

Rozdział / Розділ / Chapter

X

W kierunku Zachodu, Wschodu czy (nie)stabilności? Polska i Ukraina: 1991-2016

На захід, на схід або на (не)стабільність? Польща та Україна: 1991-2016

Towards West, East or (in)stability? Poland and Ukraine: 1991-2016

Łukasz Stach*

Pedagogical University of Cracow, Poland

Abstrakt: Artykuł porównuje wyniki 25-letniego procesu transformacji w Polsce i na Ukrainie. Analizy dokonano za pomocą wybranych wskaźników ekonomicznych, społecznych oraz związanych z polityką, a także na podstawie faktów związanych z procesem budowania sprawnego państwa, demokracji i gospodarki wolnorynkowej, z którymi zmagają się oba kraje. Za pomocą wskaźników takich jak: PKB, PKB na mieszkańca, stopy wzrostu gospodarczego, Wskaźnika Rozwoju Społecznego i innych, praca stara się rzucić nieco światła na proces transformacji zarówno w Polsce, jak i na Ukrainie.

Słowa kluczowe: Polska; Ukraina; Proces transformacji.

Анотація: Анотація: У статті порівнюються результати 25-річного процесу трансформації в Польщі та Україні. Аналіз проводився на підставі використання обраних економічних, соціальних та політичних показників, а також фактів, пов'язаних із процесом побудови фінансово ефективної держави, демократії та вільної ринкової економіки, з якими стикаються обидві країни. За допомогою таких показників, як: ВВП, ВВП на душу населення, показника темпу економічного зростання, Індексу соціального розвитку тощо, стаття намагається пояснити процес трансформації, яка відбулася у Польщі і Україні. **Ключові слова:** Польща; Україна; Процес трансформації.

Summary: The article compares the effect of the 25-year transition process in Poland and Ukraine. It shows selected economic, social and political indicators and facts connected with the process building an efficient state, a democracy and a free-market economy which faced both countries. With the help of indicators like GDP, GDP *per capita*, economic growth rate, Human Development Index and other, the paper tries to throw some light on the transition process in both Poland and Ukraine. **Key words:** Poland; Ukraine; Transition process.

* Corresponding author: lukasz.stach@up.krakow.pl

© 2019 Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego. All rights reserved

Introduction. The fall of the "Iron Curtain" and the collapse of the Soviet Union created a new geopolitical situation in the Central and Eastern Europe region. From 1989 ex-Soviet satellite states became fully independent, and in 1991 new states appeared on former Soviet Union territory – one of them was Ukraine. From a perspective of over 25-years it is possible to evaluate the transition process of the post communist countries – for instance when comparing selected economic, social and political indicators in Poland and Ukraine. Nowadays Poland is a European Union and NATO member state, meanwhile Ukraine has been involved in a military clash with pro-Russian separatists. The economic, political and strategic position of Poland and Ukraine is different, despite the fact that in 1991 there were no evident signs that Poland could become be an EU or NATO member state. How can the last 25 years of Polish and Ukrainian democracies and efforts in building a free-market economy be evaluated? What have both countries achieved in economic and social terms? How did the situation look in 1991? Why is Poland now in a different geopolitical situation to that of Ukraine? All of these questions are important, and there are no simple answers.

The article compares the effect of the 25-year transition process in Poland and Ukraine. It shows selected economic, social and political indicators and facts connected with the harsh reality of building an efficient state, a democracy and a free-market economy which faced both countries. With the help of indicators like GDP, GDP *per capita*, economic growth rate, Human Development Index and others, the paper tries to throw some light on the transition process in both Poland and Ukraine. What was the general economic, social and political situation at the beginning of the 90s? How does the situation look nowadays?

Political stability and quality of democracy. Defining what political stability really is can be a complicated issue. Many dictatorships are stable

and show no signs of internal unrest or collapse. Democracies may be fragile and ineffective in providing law and order, and in creating an environment for economic prosperity. Poland and Ukraine started their political transition at approximately the same time: Poland in 1989, Ukraine in 1991. Both countries faced problems connected with building a democracy, democratic institutions, a multi-party political system and – above all – an efficient, not fragile, state, efficient in political, economic and social terms. What is the result?

In the ranking of the quality of democracy (data for 2015), Ukraine was placed in 72nd position (next to South Africa and Timor-Leste), Poland in 30th (next to Czech Republic and Latvia)¹. Moreover, in another ranking the stability of the Polish state is placed much higher than that of Ukraine. Table 1 shows data from the Fragile State Index, created by the Fund for Peace.

Table 1. Fragile state index (2006-2017).

Year	Poland			Ukraine		
	Points	Place	Evaluation	Points	Place	Evaluation
2006	47.9	115/178	Stable	72.9	86/178	Warning
2007	47.6	144/178	Stable	71.4	105/178	Warning
2008	47.6	145/178	Stable	70.8	108/178	Warning
2009	49.6	142/178	Stable	69.7	110/178	Warning
2010	49	142/178	Stable	69.5	109/178	Warning
2011	46.8	145/178	Stable	69	110/178	Warning
2012	44.3	148/178	Stable	67.2	113/178	Warning
2013	40.9	153/178	Stable	65.9	117/178	Warning
2014	42.1	152/178	Stable	67.2	113/178	Warning
2015	39.8	153/178	Stable	76.3	84/178	Warning
2016	40.7	152/178	Stable	75.5	85/178	Warning
2017	40.8	151/178	Stable	74	90/178	Warning

Source: Fund for Peace.

