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Educational Policy of Higher Educational Institutions in the Self-Proclaimed State of Russian "Near Abroad": The Case Study of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic (Transnistria)

Polityka edukacyjna uczelni wyższych w samozwańczych republikach „bliskiej zagranicy" Rosji. Studium przypadku Mołdawskiej Republiki Naddniestrza

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Poświęcając wiele uwagi rosyjskiej polityce zagranicznej, dotyczącej „krajów bliskiej zagranicy", w niniejszym artykule analizie poddano problem dysfunkcyjnych relacji między uczelniami wyższymi a samozwańczym rządem, a także rozważane są tu alternatywne sposoby zapewnienia lepszego środowiska edukacyjnego dzieciom i młodzieży w Republice Naddniestrzańskiej.

Słowa kluczowe: Mołdawia; Naddniestrze; wpływy rosyjskie; samozwańcze republiki; polityka edukacyjna; uczelnie wyższe

Abstract. The sphere of education often becomes an arena of political influence. Pridnestr (Transnistria) is an extreme case of over-intervention in the educational circle by a self-proclaimed government. The Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic is not recognized by the international community as an independent state, therefore the academic diplomas received by Transnistrian youth are not recognized internationally. The political conflict between Moldova and Transnistria creates serious inconveniences in the scientific career path of young people, but why is the self-proclaimed government unable to find a solution to this important problem? In order to understand this difficult-to-solve issue, it is necessary to analyze the issues of the post-Soviet self-proclaimed republics from a broader perspective. Unlike other self-proclaimed countries not recognized in the world, the self-proclaimed post-Soviet republics are characterized by strong, multi-dimensional Russian influence. The theory of hierarchy in the Russian world may be the key to understanding the political and educational incidents in the self-proclaimed Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic. Devoting much attention to Russian foreign policy concerning "near abroad" countries, this article analyzes the problem of dysfunctional relations between universities and the self-proclaimed government and considers alternative ways to provide a better educational environment for children and youth in Pridnestr.

Keywords: Moldova; Pridnestr; Russian influence; self-proclaimed republics; educational policy; higher educational institutions

INTRODUCTION

Throughout human history, there were various reasons to establish new higher educational institutions in specific areas and states. Taxila monastery, one of the oldest higher educational institutions in the world, was founded for the purpose of cultivation of religious professions in the 7th BC, Platonic Academia – for development of theoretic of mathematics and philosophy, Chinese Taixue – for cultivation of government clerks, University of Bologna – for evolving of liberal arts education, and so on. Among such newly established educational centers, higher educational institutions of Pridnestr[1], which were founded inside

[1] In English, based on Romanian geographical name, an area along Nistru river is commonly called Transnistria. Moldova, which officially controls the area, fixed the territorial name as Trasnistria, too. This article, which deals with the political-educational issues from Russian speakers' side, uses the territorial name as Pridnestr (inshore area of Nistru, in Russian) which the self-proclaimed government "officially" names. However, it does not mean that the author

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"an unrecognized state" on the process of the demise of the communist regime, are quite noteworthy political phenomena in terms of relation between politics and education.

After the collapse of the communist bloc, many nations in Central and Eastern Europe had achieved or regained independence. Regardless of the fluctuation of the communist regime, most of them have historically retained "autonomous" higher educational institutions. While the establishment of a state was not equivalent to the foundation of higher educational facilities in most cases, they were almost synchronized in some specific cases. Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic (hereinafter: PMR), which is also called "a de facto independent state", constructed higher educational institutions to reinforce state structure and management in September 1990, the same month of self-proclaimed independence from Moldova. Even in the present day, UN Member States, including the Russian Federation, support territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova and do not recognize the independence of PMR. It means that higher educational institutions of PMR, which are granted a license from an unrecognized state, operate educational policies, and confer degrees which are internationally invalid (Pashentseva 2018). Needless to say, youths in Pridnestr are inevitably limited in their future choice due to the side effect of the political conflict between PMR and Moldova.

The Pridnestr case is quite significant for the European Union, Poland in particular; compared to other cases concerning educational issues of unrecognized states in Asia, Africa, and America. The first point is how Russian foreign policy has been exercised in the educational field of Russian "near abroad", just next to Poland; the second is what influence and impact have on educational policy in EU neighboring states on the EU integration and Bologna process; and the third is how the Polish government along Polish Eastern Policy should interfere the frozen conflict among Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine to save distressed youths in Pridnestr. This paper, giving considerable attention to Russian interferences and foreign policy in "near abroad", deals with the case study of higher educational institutions of PMR and discusses the specific political role of higher education for maintaining the Russian-style authoritarian regime of "an unrecognized state".

recognizes the self-proclaimed government as the official one and promote this territorial name to the international academic community.

