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Dispute on Electronic Voting in Poland – Near or Far Future? (Preliminary View)

Summary

The paper tackles highly sensitive and more and more popular problem of electronic voting implementation in Poland in all kind of elections. The problem is presented in a wide research perspective – e-voting as a social and political tool of democracy. At first the essence of e-voting and its putting in practice as well as positive and negative sides of the voting are presented. Furthermore, attitudes of state institutions, politicians and political parties (evolution of attitudes with regard to future election gains) are analysed. The activity of Non-Governmental Organizations and the attitude of Polish researches was taken into consideration. The arguments “for” and “against” introducing e-voting in Poland are analysed.

Voting is one of the most important phases of the electoral process. It should be conducted in accordance with the principles of universality, secrecy as well as give voters opportunity to express preferences and achieve satisfaction with the selection performed.

Introduction

Electronic voting, known in Poland as "e-voting", and much less frequently as the "electronic ballot box" refers to the vote with implementation of new information and communication technologies (ICT, Information and Communication Technology). This can be a vote by using different devices: a personal computer, mobile phone, landline phone, digital television, game console connected to the network, voting machines, even ATMs or lottery terminals.¹

E-voting is possible as a result of the functioning of electronic vote counting system and an electronic system of election administration.

There are two basic forms of this election: at the place, and remote, also known in Poland as Remote E-Voting. The first form is based on voting with the help of electronic equipment in a traditional polling station and beyond, such as shopping malls equipped with the so-called. Internet kiosks. Such places must have the appropriate technical equipment (such as electronic voting machines with touch screen computer or scanners, magnetic card, magnetic card reader, an optical marker / pen magnet). Remote e-voting is based on voting from anywhere using mostly computer and mobile phone, less interactive television or game console.

E-voting is a wider notion than the i-voting or voting via the Internet, even although both types of voting occur in two basic forms: IV @ PP (Internet Voting at the Polling Place) and RIV (Remote Internet Voting).

E-voting is widely regarded as part of a new form of democracy (e-democracy) conducive to raising the level and quality of citizens participation in political life.

¹ A. Preisner, *e-Voting — przyszłość e-demokracji? (szkic kilku niełatwych kwestii)*, in: *Prawo wyborcze do parlamentu w wybranych państwach europejskich*, eds. S. Grabowska, R. Grabowski, Rzeszów 2006, p. 201–202.

Poland and Electronic Voting

Issue of electronic voting occurred in Polish public discourse and Polish mainly in the context of the "electronic democracy" problem (also called "e-democracy") or other future concepts of democracy as "virtual democracy", "cyber democracy", "internet democracy", "digital democracy", "tele-democracy".²

Electronic voting was treated as part of electronic democracy³ in both forms: indirect (representative) and direct (referenda).⁴ Research in this area completely overlooked the possibility of using the Internet as a tool in a modern democracy.⁵ Also, this issue has been the subject of the presentation of the work on participatory democracy, such as the publication of Daniel Mider "Political Participation on the Internet. Political Science Study" (Warsaw 2008, pp. 469). One subchapter which is devoted to the Internet voting, however does not include any reference to Poland.⁶ Meantime, Przemysław May in the book "The Internet and democracy. The evolution of the political system" (Rzeszow 2009, pp. 266) concentrates on the functioning of participatory democracy and devotes only one page to electronic voting (p. 229) without any reference to Poland. Information on electronic voting also appeared in the context of information society issues (numerous publications).

Another context concerned postulate of alternative voting methods introduction as a result of the electorate participating in the elections crisis, especially accented by Polish lawyers and political scientists.⁷ Therefore, the most common argument for the introduction of electronic voting (remote) was the will to improve the voter turnout, as well as to increase the amount of young voters.⁸ The high costs incurred by the public in terms of traditional voting procedures were underlined.⁹ It was pointed out that today the traditional personal vote in particular polling station can not fully guarantee the implementation of the principles of universality and contributes to the phenomenon of forced absence, or not by the voters fault (according to the Polish Institute of Public Affairs, nearly 1/3 entitled to vote shall not participate in elections in Poland for reasons beyond their control).¹⁰

The issue of electronic voting is present in Polish literature in the field of elections. The latest edition of the most famous and popular guide to the Polish electoral system by Mark Chmaj and Wiesław Skrzydło ("The electoral system in the Polish Republic", 4th edition, Warsaw 2011) has taken into account the issue of