¹ T. D. Barth, D. F. J. Campbell, G. Polzbauer, P. Polzbauer. Democracy Ranking 2015 (Scores), Vienna: Democracy Ranking 2015. Retrieved: http://democracyranking.org/ranking/2015/data/Scores_of_the_Democracy_Ranking_2015_A4.pdf (access: 27.07.2017).

As can be seen, even before the annexation of Crimea and the war in Donbass, the situation of Ukraine was described as "warning". Additionally, the government's effectiveness in the Ukrainian state was described as a poor in another ranking – the government effectiveness country ranking. Ukraine achieved 123rd position (-0.51 points, next to Kiribati and Algeria), meanwhile Poland was located in 47th place (0.80 points, next to Slovakia and the Bahamas)². Also, in the rule of law country ranking Poland gained a much better result (0.80 points, 42nd place, versus Ukrainian – 0.80 points, 149th place).

Table 2. Freedom in the World index (1998-2017).

Year	Poland	Ukraine
1999	FR:1.5 / CR:2 / PR:1 / Free	FR:3.5 / CR:4 / PR:3 / Partly free
2000	No data	No data
2001	FR:1.5 / CL:2 / PR:1 / Free	FR:4 / CR:4 / PR:4 / Partly free
2002	FR:1.5 / CL:2 / PR:1 / Free	FR:4 / CR:4 / PR:4 / Partly free
2003	FR:1.5 / CL:2 / PR:1 / Free	FR:4 / CR:4 / PR:4 / Partly free
2004	FR:1.5 / CL:2 / PR:1 / Free	FR:4 / CR:4 / PR:4 / Partly free
2005	FR:1 / CL:1 / PR:1 / Free	FR:3.5 / CR:3 / PR:4 / Partly free
2006	FR:1 / CL:1 / PR:1 / Free	FR:2.5 / CR:2 / PR:3 / Free
2007	FR:1 / CL:1 / PR:1 / Free	FR:2.5 / CR:2 / PR:3 / Free
2008	FR:1 / CL:1 / PR:1 / Free	FR:2.5 / CR:2 / PR:3 / Free
2009	FR:1 / CL:1 / PR:1 / Free	FR:2.5 / CR:2 / PR:3 / Free
2010	FR:1 / CL:1 / PR:1 / Free	FR:2.5 / CR:2 / PR:3 / Free
2011	FR:1 / CL:1 / PR:1 / Free	FR:3 / CR:3 / PR:3 / Partly free
2012	FR:1 / CL:1 / PR:1 / Free	FR:3.5 / CR:3 / PR:4 / Partly free
2013	FR:1 / CL:1 / PR:1 / Free	FR:3.5 / CR:3 / PR:4 / Partly free
2014	FR:1 / CL:1 / PR:1 / Free	FR:3.5 / CR:3 / PR:4 / Partly free
2015	FR:1 / CL:1 / PR:1 / Free	FR:3 / CR:3 / CL: 3 / Partly free
2016	93 / FR:1 / CL:1 / PR:1 / Free	61 / FR:3 / PR:3 / CL: 3 / Partly free
2017	89 / FR:1 / CR:1 / PR:1 / Free	61 / FR:3 / PR:3 / CL: 3 / Partly free

Source: Freedom House.

Description: FR – Freedom Rating, CL – Civil Liberties, PR – Political Rights. Each country's score is based on numerical ratings. 1 represents "the most free", 7 – "the least free". Free: 1.0-2.5; Partly free: 3.0-5.0; Not free: 5.5-7.0. From 2016 there are additional points. 0 means "the worst", 100 – "the best".

² Government effectiveness – country ranking. (2015). Retrieved: www.theglobaleconomy.com/rankings/wb_government_effectiveness/, (access: 18.06.2017).

As may be seen from the beginning of that index Poland is evaluated as a "free" state in every measured indicator (civil liberties, political rights, etc.). Meanwhile, Ukraine is perceived as a "partly free" country, with the exception of the 2006-2010 period. Another index – The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index – also evaluates the Polish political system as more democratic than that of Ukraine (Table 3).

Table 3. The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index (2006-2016).

Year	Poland	Ukraine
2006	7.30	6.94
2008	7.30	6.94
2010	7.05	6.30
2011	7.12	5.94
2012	7.12	5.91
2013	7.12	5.84
2014	7.47	5.42
2015	7.09	5.70
2016	6.83	5.70

Source: The Economists Intelligence Unit.

Description: 0-4: Authoritarian Regime; 4-6: Hybrid Regime; 6-8: Flawed Democracy; 8-10: Full Democracy.