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FORMER RESEARCH CONCERNING EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN PRIDNESTROVIAN MOLDAVIAN REPUBLIC AND RUSSIA

Academic research concerning educational issues of PMR is hardly identified. The reason is that educational problems should be found solutions inside executive government members of PMR and should not be transferred to the public because the PMR government manages whole activities in higher education as well as elementary and secondary educations. Sharing information with others is expected not to bring profit for project planning of the government and might be the cause of instability of state educational policy.

Anatoliy V. Dirun's report[2], although it is not academic one, is worthy to refer due to recitation of acute and intractable issues of the Pridnestr educational system. The report describes the following present situations: (1) only 40–50% of necessary expenditures in education, even in the best year in terms of regional economy, were covered by the state budget; (2) dilapidated educational facilities, which were built over 20 years ago, are still in use; (3) school personnel receive a quite low wage; (4) most families, due to the social poverty, cannot provide enough education to own children and their intelligent quality is getting worse (Dirun 2011). As far as verifying Dirun's report, PMR is still in the middle of struggling from the collapse of the educational system after the demise of the USSR.

The PMR educational community faces two key matters which demanded urgent solutions; one is early recovery from the collapse of the educational system and reconstruction into a new effective one, and another is the adjustment of Russian educational reform and remodeling of education. The assimilation process into Russian educational circles as introduction of Russian style patriotic education policy got accelerated after the annexation of Crimea in March 2014. In this context, Russian educational issues also should be referred to understand better the PMR issues concerning education. "Regulation on Higher Educational Institution of 2008" focused on state control and autonomy of the educational field, and the Bologna process to accept EU standards and construct a common credit and degree system (Zaretskiy 2012: 14–19). These two key points inevitably gave a grave impact on educational remodeling in PMR. The first point is that PMR hardly realizes its autonomy, despite the official statement of the PMR government; the second point is that PMR also must adjust to European standards through the Russian Bologna process. Russian education societies

[2] Anatoliy V. Dirun is a member of the Supreme Council of PMR and a member of the Committee on Education, Science, Culture, Family and Children.

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especially clashed over the question whether the educational system should be adjusted to the EU standard or maintain the Soviet legacy (Matsunaga 2021: 240–242), and this fragmentation brought turmoil to educational reforms in unrecognized states.

Concerning the above-mentioned points, the following section lists up specific features of higher educational institutions of PMR and the third and fourth section analyzes regional social and educational problems experienced by the PMR government due to the approaching process to Russia.

SPECIFIC STATUS OF HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN PRIDNESTROVIAN MOLDAVIAN REPUBLIC

There are four state-run higher educational institutions in PMR; Taras Shevchenko Pridnestrovian State University (hereinafter: PGU), Alexander Lebed Military Institute of Ministry of Defense, Mikhail Kutuzov Tiraspol Law Institute of Ministry of Internal Affairs and the College of Music. Due to de facto 100% state allocating budget system[3], these educational bodies are strictly controlled by the PMR government in terms of educational and management policy. It makes more sense to analyze power politics of these state-run higher educational institutions than private institutions and elementary-secondary educational institutions because they have weak influence and fragile voice in PMR educational policy. This section describes specific political features of three higher educational institutions and one secondary educational institution, Tiraspol Suvorov Military School, which recently exudes presence. This section does not describe the College of Music because of a less political tone.

1. Taras Shevchenko Pridnestrovian State University (PGU)

1.1. Training facility for state elite (cadre)

Taras Shevchenko Pridnestrovian State University is an exclusive large-scale and comprehensive university in PMR. The presence is described as "an outpost of Russian educational system (Website of Taras Shevchenko)". State cooperative university, the predecessor of PGU, was recomposed from Tiraspol

[3] External donation is accepted and local branch campuses such as Rybnita and Bender are partially covered by the regional budget; however, the amounts are not so large and regional budgets are mostly covered by the state budget. In this sense, we can say that de facto 100% of the money source is from the PMR government.