² In terms of Polish literature Leszek Porębski and Maria Nowina-Konopka have analysed the topic of electronic democracy, see: L. Porębski, *Lokalny wymiar elektronicznej demokracji*, Kraków 2012, p. 31-51; M. Nowina-Konopka, *Społeczeństwo informacyjne a teorie demokracji*, in: *Społeczeństwo informacyjne. Istota. Rozwój. Wyzwania*, Warszawa 2006, p. 82-97; M. Nowina-Konopka, *Rola Internetu w rozwoju demokracji w Polsce*, Kraków 2008; see also: P. Wimmer, *Elektroniczna demokracja*, <http://www.ucze.pl?InternetDemocracy.htm>; D. Grodzka, *E-demokracja*, „Info” no. 14, Warszawa 16.07.2009.

³ For ex. M. Musiał-Karg, *Głosowanie elektroniczne jako element e-demokracji na przykładzie doświadczeń kantonu Zurych*, „Przegląd Politologiczny” 2009, no. 2, p. 29-31 (whole article p. 27-40).

⁴ M. Musiał-Karg, *Głosowanie elektroniczne – nowe wyzwania dla demokracji*, „Przegląd Politologiczny” 2010, no. 4, p. 128.

⁵ For ex. P. Uziębło, *Demokracja partycypacyjna. Wprowadzenie*, Gdańsk 2009.

⁶ Subchapter „Udział w głosowaniu przez Internet w wyborach przedstawicieli lub wyborach przedłożonej opcji”, see. D. Mider, *Partycypacja polityczna w Internecie. Studium politologiczne*, Warszawa 2008, p. 211-224.

⁷ J. Zbieranek, *W stronę reformy procedur głosowania Polsce*, in: *Aktywny obywatel, nowoczesny system wyborczy*, eds. L. Kolarska-Bobińska, J. Kucharczyk, J. Zbieranek, Warszawa 2006, p. 15-28.

⁸ D. Mider, *Głosowanie przez Internet a demokracja*, „Studia Politologiczne” 2001, vol. 20, p. 240.

⁹ L. Porębski, *Lokalny wymiar...*, p. 50.

¹⁰ K. Grot, A. Niżyńska, *Polacy o wyborach. Raport z badań*, Warszawa 2010, p. 4.

electronic voting. Password "electronic voting" was included in the first lexicon of the Polish electoral law and electoral systems by Bartłomiej Michalak and Andrzej Sokala, but there is no reference to the Poland.¹¹ Meanwhile, subject of voting is mentioned in the academic book on electoral systems by Arkadiusz Zukowski.¹² A wide range of publications or publication excerpts concerning the testing and implementation of electronic voting in different countries of the world is represented. These publications indicate both the positive and negative aspects (such as irregularities and threats of the vote). The issue of electronic voting was also analyzed in terms of fulfilling the principle of immediacy.¹³

State Institutions and e-voting

Among the state institutions dealing with electronic voting one should underline the National Electoral Commission, which is responsible for organizing and conducting elections in Poland. Among the organizational tasks of the National Electoral Commission it is necessary to point out the arrangements for use of electronic calculating technology.¹⁴

Members of the National Electoral Commission, particularly its Chairman, referred to the issue of introducing electronic voting in Poland with great concern. The importance of technical and legislative solutions to ensure free and fair elections (including moral and ethical aspects) was taken into account in the first place.

Wojciech Łączkowski, Chairman of the National Electoral Commission (1994-1997), "approached with great caution the use of electronic technology in the helping setting of the voting results, emphasizing frequently that although the use of this technique is indispensable in modern times, it shifts the burden of accountability from people to machines, computers, and operators. Thus, he carefully approached various supporting instruments (...)".¹⁵

Rymarz Ferdinand, Chairman of the National Electoral Commission in the years 1998-2010, drew attention to the fact that the alternative voting projects were not fully analysed and were often reported as an idea, with lack of development and without any procedures. As he wrote, "it is not enough to say that you can vote via the Internet without creating an electronic register of voters, or methods of transmission line protection against intrusion and data corruption. (...) These and other alternative methods of voting should be critically discussed at scientific conferences (this is already done by the universities, with representatives of electoral bodies), practically confirmed by the experience of other countries, and then given to professional legislators to develop appropriate procedures and to electoral authorities - to prepare the budget and organizational solutions. The voting right should be further developed, but the process should be rationalized."¹⁶

¹¹ B. Michalak, A. Sokala, *Leksykon prawa wyborczego i systemów wyborczych*, Warszawa 2010, p. 41.