In political and statehood terms, after over twenty years of transition, the Polish state and democracy seems to be more stable than that of Ukraine. Despite the political division and tensions between Poland's most important political forces, which have their roots in the divisions which exist in Polish society (traditionalism *versus* modernity, religion *versus* secularism, conservatism *versus* liberalism, euroscepticism *versus* euroenthusiasm, economic liberalism *versus* statism, etc.), Poland is a more mature democracy than Ukraine. From 1991 to 2015 none of the Polish parliamentary or presidential elections were claimed to be marred by widespread corruption, voter intimidation or even direct electoral fraud. Ukraine's political life

witnessed all these pathologies, and they had real, negative consequences. Ukrainian democracy may be described as "oligarchic", and during the last 20 years Ukraine has faced two revolutions. In 2004 the so-called "Orange Revolution" resulted in a revote of the Ukrainian presidential election. In 2014 the Euromaidan Revolution (or Revolution of Dignity) led to violence, the overthrow of the president Viktor Yanukovych, and the rise of Ukrainian nationalism and far-right organisations. It was also a catalyst of pro-Russian unrest, the Crimea crisis, "little green men" and war in Donbass. So far, in Poland the change of unpopular governments has occurred with the help not of protesting and rioting, but elections.

Economy. The second field of comparison between Poland and Ukraine is connected with the result of the economic transformation. Both countries faced the challenge of the bumpy road from a centrally planned economy to a market economy, from "communism" (or "real socialism") to "capitalism" (or "social market economy"). Similarly to the political transition, the effect is different. The differences between the two economies are shown by the graphs below. Figure 1 compares Polish and Ukrainian total global domestic product (GDP).

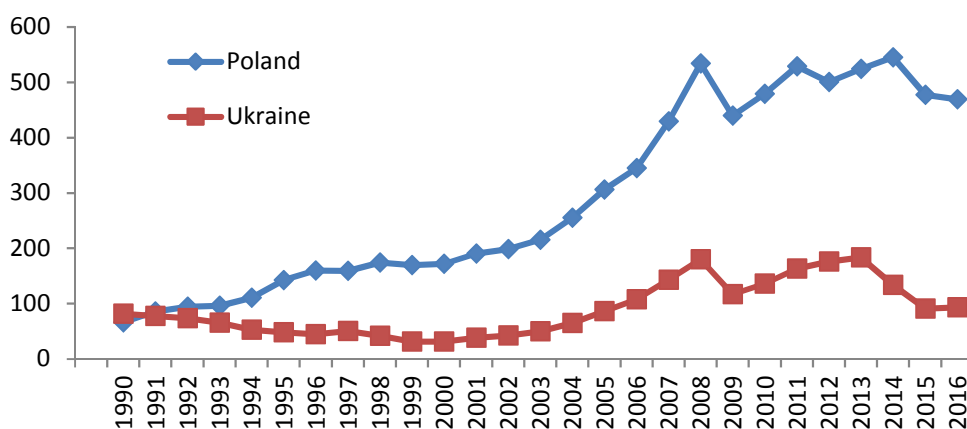


Figure 1. Global Domestic Product in current USD (bln USD, 1990-2017).

Source: World Bank.

Data from Figure 1 show the stark contrast between Polish and Ukrainian GDP. The starting point was similar, but in 2016 Polish total GDP was almost five times bigger than that of Ukraine (461.61 bln USD *versus* 93.27 bln USD)³. Even in 2013, when Ukraine's total GDP reached – so far – its peak (183.31 bln USD), Polish GDP was three times bigger (524.21 bln USD)⁵. The Ukrainian economy was in recession from 1991 to 2000, but later it was able to achieve astonishingly rapid GDP growth (even 12% in 2004, compared to Poland's 5.1%). Unfortunately for Ukraine, the economic crisis in 2008 and the military conflict with pro-Russian separatists has severely affected the Ukrainian economy (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). Meanwhile, from 1992 Poland maintained steady GDP growth, even during the economic crisis which affected most of the European Union member states. Poland did not encounter a depression, only a temporary slowdown of GDP growth (see Figure 2).

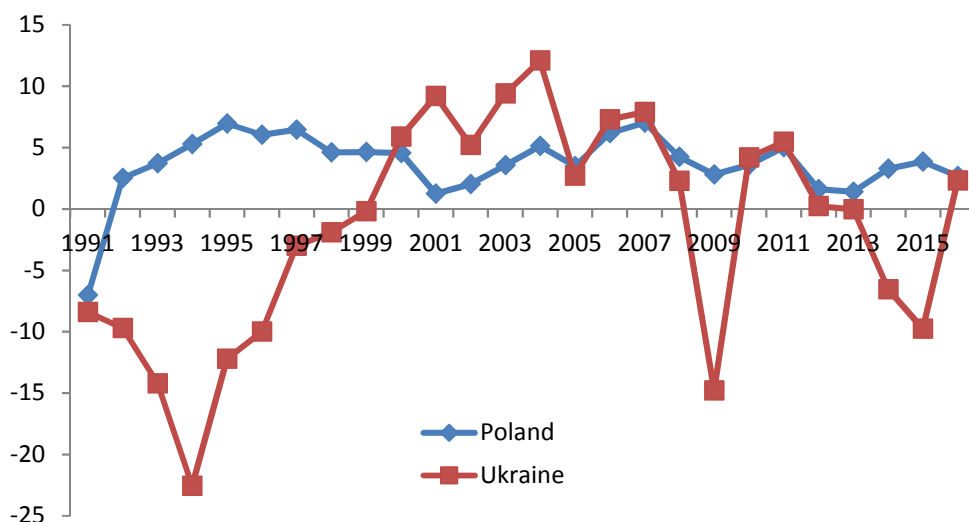


Figure 2. GDP growth rate (annual % 1991-2016).