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pedagogical college and was formed as a first comprehensive university in PMR in September 1990 when self-proclaimed government declared independence from Moldova. The main aim of the foundation was "for cultivation of qualified cadres of national education as well as of various sectors of national economy (*Pervyy vuz Pridnestrov'ya*)". Nowadays, PGU has expanded its scale with 13 thousand students, holds faculties of history, linguistics, agricultural science, legal studies, science and engineering, and takes a leading role in the Pridnestr educational circle.

Over 30 years after its foundation, PGU has functioned as a training facility for state cadre (elite). Vadim Krasnoselsky, the current PMR president, graduated from Kharkiv Military Aviation Engineer Higher School, and then got a degree of law in PGU on his careers-progress in internal affairs of PMR when he was 32 years old. As of 1990, most founders of PMR, members of labor organizations such as OSTK[4], did not have higher education. However, in 2021 most of executive members of the PMR government gained a degree from PGU: the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vitaliy Ignatev, from department of social science of faculty of history; the Minister of Internal Affairs, Vitaliy Niagu, from faculty of law; the Minister of Defense, Oleg Obruchkov, from now-defunct faculty of military studies (current Lebed Military Institution); the Minister of Education, Alla Nikoliuk, from former Tiraspol Pedagogical College (current faculty of education of PGU), and so on. These key positions of PMR are occupied by PGU degree holders and it is expected to occupy other important government posts in near future.

In addition, PGU has a strong influence on elementary and secondary educational facilities. It originated from Tiraspol Pedagogical College, which was founded in 1930 and has traditionally produced schoolteachers in Moldova since the early Soviet period. Therefore, most of the teachers graduated from PGU and shared common understanding and education philosophy as "alumnus". The network operates in favor of mass mobilization of Russo-Pridnestr patriotism by children. If the PMR government demonstrates mass support of the patriotic movement, lobby activities to PGU graduates, not to school children, are enough.

In this way, PGU has a wide and profound network not only among executive members of the PMR government and citizens, but also schoolteachers and local inhabitants.

[4] At the time of establishment of PMR, OSTK was one of the most active workers' associations which took a central role in the political movement. The other English name is United Work Collective Council.

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1.2. Taras Shevchenko Pridnestrovian State University development program in 2009–2013 and 2019–2023

The 5-year-state programs promote PGU to keep higher rank than any other educational institutions and allow to control elementary and secondary educational facilities directly or indirectly. There are two PGU development programs; one is 2009–2013 version (see Law of PGU 2009–2013), and another is 2019–2023 version (see State Target Program 2019–2023) as a state target program. Although it has 5-year gap between two programs, it seems that the other 5-year program did not exist in 2014–2018 because the round table in the Bender (Tigina in Moldovan/Romanian) branch campus discussed to make a draft program for the period of 2018 through 2022 (Dialog 2018).

The 2009–2013 program was executed in November 2009, while the 2019–2023 program in June 2019; and their content differed substantially. The triggers of altered content of the program were the 2014 Crimea annexation and the inauguration of the presidency of Vadim Krasnoselsky in December 2016. The chain of events related to such two triggers had fostered greater reliance of PMR state management on Russia. The 2009–2013 program was a typical Soviet target program with lack of detail or specifics, just describing vague targets such as increasing the number of PCs, articles, publications, and high-level qualified professionals, and so on. On the other hand, the 2019–2023 program lists up the concrete targets and emphasizes the network formation with Russia in the various fields; how many doctor candidates will be sent to Russia for PhD research project, which Russian science citation index PGU researchers should link own research to, how many Russian specialists will be invited to PMR for organizing seminars and lectures of higher qualification and penetrating the Russian standard in the educational, science, law, labor and business field[5]. Especially, the introduction of the fourth generation of Russian educational standard (the 4th generation of FGOS VO) or the promotion of remote classes encourage the speed-up of integrational moment to Russian educational system. In this sense, PGU is a main and active driving force of forming "Ruskii Mir" (Russian world) in the educational field of PGU.

[5] The number of doctoral students planned to be sent to Russian research institutions for doctoral projects per year was 12. In addition, it was planned to send 6 young people a year to medical courses in Russia.

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2. Alexander Lebed Military Institute of Ministry of Defense

By PMR government decree, the Military Institute was established as a Faculty of Military Studies of State Cooperative University (current PGU) in May 1993. The direct cause of its establishment was the 1992 Transnistrian War. In this war, Russian 14th Army (former 14th Soviet Guard Army, current Operational Group of Russian Forces in Moldova), Cossacks and PMR volunteer soldiers confronted newly formed Moldovan National Army and PMR government needed to maintain a disciplined and united army. Therefore, it was urgent to organize an individual educational system for cultivation of specific PMR army officers.

In August 2015, after 2014 Crimea annexation, the PMR Presidential decree ordered the Military Institute became an independent subject from PGU under the Ministry of Defense with the title of Alexander Lebed, who was a commander of the Russian 14th Army and a national hero in the 1992 Transnistrian War (see Decree 2015). In addition, the decree decided to rank up the institute to a higher educational institution and strengthened the position as prestigious educational facility for the cultivation of "obedient" military officers to PMR government.

3. Mikhail Kutuzov Tiraspol Law Institute of Ministry of Internal Affairs

On an equal footing with the Lebed Military Institution, prompt formation of independent internal forces was needed right after the proclamation of PMR independence in September 1990. Originally, the independence declaration evolved from the detention and arrest of political activists and parliament members from Pridnestr in Chisinau by Moldovan security forces. The PMR government must take urgent countermeasures to protect the Pridnestr people by its own reliable army and internal forces.

The function of an individual training facility for internal security workers was created in March 1993 owing to the break-out of the Soviet security system. The institute of internal affairs was originally classified as a secondary educational institution; then, it was reorganized as a higher educational one in accordance with common Russian educational standard by internal ministerial decision in May 2003 (Website of Mikhail Kutuzov). The Ministry of Internal Affairs of PMR was the main body which President PMR Krasnoselsky had shaped his career. Because the current politically system and method of advancement of careers are copied from the Russian Putin regime, alumni of Kutuzov Law Institute might become political influential figures as *Siloviki* of the future government. The value of the Law Institute as a higher educational institution got reinforced much more than as it was established in 1993.

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4. Tiraspol Suvorov Military School

Tiraspol Suvorov Military School is not a higher educational institution but a secondary one; however, its presence is increasing year by year. The Military School was established in February 2017 by the PMR presidential decree in order to cover the empty space of the promoted Lebed Military Institute. Unlike other secondary schools, it is under the control of the Ministry of Defense of PMR. Three hundred pupils, future military chiefs, are planned to be corrected from 5th grade (age 12) to 11th grade (age 18). These children are indispensable figures for organizing and boosting Russian-Pridnestr patriotic mobilization from the side of school children. Needless to say, the tuition fee is totally covered by the PMR government budget; in addition, traffic expenses for homecoming visit are also covered. Currently, there are many poverty-stricken families in PMR, and this total financial support service is desirable for them; but only children of military personnel or military engaged people of the 1992 Transnistrian War are available to enter the school without examination (see Decree 2017). The school is aimed to accord privilege to families of military officers and *Siloviki*, and to mold children into obedient fatherland defenders for preventing military subversion and *coup d'état*.

FRAGILE EDUCATIONAL SURROUNDINGS OF PRIDNESTROVIAN MOLDAVIAN REPUBLIC AGAINST "INTERVENTION"

Pridnestr is composed of three major ethnic groups: Moldovan, Ukrainian, and Russian, but the vast majority is classified as "Russian language speakers". From the beginning of the counter movement against Moldova, PMR highly relied on the mental and physical support from Moscow. Russia had taken the role of a booster for PMR, but they did not always march arm in arm against Moldova. In some aspects, for Russia, PMR is just one of the peripheries of "near abroad" which has quite small resources while Russia is a profit supplier for PMR on the process of balance diplomacy between East and West.

Although PMR and Russia were based on the same Soviet structure, Russia had introduced various systems, principles, and laws as time progressed. Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic and Russia had a large gap in terms of legal and business fields in 2000s. Despite the large gap, two incidents, 2004 Orange Revolution and 2014 Crimea annexation in Ukraine, promoted the conversion of Russian foreign policy in "near abroad" and brought them closer together. Especially, after the 2014 Crimea annexation, a Russian representative think-tank (Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, RISS) and members of State Duma

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pressed forward the introduction of common Russian standard into the law, business, and educational system of PMR which makes smooth integration "at the time of need". Then, why did PMR accept the Russian integrational power or, in the first place, did PMR really wish to be a part of Russia?

1. Unrecognized academic credits and degrees

Unrecognized status might be advantageous to earn money from illegal business. However, it is definitely disadvantageous to exercise wisdom and make a scholarly and scientific career in the world. If students commence employment and complete life in PMR, it might not be such a serious problem. Pridnestr has a small population in the tiny territory and does not have advanced laboratories, research institutions and large-scale companies to satisfy the demand of talented youths. Even if they explore the possibilities of scientific careers in technological advanced countries such as EU member states, their degrees remain unofficial and unrecognized from any of them. Therefore, although they receive higher education, they must see a job as "unschooled figures" because of degrees and license holders which were issued by the Ministry of Education of an unrecognized government. Under such severe circumstances, the PMR government, at any cost, must achieve a recognition of the PMR academic degrees and credits by Russia which does not yet recognize PMR independence officially but expresses better understanding for the state-management of PMR government and seeking salvation of Russian compatriots. In short, the most ideal for the PMR government is to be unofficial in the business and law field and to be official in the educational field. Such an incoherent position sets the environment for Russia to penetrate the state policy of the unrecognized state and exercise regional influence through Pridnestr on Moldova and Ukraine.

2. Over-centralization of educational facilities

With the aim of promoting streamlining in the educational field, the PMR government made a hierarchy of state-run educational institutions. The hierarchy controlled by the government and four higher educational institutions was completed and private educational institutions do not have strong voice and influence in PMR. Unlike the public statement of "autonomy" of higher educational institutions (see Decree 2005), they cannot oppose the government policy and decision because of the high percentage of state budget allocation. For example, the PGU development program 2019–2023 specifies to render the performance results and obligations of effective state budget use to the PMR

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Supreme Council (see State Target Program 2019–2023). In short, the PMR government permanently checks the situation of four main higher educational institutions. In this sense, if an external figure has the desire to control the education circle of Pridnestr, it is enough just to press the PMR government. This over-centralized educational system becomes contributory to accept easy external interference in the PMR education.

FURTHER "INTERVENTION" INTO PRIDNESTROVIAN MOLDAVIAN REPUBLIC EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM BY RUSSIA

In the present day, especially after the 2014 Crimea annexation, Pridnestr turns out to be an important diplomatic card for Russia against Moldova; whether it grants a recognition of independence such as Abkhazia and South Ossetia, or it annexes as one of the federal subjects such as Crimea. From the PMR side, it is desirable to implement a common Russian standard in all fields, if it is beneficial. However, at least for 30 years since self-proclaimed independence, the PMR government had gotten profit from underground business, using unrecognized status, and avoiding international legal restriction; therefore, Russian perfect control under a federal subject might lead to forfeiture its profit such as fallen oligarch by rigidification of state control by Putin's regime. Regardless of such negative expectations, PMR must inevitably accept Russian penetration in all fields, even in education for the following reasons.

1. Large deficit of state budget

The Pridnestr economy is facing a critical situation by border control along Moldova, Ukraine, and the international organization European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM)[6]. It is well-known that the Pridnestr economy cannot maintain itself without Russian financial support. In the round table of parliament members of PMR and Russia in October 2020, Mikhail Burla who took a leading role to promote integration process to Russia in educational system (Website of Supreme Soviet), besought additional supply of test-kit and vaccine of COVID-19, simplification of acquisition of Russian citizenship, allocation of reward for Great Patriotic War and additional grant of pension fees (see "News of Transnistria", 22.10.2020). The request for the additional payment of pension fees to a foreign country is considered nonsense, but is one of the most significant issues in the negotiation with Russia. According to

[6] It was launched in 2005.

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a report by Victoria Pashentseva (2018), it is drastically increasing in the elderly population such as 100 pensioners to just 101 working population. Moreover, 47% of the working population was national public employees and only 10% were small businesses. This economic structure testifies that PMR itself does not have the state capacity to keep the pension system without using external support or underground business. Pashentseva's report described that PMR had maintained regional economy by monthly grant of pension of "Putin's pension rise" since 2008, low-cost-natural gas supply, receiving credits for development of agricultural sector and small business, and concluded, "without these supports, it is very unlikely that Transnistria would have retained its self-declared independence for 27 years". Such a highly dependent policy was revealed at the end of the presidential term of Evgenii Shevchuk[7] and PMR did not almost have a choice to deny the request from Russia. Despite such hard financial conditions, it is ironic that the PMR government spent huge amounts of money on the large--scale Russian-Soviet style military parade and installed Soviet-Russian style patriotic education on the curriculum of elementary and secondary education.

2. Introduction of Bologna Process in Russia

Russia introduced the Bologna Process to make a common platform with the EU for free migration of Russian students in terms of academic credits and degrees. This is fatal for PMR which does not receive recognition of independence from any EU member states. In an act of desperation, PMR tried to adjust Russian educational standards perfectly and make a possibility to convert PMR degrees into Russian ones with international availability if it is necessary (that is a kind of "academic degree laundering").

Furthermore, the implementation of apostille in Moldova damages unrecognized PMR degrees. In March 2007, Moldovan government, based on the 1961 Hague Treaty, introduced an apostille rule in each official document for clarification of document validity. The PMR "official" document does not have an apostille, and it turns to be invalid as an official document in international society. As a same manner, any academic credentials of PMR turn out to be invalid because of unattachment of an apostille. This issue is one of the most significant negotiating topics between Moldova and PMR (Educational system 2017), the PMR side is desperate to resolve it at any cost. In 2020, a student from Tiraspol could not study in Germany because the Moldovan Foreign

[7] Evgenii Shevchuk is the second President of PMR from 2011 to 2016 and the predecessor of Krasnoselsky.

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Affairs did not allow to attach an apostille on his PMR diploma (see "News of Transnistria", 10.06.2020). The PMR side replaced the root of the trouble and criticized Moldova for "a deed against humanity".

3. Enhancement of online classes due to the COVID-19 pandemic

In 2019, before COVID-19 pandemic, PMR started to implement an online education system for resolving the educational gap between city and rural areas. This enhancement of remote classes is being accelerated by the COVID-19 pandemic and serves a quite good environment for Russia to expand influence on the unrecognized state. A few students from PMR had been sent to Russia through it before, but many of Pridnestr youths could not go there due to financial reasons. The enhancement of remote education helps to take Russian academic degrees without settling down in Russia. From the Russian side, it is profitable to accept talented youths and tuition fees from "near abroad". The current COVID-19 pandemic makes the basis for expanding Russian influence into the PMR educational circle. From the PMR side, it indirectly damages the prestige of state-run higher education, mainly PGU, by unstopping the migration flow of the talented youths from Pridnestr to Russia.

CONCLUSIONS

In the period of nation-building or destabilized regime, revolutionary organizations, or social activists on behalf of a government become influential. Then, higher educational institutions were oppressed as a source of intellectuals by them like in the case of the early Soviet days or were urged to cooperate proactively with the new government as a source of wisdom like in the case of democratic movement of Baltic states. The case of Pridnestr was quite distinguishable in that higher educational institutions were reframed and fixed as cadre training facilities under the strong leadership of the PMR government. Over 30 years after the self-proclaimed independence, the presence of higher education in PMR has been getting stronger. However, its role and value are being altered from inside as time has passed and international circumstance has changed.

The ultimate factor of vicissitude is, without doubt, Russian foreign policy in "near abroad". Russian decision and speculation gave instructions of state-management of PMR. As afore mentioned, in the aftermath of 2014 Crimea annexation, Russian foreign policy intended to spread and penetrate Russian standards into unrecognized states and neighboring countries in "near abroad" more than before. At the same time Russia is trying to accept the world or EU standard in

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economy, law, and educational fields. This policy turns to make a contradiction in unrecognized states which try to avoid EU and American interference and to accept Russian full support at the same time. Finally, young people of Pridnestr with a bright future must take all burdens and responsibility of educational problems which originated from the essentially unresolvable contradiction. In the viewpoint of Polish Eastern Policy, their deadlock and trouble should be commonly known in Polish educational circles. Many youths from unrecognized states wish to receive higher education in developed EU member countries, but they do not have any way to reach the EU because of the failed policy of these self-proclaimed independent subjects. It is quite significant how Poland and other EU member states realize the existence of these youths and make exceptional routes to save and provide them desirable higher education from the viewpoint of countermeasures against Russia.

This article focused on the case of higher educational institutions because they exercise influential power in the educational circle of PMR more than other educational institutions. We should not forget, in the circle, the most suffering objects are children and their family, and elementary-secondary educational facilities such as Shkola, Lithei, and others. The situation in rural areas is tragic: decrepit Soviet buildings, absolute lack of teachers and teaching materials, overwork of workers, too low wages, declining educational level of students and teachers, and so on. To understand the educational adversity of PMR, it is also necessary to deal with urgent and pressing problems of elementary-secondary education in my future research.

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