¹² A. Żukowski, *System wyborczy. Wprowadzenie*, Olsztyn 1997.

¹³ M. Gapski, *Nowe techniki głosowania w świetle zasady bezpośredniości wyborów*, „Przegląd Sejmowy” 2009, no. 2, p. 87-90.

¹⁴ S. J. Jaworski, *Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza organem kontroli i ochrony prawa*, in: *Iudices Electionis Custodes (sędziowie kustoszami wyborów). Księga Pamiątkowa Państwowej Komisji Wyborczej*, ed. F. Rymarz, Warszawa 2007, p. 80.

¹⁵ F. Rymarz, *Prawość i godność, czyli rzecz o Wojciechu Łączkowskim*, in: *Iudices Electionis Custodes (sędziowie kustoszami wyborów)...*, p. 243-244.

¹⁶ F. Rymarz, *O wyższy poziom legislacji i stabilizację polskiego prawa wyborczego*, in: *Iudices Electionis Custodes (sędziowie kustoszami wyborów)...*, p. 151.

The National Electoral Commission has organized or co-organized conferences, including International one on electronic voting (i.e. annual conference of election officials in Central and Eastern Europe <ACEEEO> in Warsaw on 14-16 June 2000)¹⁷, and its members, and particularly Kazimierz W. Czaplicki participated in similar conferences abroad. Its members also published articles on this type of vote (thorough analysis of threats and challenges).¹⁸

Among other state institutions involved in the issues of electronic voting, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration should be emphasised since on its base a special team (this team is currently operating in terms of a new department of the Ministry of Administration and Digitalisation - Information Society Department, Department of Information Technology).

Politicians, Political Parties and e-voting

The attitude of politicians and political parties to electronic voting in Poland was very pragmatic. Support or criticism of this kind of voting depended primarily on the potential future election benefits in terms of its implementation. It was the interest of a political party in the context of the election "profits" or "bonuses" that was taken into account.

The first serious debate on Internet voting took place only in terms of parliamentary elections in 2005, when voter turnout was one of the lowest.¹⁹ Donald Tusk, Chairman of the Civic Platform, in the parliamentary election campaign during a meeting with Polish voters in the UK in 2005 promised that the next parliamentary elections will be held with the help of electronic means. Then, especially in London, Polish voters had to stand in long lines to vote. Such assurance also appeared during the early parliamentary elections in Poland in 2007, which were won by a Civic Platform.

In turn, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, Chairman of Law and Justice Party was then opposed to this form of voting. He believed that electronic voting trivialized such important act of citizenship as the vote. Moreover, he seemed to be well aware of the fact that among the young electorate and Internet users his party had little electoral support.

Further attempts to introduce electronic voting, due to changes in electoral law, of rather declarative character took place in April 2008 when the Vice-President of the Civic Platform Parliamentary Club Waldy Dzikowski said that in the upcoming European Parliament elections in 2009, the voters should have been able to vote through the Internet.²⁰ However, no attempt, no legislative or logistics action was undertaken in that regard, and other political parties represented in parliament, took critical stance on the given declaration. Finally, the Civic Platform, which has been a major political power in Poland since 2007, did not prepare a draft law on electronic

¹⁷ Main theme of the conference was topic modern electronic technique implementation during the election. Conference was accompanied by international exhibition of electronic devices produced by Polish and foreign companies; see K. W. Czaplicki, *Działalność informacyjna Państwowej Komisji Wyborczej*, in: *Iudices Electionis Custodes (sędziowie kustoszami wyborów)*..., p. 317.

¹⁸ K. W. Czaplicki, *Głosowanie elektroniczne (e-voting) - wybrane zagadnienia*, in: *Demokratyczne standardy prawa wyborczego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Teoria i praktyka*, ed. F. Rymarz, Warszawa 2005, p. 35-65; R. Drapiński, *Zastosowanie techniki elektronicznej w procedurach wyborczych i referendalnych*, in: *Demokratyczne standardy prawa wyborczego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*..., p. 97-108.

¹⁹ E. Bendyk, *Elektroniczne głosowanie - lek na całe zło?*, „Polityka” 27.03.2008, <http://www.polityka.pl/kraj/249743,1,elektroniczne-glosowanie---lek-na-cale-zlo.read#ixzz1x6nrKntz>.