Source: World Bank.

³ Poland GDP. Retrived: <https://tradingeconomics.com/poland/gdp> (access: 20.07.2017).

⁴ Ukraine GDP. Retrived: <https://tradingeconomics.com/ukraine/gdp> (access: 20.07.2017).

⁵ *Ibidem.*

Not surprisingly, steady Polish economic growth results in improving the GDP *per capita* indicator, both in purchasing power parity (PPP) and current USD (Figure 3 and Figure 4). In 2016, Polish GDP *per capita* (PPP) was over three times bigger than that of Ukraine (26,003 USD *versus* 7,768 USD), and GDP *per capita* counted in current USD was over five and half times bigger (12,372 USD *versus* 2,185 USD)⁶.

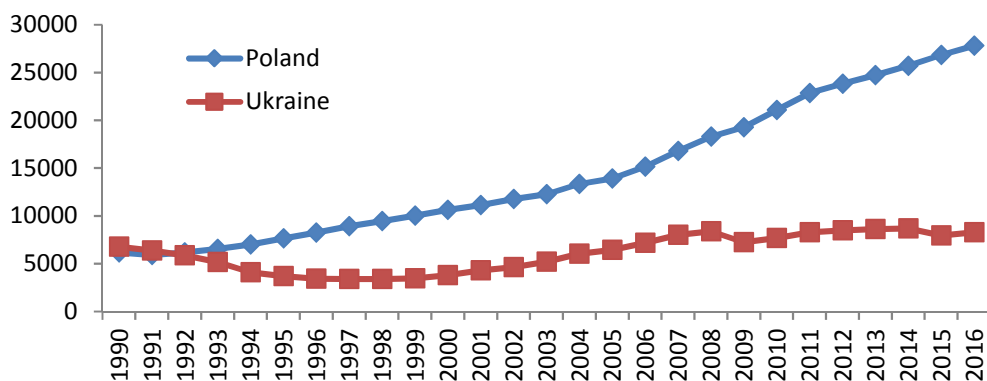


Figure 3. GDP *per capita* (Purchasing Power Parity, USD, 1990-2016).

Source: World Bank.

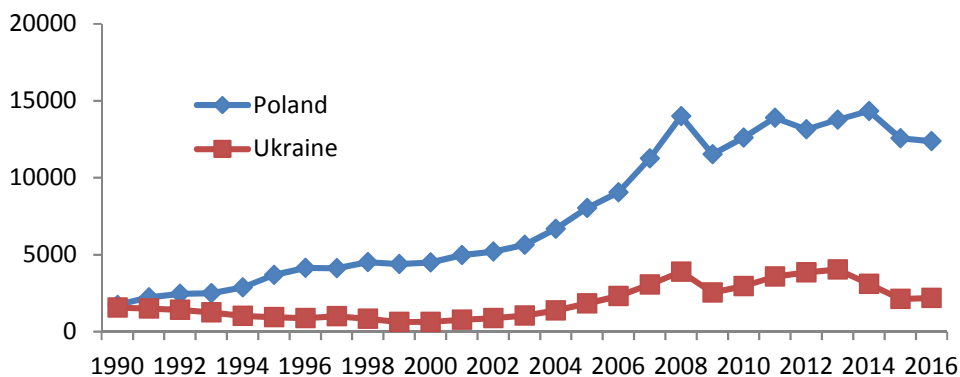


Figure 4. GDP *per capita* (current USD, 1990-2016).

Source: World Bank.

⁶ GDP per capita (current US). (2017). Poland, Ukraine. The World Bank. Retrieved: www.data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD?locations=UA-PL (access: 24.06.2017).

Also, the value of Polish merchandise exports is much higher than that of Ukraine (Figure 5). After over twenty years of economic transformation, the total value of Polish merchandise exports (202 bln USD in 2016) significantly exceed the same indicator in Ukraine (a modest 36 bln USD). From 2012 the Ukrainian merchandise exports value fell rapidly, which is a side effect of the conflict between Ukraine and Russia. Russia was Ukraine's biggest trading partner, so the military clash in Donbass and the deterioration of Ukraine-Russia relations has had a significant impact on Ukrainian exports. Poland, as an EU member state, has access to the European common market, and the growing competitiveness of Polish goods, with the combination of having its own currency instead of the Euro, fuelled Polish exports.

