes, “While it is clearly not true that McLean and his British colleagues turned Tito away from Stalinism by introducing him to liberal views, these views undoubtedly made a strong impression on the latter. Despite his Marxist convictions, Tito has always tended to judge people by their actions, not their convictions. When Djilas returned from his “March consultations” in 1943, Tito was eager to hear what he thought of the German officers, suggesting that the spirit of chivalry had not yet faded in them. Tito watched the British officers just as closely. As we will see, when compared with the Russians, he gave preference to the British” [27, Ch. 10].

Taking into account linguistic identity as one of the markers of ethnic identities, there is sufficient reason to join the point of view of Tito as a “foreigner” (Austrian) in Yugoslavia, since “from foreign languages he knew German best of all,” states Djilas [35, p.22]. In Croatian, Tito spoke with a strange (non-Croatian) accent, while speaking Russian, English and Kazakh, which were peripheral rather than central for understanding Tito’s linguistic identity.

Tito’s social identities. A generalization of the data presented in biographical works and sources on the history of Yugoslavia allows us to

talk about Tito's peasant-proletarian social identity. He himself comes from a large peasant family (15 children, 8 of whom died), the head of which, the father of Tito Franjo Broz, suffered not so much because of poverty, but because of a trusting guarantee associated with the issuance of guarantees for other people's bills. Tito's mother was also a peasant, and Tito himself went through the path of becoming a representative of the working class, which joined the left-wing radical movement and therefore managed to set the vector of upward vertical mobility in changing the social stratum in which he himself was, and in which, after the conquest of power, Yugoslavia was.

In everyday actions and social practices, as will be shown below, Tito recognizes the residuals of the social identities of the feudal-monarchical society, which speaks not only in favor of the point of view of similarity between the feudal and socialist social order, but also the theory of social priming / imprinting. As a half-peasant and half-proletarian, Tito was partly shy of both his peasant and proletarian origins, a marker of which is his chosen image-building strategy, in which Tito asserts not the ascetic-paramilitary image of the proletarian leader, but a respectable businessman in a bourgeois manner. In the above, the influence on Tito of the inculturated Austro-Hungarian and Anglo-Saxon identities affected, which correlatively reflected on the development of the project of Yugoslav socialism.

Tito's professional identities. Tito's professional identity was affected by the incompleteness of his career in the industrial sector, which, in turn, predetermined the trajectory of vertical mobility in the direction of the party nomenclature. M. Voslensky in his work "Nomenclature" contains the idea that the communist pair nomenclature, as "non-nobility", recruited into its midst those who were marginalized in relation to their primary professional group and did not achieve much success in it. Voslensky would later write that it was precisely such people who became the backbone for the nomenclature clientele [1].

West also notes that Tito was ashamed of his worker-peasant origin and lack of education, which, of course, did not contribute not only to his professional development as a worker and metal engineer, but also as a person with any subject-centered hobbies. E. Matonin writes that "in the fall of 1910, Josip finished his studies and became a qualified metalworker" [11, p. 28]. Integration into the environment of left-wing radicals assumed that professional occupations served, first of all, as an official legal cover for propaganda. In this aspect, Tito differed little from the representatives of the marginal ethnic and social subgroups that became the base for the left parties. On the other hand, Tito's social script in the industrial sector and his realization as a representative of the industrial / proletariat can be considered an established fact of his biography.

M. Djilas in his work "Tito, my friend and my enemy" states Tito's weak intelligibility in literature, philosophy and art, noting that "Tito's knowledge is small – it could not be extensive, since his education was meager:

he graduated from the initial school and studied plumbing. And yet he knew much more than his poor and poor education gave him. “Djilas considers his oratorical skills “extremely bad”, which becomes obvious from the weakness of reports on “foreign and domestic policy”, and first of all – speeches in public places, which he (Tito-Yu.R.) uttered especially often. Djilas emphasizes that “Tito spoke at full or medium strength only on acute specific issues” [35, p. 20-21].

Tito Djilas considers his professional knowledge to be familiar with various machines and mechanisms in the field of technology and the expression of an expressed interest in new products. Tito, from the point of view of Jilas, was also versed in agriculture, in particular, in the technique of winemaking. In general, Tito’s knowledge, as judged by Jilas, was both extensive, fragmentary and superficial. He knew “a lot and many things” and knew little about anything deeply, except for “his locksmith’s specialty, which, in fact, he was ashamed of” [35, p.21].

This became not only a positive for Tito’s narcissistic deposit in the professional sector, but also allowed him not to merge with the criminal-ochlotical elements, which in the communist parties led the latter to ideological and organizational-political degeneration. This happened, for example, in the USSR, where the criminal “zhiganat” of the Stalinists assimilated the remnants of intellectuals and doctrinaires by expulsion or physical destruction, and also launched subsequent elitocidal campaigns to eliminate competitors. Tito, paradoxically, managed to form his entourage, if not from the proletarians, then at least from the representatives of the petty-bourgeois social groups. The latter circumstance contributed to the departure from the torture orthodoxy of the Stalinists, who felt the sexual and political pleasure of mockery the population, poverty, hunger, lice and despotic omnipotence.

Tito’s family identity. In the primary Tito family, the structuring of relations was set by the model of matriarchal idealization, when the moral purity and sublimity of the mother was opposed to the brutal despotism of the father. For Tito’s character, this had twofold consequences: on the one hand, partial disidentification with his father along the line of higher value identities, which meant reconfiguring the character in the vector from unbalanced psychopathic to hysteroid psychopathic and increasing the influence of the bearers of German-Austrian and Anglo-Saxon identities. The emotional imbalance of the father, a Croat by ethnicity, can be considered as ethnospecific, taking into account the interrupted unfinished history of Croatia, the constant competition with Serbs and the cultural provinciality of Zagreb in comparison with Belgrade, as well as socially and economically determined poverty, large families and spatial deprivation. Tito’s psyche converted the conflict with his father into the internalization of paternal images from the Austro-Hungarian cultural and social environment, American cinematography, political communications with the British during the organization of the partisan movement in Yugoslavia.

The affective despotism of the Russians also “didn’t suit him,” not least because of the experience of object relations both with his father and

because of structural factors that weaken paternity in societies with weak state-forming groups.

Tito's family identity is best described in terms of polygamy and official promiscuity. As an inconsistent Marxist (whom the Stalinists had betrayed ideological "anathema" for his revisionist views and socio-political choice of the SFRY), Tito allowed himself to combine elements of a bourgeois-hedonistic way of life with external acceptance of the doctrine of non-acquisitiveness and false communist asceticism. His five-time marriage and three-time wedding, combined with extramarital affairs, represents an internal struggle between an inconsistent patriarchy with elements of biarchy and the ideocratic geischism-heterism inherent in the communist environment. Biographers describe Tito's 5 wives:

- Pelageya (Regiment) Denisovna Belousova (1904-1968). She married Josip in Omsk. Four children were born: the first died in infancy, the other two (Zlatitsa and Hinko) died in childhood. Zharko's fourth son survived. After a divorce from Josip, she gave birth to a daughter, Nina.

- Anna Köning (German Anna Köning), known under the pseudonym Elsa Lucius Bauer (1914-1937). She married Josip. She was shot in 1937 in Moscow on charges of spying for Germany.

- Hertha Haas (1914-2010). Did not marry Josip. She gave birth to a son, Alexander "Misha". After a divorce from Josip, she gave birth to two more daughters.

- Davoryanka Paunovich (1921-1946). Did not marry Josip. She was sick with tuberculosis, was treated in the USSR, but soon returned to Yugoslavia and died.

- Jovanka Budisavljevic-Broz (1924-2013). She married Josip. In the 1970s, she was accused by her husband of plotting a coup and was placed under house arrest, although she herself believed that her arrest was not her husband's initiative. The verdict was canceled only by Vojislav Kostunica in 2000. Since 2009, she has been a full-fledged citizen of Serbia [4-5].

From the above list, one can see a pattern associated with Tito's gradual return to Croatian-Serbian-Slovenian identities during «primary experimentation» with carriers of Russian and German identities, which determines his ethnic predisposition to women with unbalanced hysteroid-psychopathic features. The pattern of the latter is culture-specific. Tito's processing of his experience of intercultural communication with Russia and Austria-Hungary was partly through his family relations. In this aspect, family identity is a recursion of compatibility / incompatibility of higher identities (in particular, ethnic ones) with each other. Tito's experience of internalizing Austro-Hungarian and Russian ethnic identities was associated with the First World War, which included, on the one hand, honors and recognition (receiving an award personally from the emperor), on the other hand, the experience of defeat in Russia and hospitalization on the brink of life and death.

However, the question of the marriage of a communist for the communist himself was originally a party issue, especially when it came to the

period of existence of the Comintern, which served as an oversight service to both party functionaries and their wives. Tito's first marriage with Pelageya-Polka turned out to be both frustrating and traumatic and separating at the same time. Moreover, this separation allowed him not only to be forced to lose his wife, but also to reconsider his attitude towards Stalin and Stalinism as a system as a whole. According to R. West's version (which should be considered not entirely reliable), while Tito was in prison, his wife Pelageya returned home to Russia, where she fell in love with another man, and left her son Zharko, leaving him wandering in orphanages" [27, Ch.4]. According to Jilas, "Tito's unfaithfulness deeply hurt, but in those days the party looked askance at such manifestations of "bourgeois feelings". And although after leaving prison there was no woman who would expect Tito, he still, being free, the first thing he did was bought himself a new fashionable suit, «which, of course, did not betray his hysterical exhibitionism of a member of the lower class.

In other sources, the relationship between Polka, the son of Zharko and Tito is presented in a different version. Someone Ivan Ochak, a political emigrant from Yugoslavia who knew Pelageya, cites her version of the break with her husband: "We met immediately after Tito arrived to work in the Comintern. We had a long conversation. Broz confirmed that he received my letters and money, which I regularly sent him from Kazakhstan to the Maribor prison. Most of all he was interested in where Zharko was, since he really wanted to see his son. However, I could not give him an exact answer to this question, because at the time when I worked in Kazakhstan, little Zharko was often transferred from one orphanage to another ..." [40].

Anna Ochak, Ivan's wife, added: "Pelageya told me:" He lived in one country, I in another, how could we remain husband and wife when we are separated by such a distance? " Pelageya studied at KUNMZ (Communist University of Western National Minorities) and could not keep a child with her, this was a rule that applied to all students. And Zharko was in a special boarding school for the children of the Comintern employees, a decent privileged institution, not at all in an orphanage for homeless orphans, as one might think with a wild imagination. However, for Pelageya, the great distance became fateful, and she married the Comintern member P. Rogulev, and a little later, having received two prison sentences for Tito from Stalin, in March 1967 she died of a heart attack at the age of 62 [40].

Anna Koenig and Hertha Haas in Tito's promiscuity turned out to be transitional objects, having mastered which he socially and mentally integrated into the communist environment, realizing conquering fantasies in relation to women, representing, within the framework of his set of ethnic identities, one of the successful state-forming ethnic groups (Austrians as an ethnic subgroup of Germans), which allowed himself to internalize the cultural identity of the Austrian Germans at the level of bodily appropriation.

However, the relationship with two German women can also be explained in terms of biological competition, which Tito showed due to a

certain deficit of doctrinal, journalistic, oratorical abilities. Up to old age, he understood his own “muzhishness”, and such a deficit could become motivating for gender competition in the male environment of the Comintern, in which men from low-status groups tried to overcome their own envy, increase self-esteem, and integrate with more ideologically advanced men from the party environment, taking possession of the women belonging to them. Such mastery is partly a manifestation of deficient political homosexuality in hysterical personalities (who cannot, or very weakly, can convert sexual motives into political actions, “merging” and “dissolving” active-penetration fantasies in political voluntarism, as did, for example, Stalin, Hoxha and Pavelic), in part by the positive impact of advances in gender competition for Tito’s sexual narcissism.

Ethno-cultural separation from Russia and mental separation / depreciation of the female world thanks to Tito’s first wife coincided, which allowed him to differentiate (despite a certain underdevelopment of value-theoretical consciousness) political and sexual, personal-intimate and social, and convert benign narcissism in the future the course of the development of Yugoslavia. The most significant for Tito’s family identity turned out to be Davorianka Paunovich (Zdenka, nicknamed “Horvat”), to whom Tito was ready to endure her fits of rage, frequent tantrums and showdowns, which reflected Tito’s own alexithymia. At the same time, Tito had not only freedom of choice in relation to partners, but also matched his point of view with the point of view of party comrades, in particular – Rankovich, who was aware of his intimate preferences.

Behind this position was not only the interference of the party in Tito’s intimate life, but also his more mature (in comparison with Pavelic) attitude towards women as a biological or social fetish object. Relations with Zdenka did not remain without evaluative reactions to her antics on the part of Djilas, Rankovich and other Titovites, who were by no means going to indulge Zdenka in her tantrums. This, however, did not prevent Tito from burying her in the garden of the White Palace. and, according to the Minister of the Interior Rankovic, to be “very upset” by the death of Zdenka. In the Stalinist USSR, the condition for the success of sexual harassment was the administrative status of the harassment. If it was significant, then sexual success was guaranteed both due to the motives of banal physical security and economic interest (when “harassment” took place on the part of representatives of the nomenklatura or non-nomenklatura officials who held positions in the trade apparatus or other sectors related to the redistribution of material benefits).

But Tito’s Yugoslavia was markedly different from Moscow and Leningrad in the level of despotic omnipotence of the nomenklatura. Yes, and Tito, unlike Stalin, was a supporter of a different gender morality, since he passed gender inculturation in the European environment, which means he knew a lot about flirtation and the advantages of sexual liberalism. It is also worth noting that after the hysterically unbalanced Zdenka, as well as

after the end of the war and the struggle for power, supporters of the left-wing pseudo-Puritan “ideological asceticism” prevailed in Tito’s entourage.

In general, the attitude of the communists to the problems of sexuality and gender fluctuated in a wide continuum from the promiscuous harassment of the 20-30s, when each Komsomol member had to provide her own body like a glass of water to the Komsomol on demand, to the Stalinist political and criminal homosexuality and false asexuality, which became an arrangement for any repression against biological sexuality, implemented outside the class-corporate “communist morality”. As R. West notes, “Belgrade was not like Stalin’s Moscow, where the party bosses just had to point a finger at any ballerina from the Bolshoi Theater they liked. There were no problems, since everyone knew that the disobedient women and their families were awaited by the GULAG”[27, Ch. 10].

The head of the protocol service, Tito, says that the affair with Jovanka Budislavljevic-Broz, whom Djilas described in 1946 as “a spectacular, beautiful, extremely attractive, full of health Serb woman, dark-haired and white-faced”, was quite harmonious. Relations with Tito went wrong on the eve of another visit to China, when Yovanka issued an ultimatum to Tito that if a number of members of his political entourage went to China as part of a delegation, she would not go there. The head of the protocol service notes that Yovanka, like many wives, preferred to gossip at home, until this gossip began to overlap with politics. After the designated visit, Jovanka’s obstinacy exceeded the limits of Tito’s tolerance. She stopped communicating with him at all, until his death in the Ljubljana hospital in 1980 [38].

However, Yovanka’s behavior changed from initial modesty to pathological lust for power and permissiveness. Putting pressure on the propaganda press in Yugoslavia, Yovanka made sure that, instead of the protocol-impersonal “president with his wife,” individualizing phrases such as “the president with his wife Jovanka” began to appear in the newspapers. Moreover, she “interfered in the work of important state bodies, personally got acquainted with secret documents,” which “in the end” ... provoked the opposition to take decisive steps [38].

According to the version voiced in both scientific and publicistic sources, Jovanka allowed herself not only to rotate the staff of Tito’s residence, but also to make a selection surrounded by ministers. In 1976, she allegedly entered into negotiations with a group of Serbian generals and tried to participate in a coup. She was also brought forward unproven suspicions of espionage in favor of the USSR. Tito tried to educate Jovanka with the use of communist-Makarenko technologies “in the collective and through the collective”, creating a special commission, in which, rather, he achieved not success, but a fiasco. Tito’s entourage presented him with the same dilemma as Jovanka: “Jovanka or the state.” In order to finally get rid of any presence of Yovanka in politics, in 1980 she was placed under house arrest, in which she remained until 2000 [7].

Jovanka's influence on the politics of the SFRY was part of the internal conflict of identities of Tito himself: already under pressure from the environment, he had to choose between a power-hungry female sensibility that interfered with politics (as is the case in matriarchal societies, whose Slovenian identities were represented in Tito's psyche) and a rational-state expediency of patriarchal and androcratic Austro-Germanic societies. During Tito's tenure in power, the latter steadily "prevailed" over the former.

Conclusions. Tito's set of identities shows the features of the autopoiesis of the so-called fragmented society, a society – a social aggregate that was created as an imitation of the disappeared Austro-Hungarian Empire, in which, in the final period of its existence, the confederal social project of the United States of Greater Austria was articulated. Tito in Yugoslavia, in a shortened historical perspective, first implemented an aggregate pan-Yugoslavist "gluing" of six republics in an imperial manner, and in the 70s he took a course towards regional decentralization.

The traits that brought two seemingly different societies closer together was dictatoid political absolutism, which Tito tried to eclectically combine with "revisionist" Marxism, cultural-regional pluralism, industrial self-government, hedonistic and consumerist social morality, and the economy of labor export and mass consumption based on external loans. Historical and psychobiographical events, in particular – the Balkan genocide of Croats against Serbs during the NGH period and the emergence of a poor family in conditions – contributed to Tito's disidentification with the ethnic identity of the Croats.

Being in a left-wing radical (communist) environment contributed to the combination of imperial and communist cosmopolitanism in the propaganda metanarrative of the SFRY, which will become for Tito an ideological instrument for integrating the non-integrating ethnic groups of the Yugoslav federation, artificially kept together during his reign. For the religious and national-ethnic self-identification of Tito, the key event was the move to Vienna, which, as the capital, represented the cultural space of ritual Roman Catholicism. Tito's biographical frustrations in individual attempts to make a career as a minister were recursively reinforced by secular Christian-Catholic values, which contributed to the final formation of an atheist-conformist and ritual-Catholic religious identity. The latter circumstance in socialist Yugoslavia resulted in the practice of simultaneously converting Catholic and Orthodox churches into houses of culture, warehouses and barracks, and Tito's guest visits to Orthodox and Catholic monasteries with generous gifts. For most of his life, Tito positioned himself as an atheist, from time to time blurting out about himself as a Catholic, which, however, was typical of the bearer of a diffuse religious identity. In national-ethnic identities, the same recursion of diffusion, ritual and duality took place.

Tito's philosophical, ideological and moral identities reflected attempts to combine inconsistent nationalism / chauvinism with communist cosmopolitanism. The ideology of equality of all national and ethnic communities

in Yugoslavia was more of a decorum for the nationalist and ethnocentric course of non-alignment in international relations and confederation within the state than a real vector of the development of society. The attitude of Tito himself and the Titoites to communism as an ideological doctrine was more cynical, nihilistic and pragmatic than consistently accepting. Tito's characteristic deficit of value consciousness presupposed the use of philosophical and ideological linguistic games rather than reliance on Marxism as a real philosophy and ideology.

Using the geopolitical authority of the USSR, Tito initially tried to implement the pan-Yugoslavist project of a consocialist aggregate society¹ in the form of an unrealized version of the «united states» of Greater Austria, which, in addition to six socialist republics and two autonomous socialist territories, would also include Bulgaria and Albania. Later, due to disagreements with Stalin, Tito had to confine himself to a society-aggregate of a quasi-imperial type, which, again, was represented in Austria-Hungary before the reformer Franz-Ferdinand, who did not manage to implement the territorial-political reform.

In Tito's social status identity, nomenclature identity was realized as a reverse-revanchist form of eclectic mixing of peasant and proletarian social identities (with incomplete identification) with the identity residues of social groups in a transitional (modernizing) society that combines feudal institutional superstructure and social stratification with elements of a market economy culture and consumerism. Tito's nomenclature identity, in contrast

¹ Bogards, Haymes and Leiphart [47] state the growing importance of consocialism as an ideology for the peaceful settlement of conflicts in a society of increasing polarization and fractionation. It is the ideology of a society made up of "deeply polarized and divided societies" within itself. According to the authors, "consocial democracy" as a special political regime in such societies arises as an alternative to "majority rule with its inherent polarizing features" and political populism (since "... him, "based on the division of power between political elites"). In Yugoslavia, a consocial project was implemented on the basis of the division of power between regional political elites, but after Tito's death, these elites switched to destructive ethnocracy, which turned Yugoslavia into a failed state.

Brendan O'Leary in his article [48] examines the contradiction between the supporters of the consocialist and centripetal ("centripetal" in the author's terminology) paradigms (D. Horowitz, B. Reilly, A. Wimmer), believing that "both philosophical schools recognize the possibility of a long interethnic conflict; share a similar sociology of such conflict; and criticize the transfer of Westminster-style arrangements, especially the "selection of winners" in single-member constituencies, into the post-colonial world. " Tito, being more of an unconsciously pragmatic supporter than an ideological apologist of the consocialist paradigm, in the logic of Brendan O'Leary, considered the unalloyed "majority approach" of Soviet despotic Bolshevism (with the physical elimination of all social groups potentially dissatisfied with the socialist order) "potentially catastrophic"; as a politician, he recognized "constructive opportunities in agreements on the division of powers in the center ..." of the SFRY political system "... in combination with territorial decentralization ..."; and rejected the "ethnic extremism" of Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, etc.

Tito, as a pragmatic consocialist in the last decade of his rule, gave "... preference to collegial executive institutions such as a collective presidency, double premiership ..." make statements "... from more than one party," seeking to "... encourage more moderate hardliners to negotiate and support power-sharing," thus avoiding ethnic radicalization and ethnic conflict in the SFRY.

to similar identities of political elites in the USSR and neo-Stalinist societies, did not acquire a pronounced despotism and malignant torture.

The latter circumstance was due to the fact that the Tito party nomenklatura was recruited not from criminal-ochlotic elements, but from representatives of the industrial working class and peasantry, urban philistinism and the intellectuals, as well as from two ethnic groups-leaders of the Yugoslav federation, who managed to smooth out interethnic contradictions and temporarily tame the radicalized ethnic periphery. On the other hand, Tito's national-ethnic identities prevented the complete criminalization and oholisation of the Yugoslav party nomenklatura, since Tito himself was neither a consistent opponent of the bourgeoisie, nor the feudal patriciate, but secretly imitated both the first and the second with his way of life.

Tito converted his professional identity as a metalworker into a political party nomenclature capital, in which this professional identity was only a legitimizing segment of his biography, which allowed him to receive unlimited privileges from the government. All that remained of her was fanatical car collecting.

In family identity, Tito hesitated between inconsistent patriarchy (quasi-patriarchy) in the scenario of official promiscuity (choosing a partner based on the criterion of her "reliability" for the nomenclature environment), which was combined with elements of domestic prostitution and political favoritism (when it comes to Tito's last two wives). At the same time, the first type of identity dominated the second, while Tito's political entourage consisted of a part of the party nomenclature, with which he went to the conquest of power. As it will become clear from the second part of the article devoted to this topic, Tito's inconsistency in family choice, on the one hand, and the peculiarities of his character structure led either to a breakdown in relations, or to political favoritism and attempts by wives-mistresses to influence the selection of his entourage and, in part, on politics (the influence on the latter can hardly be considered significant in comparison with attempts).

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Романенко Ю. В. Жозеф Броз Тіто: соціальний проект СФРЮ крізь призму візуальної аналітики та соціальної системології в міжнародних відносинах (Частина 1)

Зазначено, що набір ідентичностей Тіто демонструє риси автопоезису так званого фрагментованого суспільства, суспільства – соціального арезату, який було створено як імітацію створеного у заключний період існування Австро-Угорської імперії конфедеративного соціального проекту Сполучених Штатів Великої Австрії. Тіто в Югославії, у скороченій історичній перспективі, спочатку здійснив сукупне пан-югославістське «склеювання» шести республік в імперський спосіб, а в 70-х роках взяв курс на регіональну децентралізацію.

Констатовано, що рисами, які зблизили два, здавалося б, різні суспільства, був диктаторський політичний абсолютизм, який Тіто намагався еkleктично поєднати з «ревізіоністським» марксизмом, культурно-регіональним плюралізмом, промисловим самоврядуванням, гедоністичною та споживачькою соціальною мораллю та економікою експорту робочої сили та масового споживання на основі зовнішніх позик. Історико-психобіографічні події, зокрема – балканський геноцид хорватів проти сербів у період NGH та поява бідної родини в умовах – сприяли деідентифікації Тіто з етнічною ідентичністю хорватів.

Зазначено, що перебування в ліворадикальному (комуністичному) середовищі сприяло поєднанню імперського та комуністичного космополітизму в пропагандистському метанаративі СФРЮ, який стане для Тіто ідеологічним інструментом інтеграції неінтегрованих етнічних груп Югославії. федерації, штучно утримуваних за час його правління. Дія релігійної та національно-етнічної самоідентифікації Тіто ключовою подією став переїзд до Відня, який, як столиця, представляв культурний простір ритуального католицизму. Біографічні розчарування Тіто в окремих спробах зробити кар'єру служителя рекурсивно підкріплювалися світськими християнсько-католицькими цінностями, що сприяло остаточному формуванню атеїстсько-конформістської та ритуально-католицької

релігійної ідентичності. Остання обставина в соціалістичній Югославії зумовила практику одночасного перетворення католицьких і православних храмів на будинки культури, склади та казарми, а також гостинних візитів Тіто православних і католицьких монастирів зі щедрими подарунками. Більшу частину свого життя Тіто позиціонував себе як атеїст, час від часу задуваючи про себе, як про католика, що, однак, було типовим для носія дифузної релігійної ідентичності. У національно-етнічних ідентичностях мала місце та сама рекурсія дифузії, ритуалу та подвійності.

Уточнено, що філософська, ідеологічна та моральна ідентичність Тіто відображала спроби поєднати непослідовний націоналізм/шовінізм з комуністичним космополітизмом. Ідеологія рівноправності всіх національних та етнічних спільнот Югославії була радше прикрасою націоналістичного та етнократичного курсу на несприятливі для Тіто міжнародні відносини та конфедерації всередині держави, ніж реальним вектором розвитку суспільства. Ставлення самого Тіто та тітоїстів до комунізму як до ідеологічної доктрини було більше цинічним, нігілістичним і прагматичним, ніж послідовним прийняттям. Характерний для Тіто дефіцит ціннісної свідомості передбачав використання філософсько-ідеологічних лінгвістичних ігор, а не опору на марксизм як реальну філософію та ідеологію.

Визначено, що, використовуючи геополітичний авторитет СРСР, Тіто спочатку намагався реалізувати пан-югославистський проект консоціалістичного агрегатного суспільства у вигляді нереалізованої версії «сполучених штатів» Великої Австрії, яка, крім шести соціалістичних республік та дві автономні соціалістичні території, також включатимуть Болгарію та Албанію. Пізніше через розбіжності зі Сталінін Тіто змушений був обмежитися суспільством-агрегатом квазіімперського типу, яке, знову ж таки, було представлено в Австро-Угорщині перед реформатором Францом Фердинандом, який не зміг реалізувати територіальну – політична реформа.

Стверджується, що в соціально-статусній ідентичності Тіто номенклатурна ідентичність реалізувалася як зворотню-реваншистська форма еклектичного змішування селянської та пролетарської соціальних ідентичностей (з неповною ідентифікацією) із залишками ідентичності соціальних груп у перехідному (модернізуючому) суспільстві, що поєднує феодальне, інституційна надбудова та соціальна стратифікація з елементами культури ринкової економіки та споживання. Номенклатурна ідентичність Тіто, на відміну від подібних ідентичностей політичних еліт СРСР і неосталінських суспільств, не набула яскраво вираженого деспотизму та злісних катувань.

Остання обставина була пов'язана з тим, що партійна номенклатура Тіто набиралася не з кримінально-охлотичних елементів, а з представників промислового робітничого класу і селянства, міського філістерства та інтелігенції, а також з двох етнічних груп-лідерів югославської федерації, якій вдалося згладити міжетнічні протиріччя та тимчасово приборкати радикалізовану етнічну периферію. З іншого боку, національно-етнічна ідентичність Тіто перешикоджала повній криміналізації та оголозації югославської партійної номенклатури, оскільки сам Тіто не був ані послідовним противником буржуазії, ані феодальним патріціатом, а таємно наслідував і перше, і друге своїм життєвий шлях.

Констатовано, що Тіто перетворив свою професійну ідентичність як шлюсара на номенклатурний капітал політичної партії, в якому ця професійна

ідентичність була лише легітимізуючою частиною його біографії, що дозволяла йому отримувати необмежені привілеї від влади.

Зазначено, що в сімейній ідентичності Тіто вагався між непослідовним патріархатом (квазіпатріархатом) у сценарії посадового проміскуїтету (вибір партнера за критерієм її «надійності» для номенклатурного середовища), який поєднувався з елементами домашньої проституції і політичного фаворитизму (коли йдеться про двох останніх дружин Тіто). При цьому перший тип ідентичності домінував над другим, а політичне оточення Тіто складалося з частини партійної номенклатури, з якою він йшов до завоювання влади. Як стане зрозуміло з другої частини статті, присвяченої цій темі, непослідовність у сімейному виборі Тіто, з одного боку, та особливості будови його характеру призводили або до розриву стосунків, або до політичного фаворитизму та спроб з боку дружин-коханок впливати на підбір його оточення і, частково, на політику.

Ключові слова: соціальний проект СФРЮ, Тіто, титоїзм, візуальна аналітика, культурно-соціальна системологія, соціологія міжнародних відносин, ідентифікація ідентичностей, вищі ціннісні ідентичності, етнічна ідентичність, соціальна ідентичність, професійна ідентичність, сімейна ідентичність, гендерна ідентичність.