²⁰ D. Uhlig, *PO. Już za rok wybory przez Internet*, „Gazeta Wyborcza” 15.04.2008.

voting. In relation to the Poles living and working abroad (it is estimated that in the last 10 years around 2 million people went abroad, mainly to EU countries) an intermediate solution has been adopted, namely, besides the right to vote at the polling station abroad, they may also since the parliamentary elections in 2011, vote by mail.

Another declaration of the Civic Platform on electronic voting concerns its pilot project introduction during the local elections in 2014. This promise was accompanied by care of honest nature of the election.²¹

To sum up, politicians and political parties referred to the electronic voting only in the declarative way. Apart from the Civic Platform which strongly favor this type of voting, other political parties were at least restrained, and even critical in this respect.

Non-governmental Organizations and e-voting

Among the non-governmental organizations in Poland special attention to electronic voting was paid by three entities: the Institute of Public Affairs, Internet Society Poland and the Association "Young Poland". Institute of Public Affairs was involved in both the public debate between scientists and politicians, as well as public opinion research and science popularization activities, including organization of a seminar "Electronic voting in Poland (?)" on 3 July 2007 in terms of the project "Monitoring of democracy in Poland."²² Internet Society Poland focused on the expert analysis of the e-voting implementation in Poland, particularly in terms of technical requirements and challenges.

It is the Association "Young Poland" that was mostly involved in promotion as well as implementation of electronic voting in Poland by the efforts of its members - students of law at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. In 2005 this Association prepared a draft law introducing the ability to vote via the Internet in Poland. This project, which is to great extent underdeveloped, has met a strong criticism of expert communities, such as Internet Society Poland.²³ This project was not subjected to legislative procedures.

Positive and Negative Aspects of e-voting

As far as positives and negatives aspects of e-voting implementation is concerned, Polish authors who are conducting research on the given issue often take into account ideas expressed by their Western colleagues and consequently present the same arguments for and against this type of voting.²⁴ First of all, attention is paid to various dangers and threats. Daniel Mider points out the following risks: uncertain security of online elections, the danger of the negative political changes emergence following the implementation of elections over the Internet, the threat of low social effects of election implementation over the Internet, the high cost of implementing the election system over the Internet, the commercialization of the software field for the purposes of elections over the Internet, barriers to the implementation of online elections caused by low level of social information technologies.²⁵

²¹ *Głosowanie przez Internet w 2014 PO obiecuje*, „Newsweek.pl” 14.09.2011, <http://polska.newsweek.pl/glosowanie-przez-internet-w-2014-po-obejuje,82057,1,1.html>.

²² <http://www.isp.org.pl/files/8885853860086913001184933460.pdf>.

²³ Position of Internet Society Poland in terms of e-voting issue during the election adopted by the Board of Association on 10 January 2007 (Board resolution ISOC Polska no. 2/2007), <http://www.isoc.org.pl/200701/wybory>.

²⁴ L. Porębski, *Internet jako remedium w kryzysie demokracji. Historia pewnego złudzenia*, in: *Media a komunikowanie polityczne*, ed. M. Sokołowski, Toruń 2009, p. 241-263.

²⁵ D. Mider, *Partycypacja polityczna w Internecie...*, p. 223-224.

A detailed characterization of new risks in electronic voting was presented by Arthur Preisner. He also pointed to a number of sociological and political consequences of introducing this type of vote (such as the creation of additional divisions in society, increase attendance, voting symbols change, change of the system of public control over the electoral process to private entities, the impact on the system of representative democracy.²⁶

It is strongly emphasised in Poland that electronic voting does not fully guarantee secrecy rules. The weak aspects of fulfilling the principle of immediacy and equal elections are underlined since there is no full guarantee that the vote will be attended by a person entitled to do so.²⁷ It is believed that the vote especially with a personal computer at home or vote on a mobile phone trivializes the importance of civil act, which is to vote.

Additionally, the public discourse in Poland highlights the other concerns associated with the implementation of electronic voting. One of the most important aspects is proper verification of the voters and the proper counting of the voting electorate - a small act of voting transparency. Negative remarks are addressed to the right of IT companies to organise and control the e-voting process.

It is stressed that the introduction of such a vote requires high amounts of money (its implementation). The most articulated threat of electronic voting is the risk of fraudulent conduct of elections.

Among few positive aspects, apart from the obvious ones as: the opportunity to vote at any polling station in the country or abroad, the ability to cast votes for different groups of voters in the dissemination of ICT (such as the disabled, sick, old, young, infirm), lower voting costs in case of the dissemination of e-voting, streamlining voting procedures, the example of Estonia is highlighted in the context of a significant increase in the percentage of voters via the Internet in a short period of time: in 2005 the figure was only 1.9% of the voters while in 2011 the number increased to 24.3% of voters. In addition, attention is drawn to the favorable trend in increasing the voter turnout in Estonia due to the introduction of electronic voting.²⁸ However, there are some arguments that the experience of Estonia and other countries are too modest to prejudge now concerning the benefits of electronic voting in terms of voter turnout increase. Some Polish researchers recommend restraint in their explicit evaluation.²⁹

Results of the team research under the supervisory of Miroslaw Kutylowski (Marek Klonowski, Anna Lauks, Filip Zagorski), who prepared the technical procedures and requirements for electronic voting should be regarded as positive.³⁰

²⁶ A. Preisner, op. cit., p. 209-216.

²⁷ J. Zbieranek, *Alternatywne procedury głosowania w Polsce na tle innych państw Unii Europejskiej*, in: *Wybrane problemy systemów wyborczych*, ed. D. Dziewulak, Studia BAS, Warszawa 2011, no. 3(27).

²⁸ In the parliamentary elections in 2003 when it was not possible to vote electronically turnout was 58.2%. In the subsequent parliamentary elections, when one could vote electronically the turnout has increased: in 2003 to 61.9%, and in 2011 to 63.5%.

²⁹ R. Balicki, A. Preisner, *e-Voting — szanse, możliwości, zagrożenia*, in: *Alternatywne sposoby głosowania a aktywizacja elektoratu*, eds. S. Grabowska, R. Grabowski, Rzeszów 2007, p. 73.

³⁰ The requirements are as follows: the anonymity of voters, voters should be able to verify that their voice was counted, voters must not be able to sell voice (or prove how their voted); votes can not be changed or removed from the system, one can not throw votes to the ballot box with impunity, the system must be comprehensible to the average voter. See: M. Kutylowski, M. Klonowski, A. Lauks, F. Zagórski, *A Practical Voting Scheme with Receipts*, Wrocław University of Technology, International Security Conference, Singapore, 23.09.2005, <http://kutyloski.im.pwr.wroc.pl/articles/e-voting.pdf>.

Polish society can be an ally of electronic voting. From year to year, more and more people use information and communication technology ICT. This includes e-business, e-commerce and e-government (i.e. in 2011 over 1 million Polish citizens submitted their annual tax returns online, while in 2012 - nearly 2 million). Promoting access to the Internet, at least in the cities and towns is becoming a reality. The mobile network covered the whole country, and having a cell phone is common for the biggest majority of society.

According to the survey, Polish society show more and more interest in the possibility of electronic voting.³¹ The level of support for this type of vote, however, depends on the nature of media coverage on this vote. Critical articles in the press about electronic voting negatively influenced the public perception of such voting opportunity.

As M. Chmaj and W. Skrzydło write, "along with technological developments the possibility of voting via the Internet network using an electronic personal signature of each voter may be implemented in Poland."³² Among the positive moments the following aspects are mentioned: lowering the cost of the election and the likelihood of voter turnout increase. However, attention is paid to the aspect of data transmission safety and the conclusion was made that under the given circumstances, there is lack of technical capacity that would ensure the absolute security of voting online. Therefore, the current debate on this kind of voting in Poland was considered to be devoid of purpose.

Conclusions

In Poland, after 1989 the construction of a new electoral system focused primarily on creation of such electoral rules, which correspond to democratic standards and follow the formula of free and fair elections. In the context of the voting act, attention is mainly paid to the principle of confidentiality. Implementation of alternative ways of voting was not a priority of public debate as well as politicians' activity. In the words of a longtime secretary of the National Electoral Commission Kazimierz W. Czaplicki "outside the mainstream of changes related to the democratization of the electoral law that guarantees the respect and effective opportunity to exercise the rights and freedoms, there remains a sphere of the application admissibility of the modern techniques and equipment in specific procedures for the election, including the way of their implementation and use as well as the legal status definition as regards activities performed by their use."³³

In the years 1989-2011 electronic voting machines in Polish polling stations were used only a couple of times and character of their usage was rather media oriented than practical: in 2003 during the Głuchołazy prapreferendum for Polish membership in the European Union and in 2005 in Warsaw and Sopot (only in two polling stations) during the presidential election in Poland.³⁴

Usage of electronic techniques is restricted in legal and technical context to keeping records and checking the electoral lists, data transfer and calculation by the electoral commissions and the publication of election results.

³¹ In 2007, 34% of respondents were in favor of electronic voting, and in 2010 47% respectively. See: *Wierzmy, że głosując zmieniamy kraj*, „Dziennik” 20-21.10.2007; K. Grot, A. Niżyńska, op. cit., p. 7.

³² M. Chmaj, W. Skrzydło, *System wyborczy w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, 4th. edition, Warszawa 2011, p. 55.

³³ K. W. Czaplicki, *Głosowanie elektroniczne (e-voting) - wybrane zagadnienia...*, p. 36-37.

³⁴ A. Maciejewski, *Warszawa i Sopot głosowały elektronicznie*, <http://www.computerworld.pl/news/84427.html>.

In terms of voting procedures, Polish electoral system is one of the most conservative in Europe. Until recently, the Polish voter could only vote in person at the polling station.

It should be emphasized that since the historical change of political system in Poland in the 80-90s of the 20th century, no changes in election system that would result in testing have been implemented, especially in the electronic voting.

The substantive discussion concerning the implementation of electronic voting, which peak happened to be during the previous decade, was primarily held by research institutes and social organizations (NGOs).

Compared to other Western countries a number of Polish scientific studies dealing with electronic voting, especially the capacity to implement it in Poland is rather small. There have been no complex studies, and what is more, there have been no attempts to implement pilot programs (in practice e-voting and computer system security testing have never been applied). Additionally, there has been no comprehensive analysis of costs. At present, there is no interdisciplinary team of experts who will be prepared to comprehensively implement electronic voting programme in Poland (recruited from the programmers, mathematicians, lawyers, political scientists, sociologists or psychologists).

According to Ryszard Balicki and Arthur Preisner, fundamental difficulty in the use of electronic voting is to build a proper computer system that would be fully secure and could prevent unfair manipulation.³⁵

Optimistic voices claiming that "the use of electronic voting in the Polish electoral law and practice is probably only a matter of time"³⁶ are rare. Such opinions are formulated on the ground of postulates concerning the activity which ensures the safety of that voting way. It has been argued, however, that any legislative issues seem to be secondary to the implementation of appropriate computer systems for electronic voting that would be resistant to manipulation.³⁷

There is a range of conclusions that today electronic voting is increasingly becoming a democratic standard of elections and the future standard for democracy, and as regards Poland, it should be implemented in a prudent and competent way.³⁸ According to other opinions, electronic voting in Poland in the future is not only possible but also inevitable, and Poland should take advantage of other European Union countries experience in this regard.³⁹ However, there has been an increase in critical assessments of the experience concerning testing and implementation of electronic voting which outweigh its positive features.

Despite the regular increase in the electronic administration development level as well as in the Internet access, it continues to be unsatisfactory and not enough for technical implementation of electronic voting in Poland in the short term. There is also a lack of the political will even though the consent of voters does exist in this respect. So far no draft law has been prepared. The 2011 Electoral Code that regulates rules concerning parliamentary, presidential, municipal and European Parliament elections includes such new voting opportunities as proxy voting for voters older over 75 years and for disabled voters as well as voting via mail for

³⁵ R. Balicki, A. Preisner, *e-Voting — szanse, możliwości, zagrożenia*, in: *Alternatywne sposoby głosowania a aktywizacja elektoratu...*, p. 58–67.

³⁶ M. Gapski, op. cit., p. 89.

³⁷ Ibidem.

³⁸ Ibidem, p. 90.

³⁹ J. Zbieranek, *Alternatywne procedury głosowania...*, p. 118.

disabled voters and voters residing outside the country.⁴⁰ The Election Code, however, lacks any references to the remote electronic voting.

It should be pointed out that over the last few years, public debate on electronic voting in Poland has almost completely subsided. Therefore, the demand for such a debate is an essential requirement as well as conducting a comprehensive research on electronic voting with emphasis on Polish specifics. Implementation of electronic voting requires appropriate action in the technological, legal, political, and social spheres.

Overall, as far as Poland is concerned, nowadays there are more arguments "against" than "for" the e-voting implementation.

⁴⁰ See: *Kodeks wyborczy. Wstępna ocena*, ed. K. Skotnicki, Warszawa 2011; *Kodeks wyborczy*, „Przegląd Prawa Konstytucyjnego” 2011, no. 3.