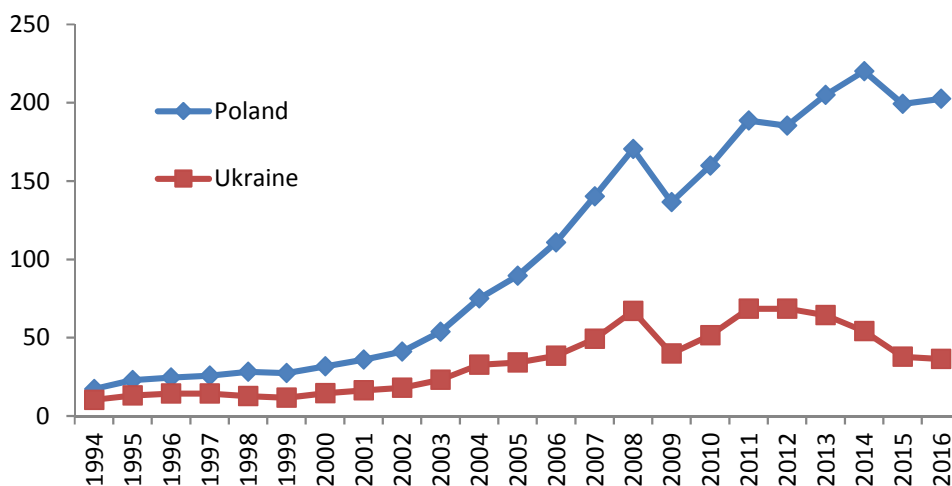


Figure 5. Merchandise exports (bln USD, 1994-2016).

Source: World Bank.

The better condition of the Polish economy compared to that of Ukraine has many reasons. Undoubtedly, amongst them is the level of economic freedom. Also, in this category Poland is ranked higher than Ukraine. From

the middle of the 90s Poland was able to create a better environment for business activity and entrepreneurship. The Index of Economic Freedom, prepared by The Heritage Foundation, shows that in this aspect Poland achieved better results than Ukraine (Figure 6). The "Doing Business 2016" report from 2016 placed Poland in 25th place in the "ease of doing business" category, while Ukraine is located in 83rd place⁷.

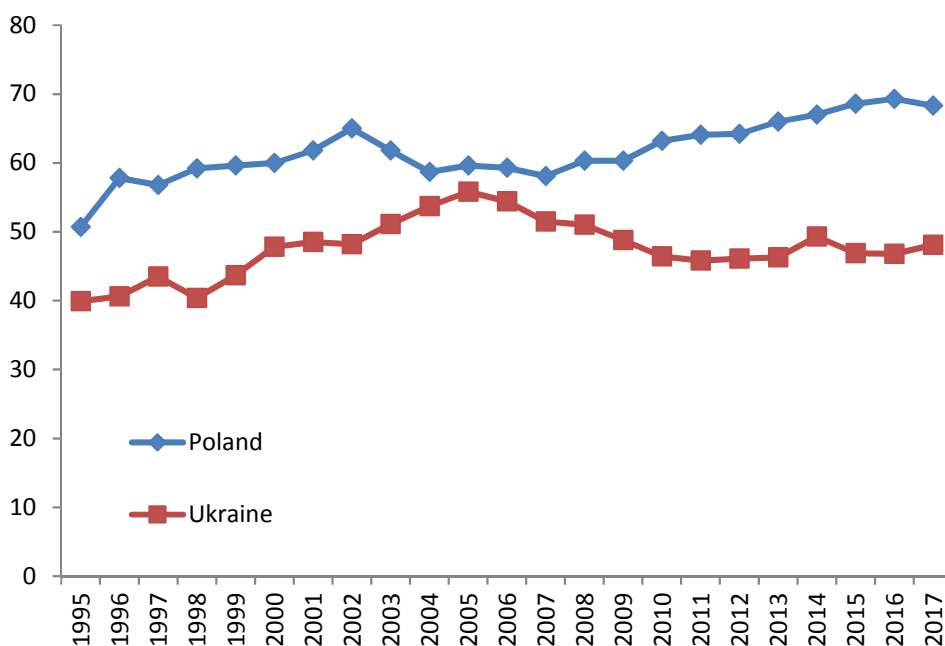


Figure 6. Index of Economic Freedom (overall score, 1995-2017).

Source: Index of Economic Freedom 2017. The Heritage Foundation.

Not every aspect of the Polish economic transformation can be described as a success story. Till 2012 the high unemployment rate was a serious social and economic problem which had negative consequences for

⁷ Doing Business 2016. Measuring Regulatory Quality and Efficiency, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank, Washington DC 2016, 13th Edition, p. 5, Retrieved: www.doingbusiness.org/~media/WBG/DoingBusiness/Documents/Annual-Reports/English/DB16-Full-Report.pdf, (access: 28.07.2017).

Poland (economic migration, low wages, labour market favourable for employers). The unemployment rate in Ukraine was usually much lower than in Poland (Figure 7). The situation changed in 2015, and currently Poland is beginning to face a lack of labour force. The remedy for this problem lies in economic migrants, mostly from Ukraine.

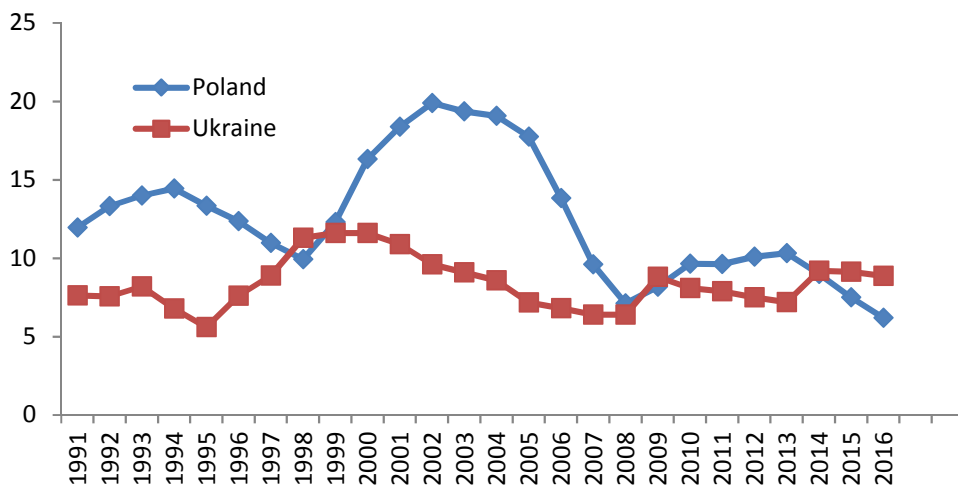


Figure 7. Unemployment rate: percentage of total labour force, modelled ILO estimate, 1991-2016.

Source: World Bank.

The problem which may affect the Polish economy, especially in the long-term, is growing central government debt. In 2016 Polish national debt in relation to GDP was 54.4%, which is below the EU average⁸. However, the ageing Polish society and the prognosis for growing spending in the healthcare and pension systems may lead to the situation in which the national debt would rise to a level which could threaten the stability of Polish public finance. Till 2012-2013 the situation in Ukraine was different, but the

⁸ National debt in EU countries in the 4th quarter 2016 in relation to the gross domestic product (GDP). (2017). Statista. The Statistics Portal. Retrieved: www.statista.com/statistics/269684/national-debt-in-eu-countries-in-relation-to-gross-domestic-product-gdp/, (access: 27.06.2017).

deteriorating economic situation and the costs of the war in Donbass has led to the rapid growth of Ukrainian central government debt (Figure 8).

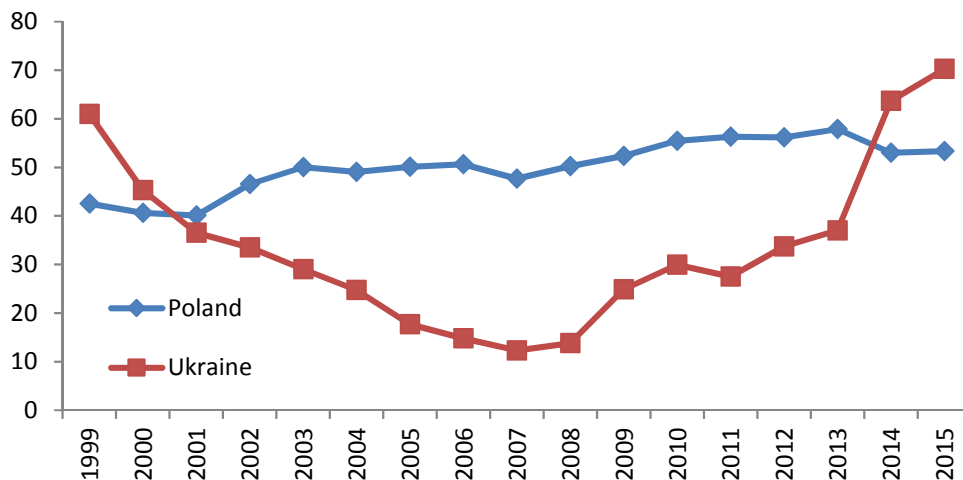


Figure 8. Central government debt, total (% of GDP, 1999-2015).

Source: World Bank.

In conclusion, compared to Poland, Ukraine is economically backward. Ukraine's economy is still monopolised by oligarchs, and the business environment is weak. Moreover, uncertain property rights and politicised tax authorities mean that Ukraine has attracted a small amount of foreign investment⁹. Ukraine's economy remains very fragile, and structural reforms, reduction of corruption, and an economy open for Western investment may be crucial in helping to stabilize the economy¹⁰. Corruption still remains an especially serious problem in Ukraine (Table 4).

⁹ S. Tilford, Poland and Ukraine: A tale of two economies, CER Bulletin, April/May 2014, Issue 95. Retrieved: www.cer.eu/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/pdf/2014/bulletin_95_st_article1-8624.pdf, (access: 28.07.2017).

¹⁰ Index of Economic Freedom. Ukraine. Retrieved: www.heritage.org/index/country/ukraine (access: 14.07.2017).

Table 4. Corruption Perception Index (1998-2016).

Year	Poland CPI Index / Rank	Ukraine CPI Index / Rank
1998	4.6 / 39	2.8 / 69
1999	4.2 / 44	2.6 / 75
2000	4.1 / 43	1.5 / 87
2001	4.1 / 44	2.1 / 83
2002	4.0 / 45	2.4 / 85
2003	3.6 / 64	2.3 / 106
2004	3.5 / 67	2.2 / 122
2005	3.4 / 70	2.6 / 107
2006	3.7 / 61	2.8 / 99
2007	4.2 / 61	2.7 / 118
2008	4.6 / 58	2.5 / 134
2009	5.0 / 49	2.2 / 146
2010	5.3 / 41	2.4 / 134
2011	5.5 / 41	2.3 / 152
2012	58 / 41	26 / 144
2013	60 / 38	25 / 144
2014	61 / 35	26 / 142
2015	62 / 30	27 / 130
2016	62 / 29	29 / 131

Source: Transparency International.

Description: The Corruption Perceptions Index ranks countries/territories based on how corrupt their public sector is perceived to be. A country/territory's score indicates the perceived level of public sector corruption on a scale of 0-10, where 0 means that a country is perceived as highly corrupt and 10 means that a country is perceived as very clean.

Due to its difficult economic situation Ukraine also had to reduce government spending in the security field. Combined with ubiquitous corruption, insufficient defence spending was one of the reasons why Ukraine's military forces were poorly prepared for confrontation with pro-Russian separatists, strongly supported by Moscow. Polish defence spending was also reduced after the fall of Iron Curtain, but has significantly exceed Ukraine's military spending (Figure 8).

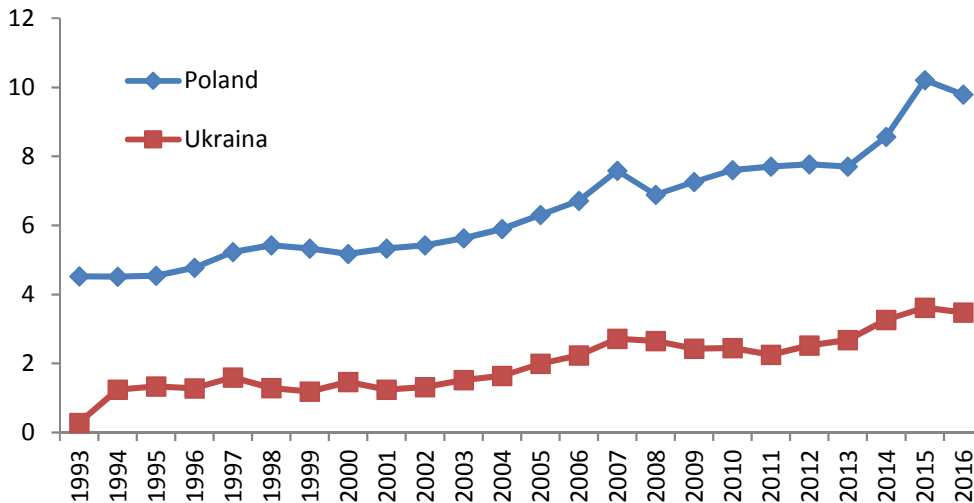


Figure 8. Defence spending (bln USD, 1993-2016).

Source: SIPRI.

Conclusions. After over 25-years' perspective the Polish political and economic transition has been much more successful than Ukrainian efforts in building a stable political system and a market economy. In both fields Ukraine has performed badly. The reasons for such a situation are numerous, connected not only with Ukraine's abandonment of painful economic reforms at the beginning of the 90s, but also with geopolitical, social and historical factors. Poland was not a part of the Soviet Union. The economy (especially agriculture) was not totally controlled by the state, and after 1989 Poland undertook difficult and sometimes socially unpopular reforms. Meanwhile, after 1991 Ukraine was much more bound with Russia in economic and political terms, and the absence of structural economic reforms led to the crisis. Additionally, Ukrainian democracy drifted towards oligarchy, and the combination of a weak economy and oligarchic politics has brought serious consequences for Ukraine's statehood and society. Table 5 shows the Human Development Index indicator. Till 1993 Ukraine's HDI was similar to Poland's, but later the situation in this aspect deteriorated in Ukraine.

Table 5. Human Development Index (1991-2016).

Year	Poland HDI Index/Rank	Ukraine HDI Index/Rank
1991	0.874 / 32	--
1992	0.831 / 48	0.844 / 45
1993	0.815 / 49	0.823 / 45
1994	0.834 / 54	0.689 / 95
1995	0.851 / 52	0.665 / 102
1996	--	--
1997	--	--
1998	--	--
1999	0.828 / 38	0.742 / 74
2000	0.833 / 37	0.748 / 80
2001	0.841 / 35	0.766 / 75
2002	0.850 / 37	0.777 / 70
2003	0.858 / 36	0.766 / 78
2004	0.862 / 37	0.774 / 77
2005	0.870 / 37	0.788 / 76
2006	--	--
2007	0.880 / 41	0.796 / 81
2008	--	--
2009	--	--
2010	0.795 / 41	0.710 / 69
2011	0.813 / 39	0.729 / 76
2012	0.821 / 39	0.740 / 78
2013	0.834 / 35	0.734 / 83
2014	0.843 / 36	0.747 / 81
2015	0.855 / 36	0.743 / 84

Source: United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Report.

All statistic and data given above clearly show that the transition process in Poland brought better result than in Ukraine. Poland is a NATO and EU member state, and despite some political tensions its economy and political system remains stable. The situation in Ukraine is different, and the crucial question is whether Ukraine will get another chance to reform the country and become a stable and prosperous nation.

Literatura / Література / References

- Barth, T. D., Campbell, D. F. J., Polzbauer, G., Polzbauer, P. (2015). Democracy Ranking 2015 (Scores), Vienna: Democracy Ranking 2015. Retrieved: www.democracyranking.org/ranking/2015/data/Scores_of_the_Democracy_Ranking_2015_A4.pdf (access: 27.07.2017).
- Central government debt, total (% of GDP). (2017). Poland. The World Bank. Retrieved: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/GC.DOD.TOTL.GD.ZS?locations=PL> (access: 11.07.2017).
- Central government debt, total (% of GDP). (2017). Ukraine. The World Bank. Retrieved: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/GC.DOD.TOTL.GD.ZS?locations=UA> (access: 11.07.2017).
- Corruption Perception Index. (2016). Transparency International. Retrieved: www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2016 (access: 24.07.2017).
- Doing Business. (2016). Measuring Regulatory Quality and Efficiency, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, The World Bank, Washington DC 2016, 13th Edition. Retrieved: www.doingbusiness.org/~media/WBG/DoingBusiness/Documents/Annual-Reports/English/DB16-Full-Report.pdf, (access: 28.07.2017).
- Fragile State Index. (2016). Fund For Peace. Retrieved: www.fundforpeace.org/fsi (access: 19.06.2017).
- Freedom in the World. (2017). Freedom House. Retrieved: https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FH_FIW_2017_Report_Final.pdf (access: 21.06.2017).
- GDP (current US\$). (2017). Poland. The World Bank. Retrieved: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?locations=PL> (access: 22.06.2017).
- GDP (current US\$). (2017). Ukraine. The World Bank. Retrieved: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?locations=UA> (access: 22.06.2017).
- GDP growth (annual %). 2017. Poland. The World Bank. Retrieved: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=PL> (access: 23.06.2017).
- GDP growth (annual %). (2017). Ukraine. The World Bank. Retrieved: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=UA> (access: 23.06.2017).
- GDP per capita (current US). (2017). Poland, Ukraine. The World Bank. Retrieved: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD?locations=UA-PL> (access: 24.06.2017).
- GDP per capita (PPP, current international \$). (2017). Poland. The World Bank. Retrieved: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?locations=PL> (access: 26.06.2017).
- GDP per capita (PPP, current international \$). (2017). Ukraine. The World Bank. Retrieved: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?locations=UA> (access: 26.06.2017).

- Government effectiveness – country ranking. (2015). Retrieved: www.theglobaleconomy.com/rankings/wb_government_effectiveness/ (access: 18.06.2017).
- Human Development Report. (2016). United nations Development Programme. Retrieved: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/2016-report> (access: 03.07.2017).
- Index of Economic Freedom. (2017). Poland. The Freedom House. Retrieved: www.heritage.org/index/country/poland (access: 14.07.2017).
- Merchandise exports (current US\$). (2017). Poland. Retrieved: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/TX.VAL.MRCH.CD.WT?locations=PL> (access: 03.07.2017).
- Merchandise exports (current US\$). (2017). Ukraine. Retrieved: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/TX.VAL.MRCH.CD.WT?locations=UA> (access: 03.07.2017).
- Military expenditure by country, in constant (2015) US\$ m.. (2017). SIPRI. Retrieved: www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/Milex-constant-2015-USD.pdf (access: 23.07.2017).
- National debt in EU countries in the 4th quarter 2016 in relation to the gross domestic product (GDP). (2017). Statista. The Statistics Portal. Retrieved: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/269684/national-debt-in-eu-countries-in-relation-to-gross-domestic-product-gdp/>, (access: 27.06.2017).
- Poland GDP (1985-2017). (2017). Retrieved: <https://tradingeconomics.com/poland/gdp> (access: 22.07.2017).
- Ukraine GDP (1987-2017). (2017). Retrieved: <https://tradingeconomics.com/ukraine/gdp> (access: 22.07.2017).
- The Economists Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index. (2017). Retrieved: <https://infographics.economist.com/2017/DemocracyIndex/> (access: 23.06.2017).
- Tilford S. Poland and Ukraine: A Tale of Two Economies. (2014). CER Bulletin. Issue 95. April/May. Retrieved: www.cer.eu/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/pdf/2014/bulletin_95_st_article1-8624.pdf (28.07.2017).
- Unemployment, total (% of labor force) (modeled ILO estimate). (2017). Poland. Retrieved: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS?locations=PL> (access: 17.07.2017).
- Unemployment, total (% of labor force) (modeled ILO estimate). (2017). Ukraine. Retrieved: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS?locations=UA> (access: 17.07.2017).

To cite this chapter:

Stach, Ł. (2019). Towards West, East or (in)stability? Poland and Ukraine: 1991-2016. In: M. Apollo, M. Krupska-Klimczak (Eds.), *Poland and Ukraine: Problems and prospects* (pp. 210-226). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego.