

I GOT THE HORSE RIGHT HERE! 2016 PRIMARY TRACK CONDITIONS

by Mimi Kennedy

If you know *Guys & Dolls*, you're already singing the rest of this line: "His name is Paul Revere, and there's a guy that says, when the weather's clear, 'Can do!'" - <http://www.musicictory.com/music/Guys+And+Dolls/Fugue+For+Tinorns>)

The song conjures, for me, media campaign coverage of our elections. We don't get much about the issues. We get the horse race: entries (candidates), odds (poll numbers), stables (political parties), owners (donors) and trainers (campaign operatives.) But we don't hear about something so important to horse races that Frank Loesser put it in the opening verse: "When the weather's clear." That's the only time Paul Revere "can do." If the track's mud, don't bet on it.

So, too, your favorite candidates. Lousy track conditions could do them in, And the condition of U.S. electoral track varies by state; election law election law is a jealousy-guarded states' right. Within our states, there are over 7000 small voting jurisdictions that have some say in the election process. No wonder the media won't cover track conditions in a given race! They're too hard to find out! But not factoring them into the odds lets us, the people, be played for chumps.

Four variables determine a jurisdiction's electoral track conditions: who can vote, who does vote, how the vote is cast, and how it's counted.

WHO CAN VOTE

"The Constitution of the United States does not confer the right to vote on anyone." So ruled the Supreme Court in *Minor v. Happersett* in 1875. The best the federal government can do for its citizen's voting rights is to protect us from states' that would deny that right for reasons deemed unconstitutional. In 1875, it was perfectly constitutional for the St. Louis Registrar to deny Mrs. Minor a vote. Amendments had to be passed - the 15th and 19th respectively - to protect male former slaves, then women, from state disenfranchisement. To this day, states shape the electorate as they can; in Virginia and 10 other states, for instance, felons lose their voting rights, maybe forever, unless the governor restores them. Vermont and Maine let them vote in jail.

The 1965 Voting Rights Act stopped abuses, like poll taxes and literacy tests, that states used to disenfranchise voters disproportionately by race. But John Roberts' Supreme Court gutted the Act, removing the requirement that such states submit new election law to the Justice Department for review. A raft of state laws requiring photo-ID-at-the-polls passed in that decision's wake, once again burdening poor minority voters along with students and the elderly. Some laws were overturned by state courts; others stand. The 2002 Help America Vote Act, an ostensible reform to solve problems in the Florida 2000 election that marred George W. Bush's occupation of the White House, created new obstacles with good intentions: mandatory state voter rolls are digital databases vulnerable to glitch, hacking, and automatic purge. Voters purged by error can do nothing but vote provisionally at the polls - a vote that will be counted late, if at all.

WHO DOES VOTE

Those who jump the hurdles mentioned above - accidental or malicious roster purges; having and knowing the correct ID required at the polls; being motivated and knowledgeable enough to follow changes in polling places and requirements for absentee ballots; not being turned off by campaign lies and not being deterred by long waits to vote that interfere with work hours and child care - they will vote. Turnout in the U.S. is often dismal

HOW VOTES ARE CAST

HAVA's national standards included requirements for how votes can be cast, and they required expensive new voting equipment that states and counties had to acquire before 2006 or face federal lawsuits. There was no outcry from Republican defenders of states' rights and austere budgets, and Democrats embraced the promise that computer technology would aid voting in their underserved urban communities. It was assumed computers would prove colorblind, unlike some local election officials.

Two brothers, Bob and Todd Urosevich, had computer voting equipment “shovel ready” to meet HAVA’s mandates. Their companies, Diebold and ES&S, reaped most of HAVA’s taxpayer billions. They sold DRE (Direct Record Electronic) computer voting machines, which allowed voters to cast votes on a screen and the votes to be counted inside the computer, without paper, and for counties that wished to retain paper ballots, they sold optical scan equipment, computers that read and counted ballots much faster than the human eye. Other companies that sold computerized voting equipment were Sequoia, Hart InterCivic, and Unisyn. The companies’ computer code was trade secret, readable only by its developers, licensed service contractors, and election offices’ IT staff.

HOW THE VOTES ARE COUNTED

Computers count digitally. All digital counting programs are software, vulnerable to error and manipulation. Digital results with no paper ballots that can be read by human eye are completely unverifiable.

But whether computer results must be audited in any way is up to the states. California, for instance, has audits – a percentage of votes in every county must be recounted by hand – and paper ballots to audit. Other states have no audits; Georgia and South Carolina, two important primary states, do not, and there nothing to audit if they did, since their elections take place entirely on DREs without a paper trail. Texas has audits along with some paper ballots and paper trails, but so many paperless DRE counties that its audit law is meaningless for statewide verified results. Alabama has no audits, but paper ballots. The ballots could be used for verification but were not, even in the suspicious loss of Governor Don Siegelman’s 2002 re-election due to a wee-hours shift of 6000 electronic votes in one county that was blamed on a “glitch.” The ballots were impounded and never inspected. Verification is desirable in Alabama, which has shown bad faith with its electorate, including recently passing a photo ID law, then trying to close DMV offices, where such ID is most easily obtained, in 54 mostly African-American counties. The Justice Department stopped the closures, but the photo ID law is still on the books. An audit law is not.

TRACK CONDITIONS NOW

Diebold changed its name to Premier after bribery convictions and other problems marred its image. Premier acquired ES&S, then divested it, due to an anti-trust lawsuit. Dominion, a Canadian company whose name does not inspire thoughts of democracy, bought Premier and Sequoia, and now counts about half of America’s votes. Hart InterCivic was in the news in 2012 for being part-owned by a hedge fund in which the family of presidential candidate Mitt Romney had financial control. The Romneys assured the public that financial interest did not equal day-to-day operations, and the press backed off. Unisyn, which still counts many U.S. votes, is also a leading maker of racetrack betting machines and is owned by Benjar, a Malaysian company operating global real estate, resorts, and casinos

The condition of our U.S. electoral track seems not to concern even politicians who have to run on it. In 2006, I asked Senator Ben Cardin if he knew how his voters voted, meaning their voting system and hoping to offer him an election protection strategy. “63% Democratic!” he replied. When I clarified, he admitted he’d voted absentee for so long he didn’t know what his voters faced at the polls.

Congressman John Lewis, the Selma civil rights hero, is very concerned. He offers a bill, every House session, to establish a mandatory nationwide paper ballot. It never leaves committee. Senator Al Franken knows the value of paper ballots. Minnesota activists saved them against the push for electronic voting in their state, and when the opti-scan count returned Norm Coleman to his Senate seat in 2008, giving GOP control of both houses of Congress, Al demanded a recount. Human eyes on the ballots proved he’d won. Ron Barber of Arizona lost his House seat in 2014 by 161 votes in a bitter political climate. His predecessor, Gabby Giffords, had been shot by a constituent. A recount was conducted on the same Diebold scanners that had counted the first time, though Arizona law mandates recounts be done by an independent method. Results didn’t change. Arizona’s audit law requires each county to recount only 3-5% of precincts by hand, a percentage too low to catch problems in a margin as slim as Ron’s. His race would have had to be entirely hand-recounted to know voters’ intent. Most election officials say that’s too much to ask – even for democracy.

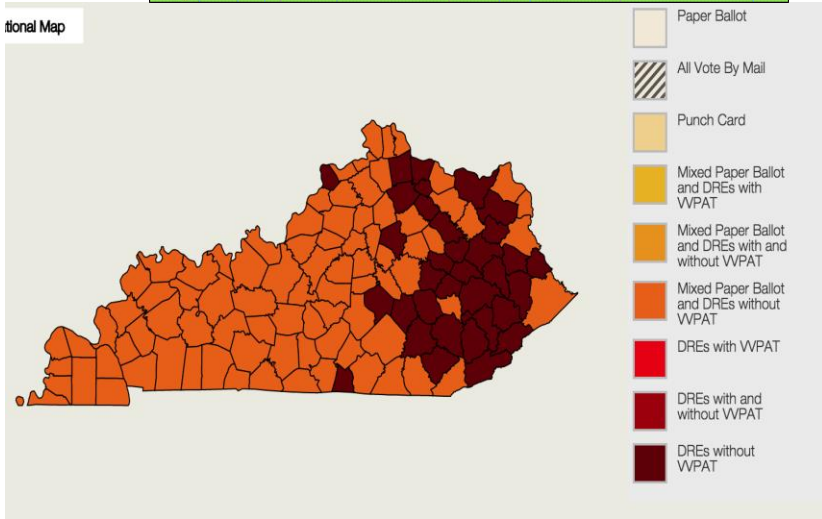
Losing candidates are shamed if they don’t “get over it and move on.” But unverified elections are no longer about individual politicians and their party. It’s we voters who are betrayed, especially when strange, unverified results are blamed on our being fickle, stupid, apathetic, or lying to pollsters. We suffer leaders and policies the majority of us don’t

seem to want. And we get discouraged, wondering if this distorted version of our nation is true – or the result of elections over which we've lost control. It's no longer paranoid to demand verification of election results. It's patriotic.

War and peace are at stake, along with control of the world's mightiest military and weapons of mass destruction. The welfare of our people and future of our planet are at stake in even the smallest jurisdictions that affect the balance of power. We can no longer allow small-minded, short-sighted corruption to manipulate them with the facility that digital manipulation provides. Verification is deterrence. Eight officials in Clay County, Kentucky, are serving hard time for election fraud. Some confessed, others were convicted. From '02-'06, they colluded in, among other schemes, flipping electronic votes and teaching others how to do so. Are they the only ones? Has it happened before or since? This year's weird gubernatorial results in Kentucky were reported without question. The voters were blamed for the strangeness of popular Democratic Attorney General Jack Conway losing his governor bid by an overnight 14 point shift – and for three Democrats down-ticket each getting tens of thousands more votes than Conway did at the top.

Yet Kentucky track is mud, with no verifiable photo finish. Take a look. (Voting systems map and audit law info from www.Verifiedvoting.org. Photo ID law info from www.ballotpedia.org. . Felon voting rights info from www.procon.org)

KENTUCKY



Kentucky counties mix paperless DRE machines with opti-scanned paper ballots. State audit law requires a recount of ballots from 3-5 % randomly-selected precincts per county. But digital result counties can't be publicly verified, so statewide results are UNVERIFIABLE. Voting system vendors are: *Dominion*;

Diebold/Premier/Dominion; ES&S; Danaher; Hart InterCivic, and Microvote, which lost 3800 votes in a single county in 2012. Non-photo-ID required at polls. Felons lose rights permanently unless restored by governor.

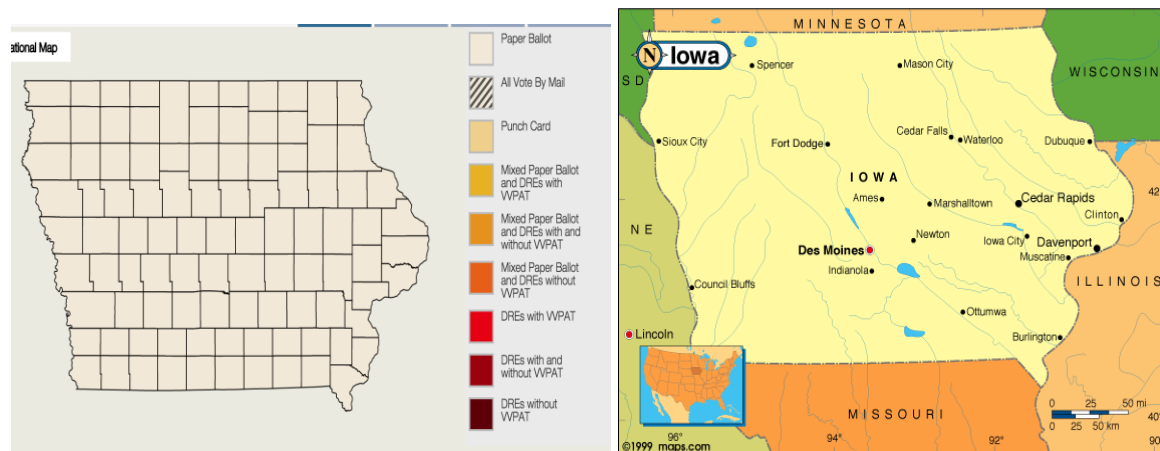
Kentuckians can start improving elections immediately by insisting on their citizen right to observe manual audits and recounts where paper ballots exist. For their audit law to be enforceable they must end paperless voting. They must call for paper ballots. DRE paper trails are less reliable. For now, they can demand to see “poll tapes” from paperless DRE voting machines as a matter of public record. These tapes are produced at the end of voting, from each machine, showing the results in each race from the votes cast on that machine. The numbers on the tapes can be added for a precinct result to match with that posted on the Secretary of State’s website. This is a minimal fraud deterrent, but it is better than nothing. Yet access to poll tapes has been denied to activists with the argument that seeing them violates trade secrecy of software or voter anonymity. Neither reason is valid. The tapes are the only public record of the vote on DRE systems, and they’re anonymous. Citizens have a right to see. File a request. If denied, ask why, and publicize the answer.

Here are maps and info about track conditions in early primary states. You can see your own state’s laws and systems at www.verifiedvoting.org. Visit http://www.democracymovement.us/citizen_toolkit or <http://blackboxvoting.org/black-box-voting-book/> for actions to take based on what you find out. An easy step is to become a pollworker and experience your system’s vulnerabilities or strengths. Does it help or hinder voting? When machines fail, who shows up to service them? Are your voter rolls accurate or do a lot of voters end up voting provisionally? Can the reason be corrected before the next election? Tour your county election office, preferably with a group. Ask to observe the election night count and the absentee and provisional count after. If denied, ask why and publicize the reason. You might be told you’re obstructing well-run elections. Answer that you’re on common ground with your officials, there, and well-run elections require public observation to deter crime! Ask about chains of custody, of equipment and ballots, including absentees before they’re mailed and after they’re returned. If answers are denied, ask why and publicize the reason. Practice counting paper ballots: run your own workshop with mock ballots made from an online template or a sample test ballot from your county. Copy a dozen unvoted ballots. Vote them randomly. Copy that dozen to a precinct batch of 300. Follow these instructions: <http://www.peopledemandingaction.org/campaigns/let-me-vote-count-my-vote/item/454-hand-counting-paper-ballots-is-not-impossible> You are not a Luddite. You’re preparing for service that will save democracy.

FEBRUARY 2016

FEB 1 & 9 - IOWA

Iowans caucus for party primaries; they don’t use their voting systems. Still the map is instructive:



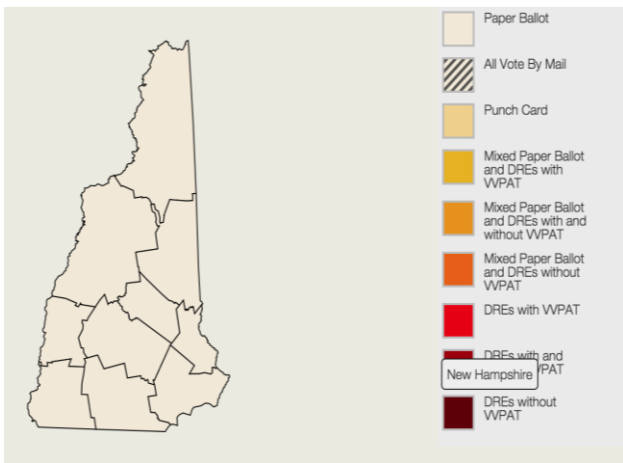
Iowa has all paper ballots but no state audit law. Results VERIFIABLE but UNVERIFIED. Opti-scan vendors: Diebold/Premier/Dominion; ES&S; Hart InterCivic, and Unisyn (racetrack betting-machines, Malaysian real estate/casino/resort owner). No ID at the polls. Felon voting rights restored after probation.

FEB. 1 – IOWA DEMOCRATS - Party members gather at precinct meetings, stand publicly in groups for their candidates for a head-count. Results **VERIFIABLE** by human eye and video.

FEB. 9 – IOWA REPUBLICANS - Party members gather at precinct meetings and vote on secret paper ballots. Ballots are opened and counted publicly at the meeting, and results announced and phoned into party headquarters, with written results mailed afterwards. Results **VERIFIABLE** by public observation, including on video, of ballot count at the meeting and announcement of results.

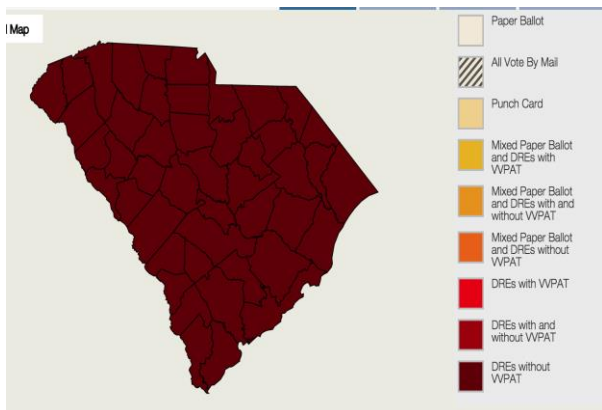
Despite this transparency, Mitt Romney emerged from Iowa as frontrunner in 2008 by error or intent: a precinct vote-counter with the ironic name Edward True had posted his precinct results on his Facebook page after the meeting. They'd favored Santorum. When he saw the state party page said Romney had won in his precinct by a margin that also gave Romney the state, he protested. The party couldn't find the precinct's mail-in results for 16 days, but when found, they confirmed True's numbers. Did anyone hear the whispered apology from party and media? No. Mitt was off and front-running

FEB. 9 - NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY



New Hampshire uses its statewide voting system for the primaries: all paper ballots, some opti-scanned, some hand-counted at precincts on election night. No state audit law but a good recount provision, making it relatively easy for candidates to obtain recounts. **WHOLLY VERIFIABLE** but **PARTLY UNVERIFIED**. Opti-scan vendors: *Diebold/Premier/Dominion; ES&S; Hart InterCivic*. No ID at the polls. Felon voting rights restored after incarceration.

SOUTH CAROLINA

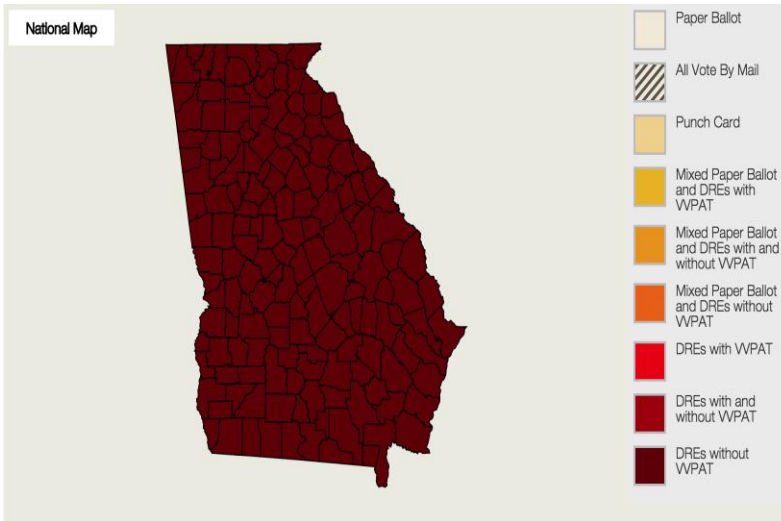


South Carolina uses its statewide system for primaries. Paperless DREs from ES&S at the precincts. No state audit law. Results UNVERIFIABLE and UNVERIFIED. Paper absentee ballots opt-scanned by ES&S. Non-photo ID at the polls (photo ID law passed but overturned by state supreme court.) Felon voting rights restored after probation.

ES&S has a marred history, including being banned from CA for selling uncertified equipment. In Ohio in 2012, ES&S service technicians applied a last-minute "patch" to machines in several counties. Alert activists filed a restraining order in federal court to have it removed, but the judge refused the request. The activists went to county court; a Franklin County judge agreed to hear expert testimony by phone and told ES&S lawyers she would keep the case open so that if anything seemed strange about the election results, she would allow a case to go forward. Some believe this was enough to deter use of the patch, resulting in Karl Rove's meltdown on national TV when late Ohio results didn't go for Romney. He thought the patch was operative, but ES&S didn't use it, deciding the risk of getting caught was too great.

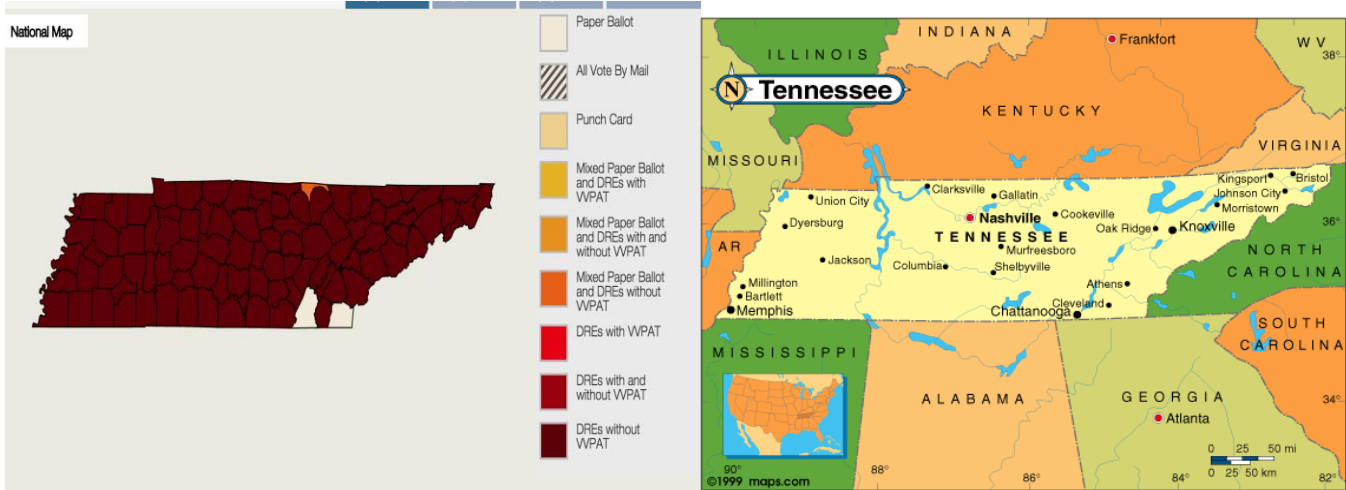
MARCH 1 – SUPER TUESDAY

GEORGIA



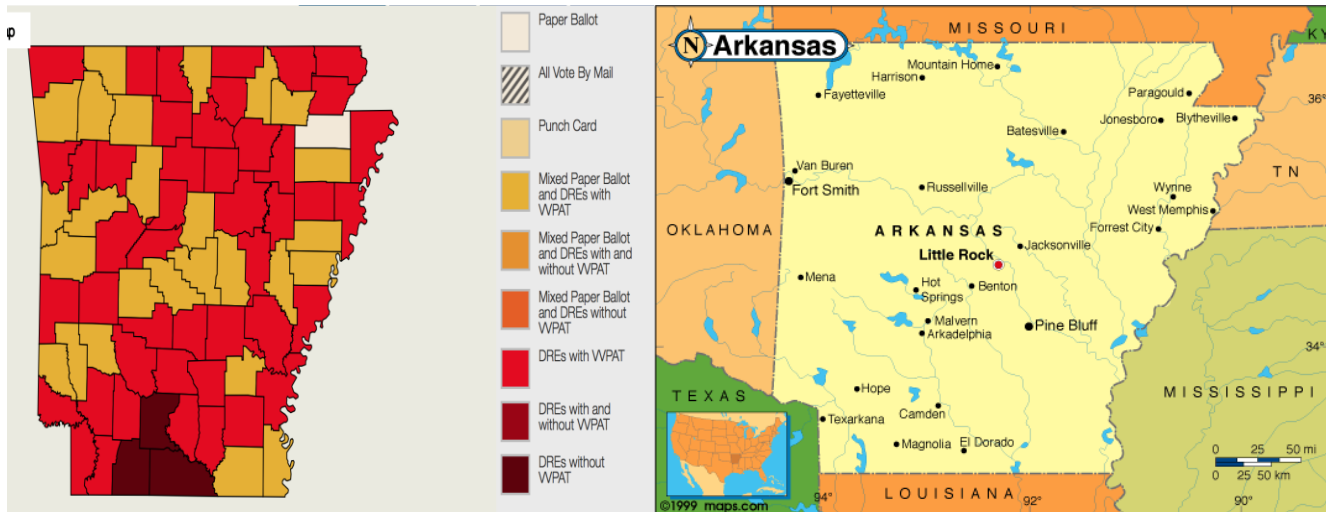
Georgia uses its statewide system for primaries. All paperless DREs. Vendor: Diebold/Premier/Dominion. Results UNVERIFIABLE and UNVERIFIED. No state audit law. Photo ID at the polls. Felons' rights restored after probation.

TENNESSEE



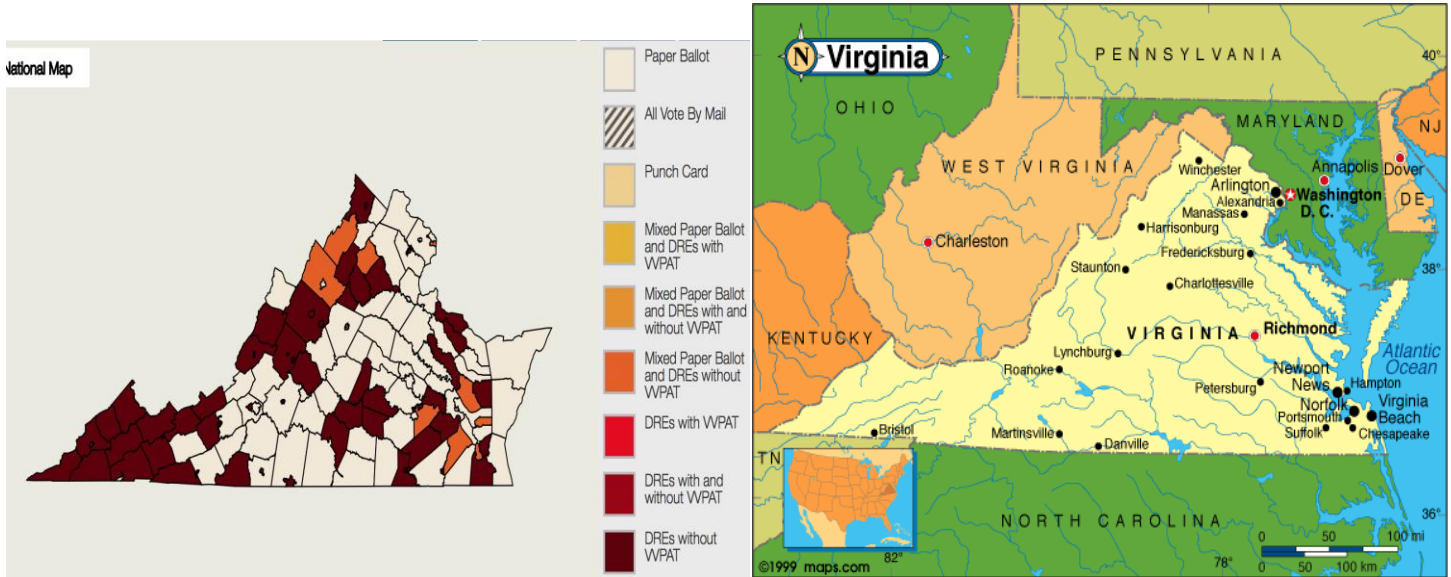
Tennessee uses statewide voting system in primaries. Paperless DREs at the polls except two counties with paper ballots scanned by *Unisyn* and *Dominion*. DRE vendors: *Diebold/Premier/Dominion*; *ES&S*; *HartInterCivic*; *Microvote* (3800 votes lost in one county in Kentucky) and *Unisyn* (Malaysian-owned, racetrack betting machines.) Absentee and 2 paper ballot counties opti-scanned by *ES&S*. State law passed requiring paper ballots – then voided when legislature changed. State audit law requires recount of 3% early voting and 3% randomly-selected precincts per county but without paper is unenforceable. Results UNVERIFIABLE and UNVERIFIED. Photo ID at the polls. Felons lose right to vote permanently unless restored by governor.

ARKANSAS



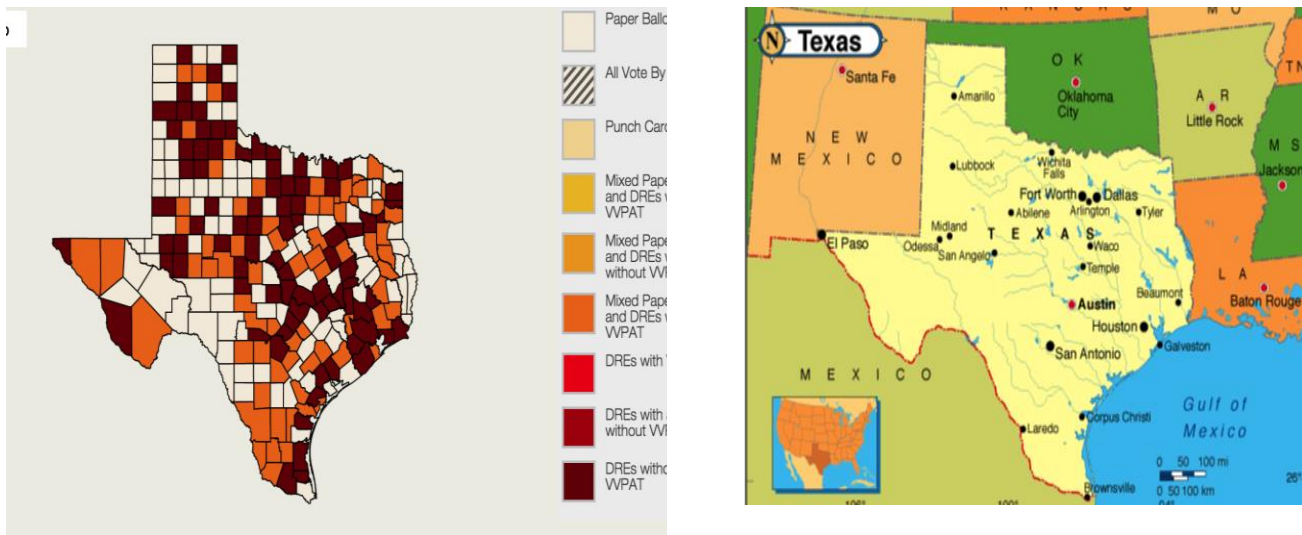
Arkansas mixes 3 counties' paperless DREs (*Danaher Shouptronic*) with paper trail DREs (*ES&S*) and one county's opti-scanned paper ballots (*ES&S*) at the polls. *ES&S* scans absentee paper ballots. State law requires paper trails on machines bought after 2006. No state audit law. Arkansas results SLIGHTLY VERIFIABLE but WHOLLY UNVERIFIED. Photo ID law passed but overturned by Arkansas Supreme Court. Felon voting rights restored after probation.

VIRGINIA



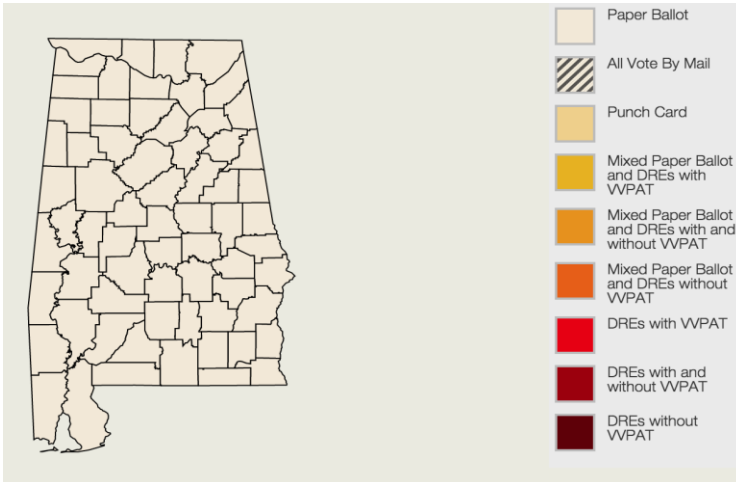
Virginia mixes paperless DREs with paper-trail DREs from *Dominion, Diebold/Premier/Dominion, ES&S, Sequoia/Dominion, HartIntercivic, Unisyn* and *Unilect*. Absentee and paper ballots scanned by same vendors. No state audit law. Virginia results are SLIGHTLY VERIFIABLE but WHOLLY UNVERIFIED. Photo ID at polls. Felons may lose vote permanently or appeal to governor for restoration.

TEXAS



Texas mixes paperless DREs, DREs with paper trails, and opti-scanned paper ballots. Vendors for both: *Diebold/Premier/Dominion, ES&S, Hart InterCivic*; absentee ballots opti-scanned by same vendors. State audit law mandates recount of 1% randomly chosen precincts in counties with “electronic voting” but no guidance on paperless DRE audits and Secretary of State can waive this requirement. Statewide results UNVERIFIABLE. Photo ID at the polls. Felon voting rights restored after probation

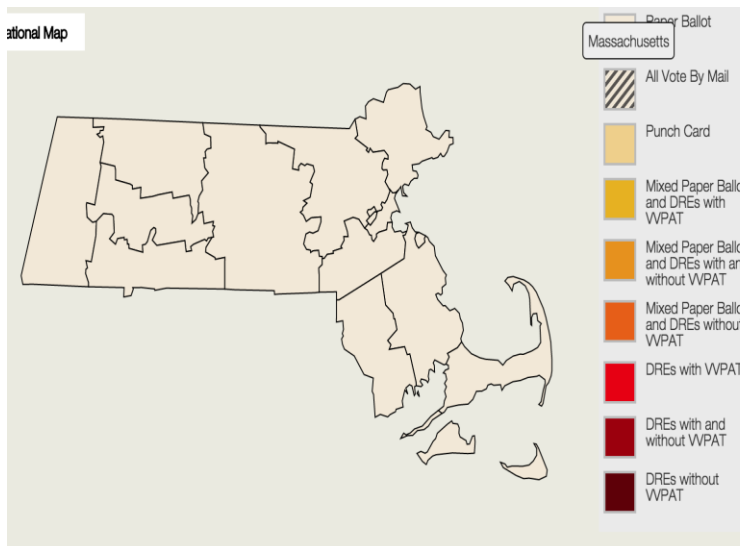
ALABAMA



Alabama polling places have paper ballots opti-scanned by ES&S statewide. No state audit law. Alabama results are WHOLLY VERIFIABLE and WHOLLY UNVERIFIED. Photo ID at the polls. Some felons' rights restored after incarceration, parole and probation; others lose their rights permanently.

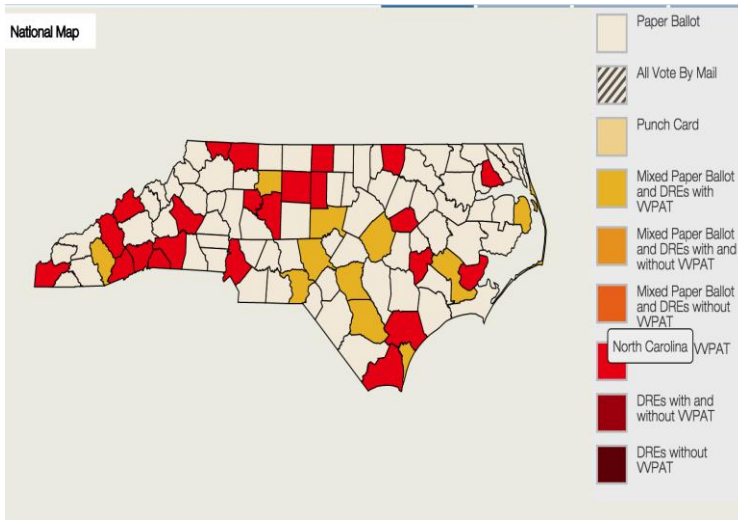
In 2006, Governor Don Siegelman was announced the winner on opti-scanned paper ballots on election night. In the wee hours, electronic results in one county shifted, giving the win to his opponent Bob Riley with no effect at all on the down-ballot races. Riley's campaign manager was married to Leura Canary, the US prosecutor who had been investigating Don without success. After his unverified "loss" – Attorney General William Pryor impounded the ballots under threat of indictment to anyone who touched them – Don was brought to trial on charges that 113 former and current states attorneys general called unprecedented: "crimes" that were never crimes until this prosecution concocted them. It is not paranoia to want verified results in Alabama; the closing of DMV offices where necessary photo ID can be obtained to vote is a visible scheme by which government insiders seek to control elections. The federal Department of Justice stepped in and stopped it.

MASSACHUSETTS



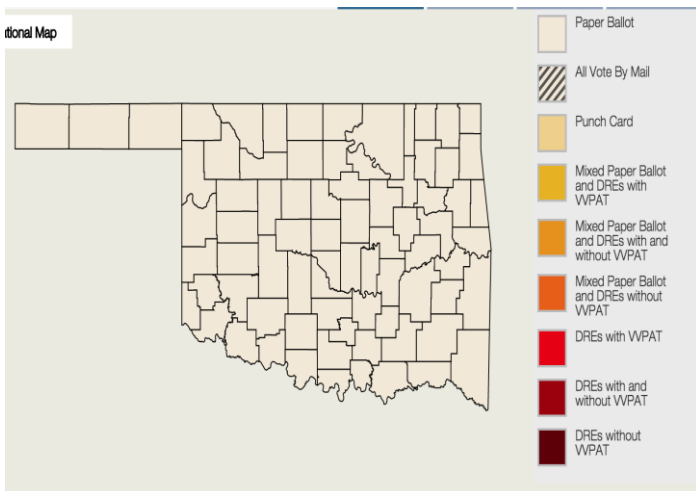
Massachusetts has statewide paper ballots at the polls opti-scanned by Diebold/Premier/Dominion; Dominion; ES&S. Same with absentee ballots. Diebold and ES&S service contract in 5 New England states held by LHS, a single company with "kingpin" access to the trade-secret election software. Massachusetts results are WHOLLY VERIFIABLE but UNVERIFIED. No ID at the polls except from first-time voters. Felon voting rights restored after incarceration.

NORTH CAROLINA



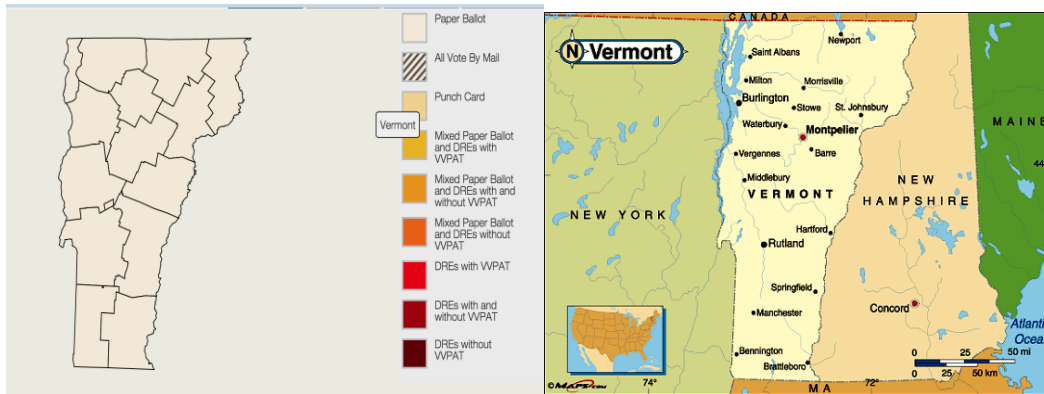
North Carolina counties have a mix of paper ballots and DREs with paper trails at the polls. Statewide vendor for all (including absentee ballot opti-scanners) is *ES&S*. State audit law permits each county to determine statistical number of ballots necessary to manually audit. Results **VERIFIABLE** and **PARTLY VERIFIED**. Photo ID at the polls (first state to pass one after SCOTUS gutted Voting Rights Act) unless voter brings notarized affidavit. Felon voting rights restored after probation.

OKLAHOMA



Oklahoma has all paper ballots. All ballots, including absentee, opti-scanned by *Hart InterCivic*. No state audit law. Oklahoma results are **VERIFIABLE** but **UNVERIFIED**. Non-photo ID required at polls. Felons rights restored after probation.

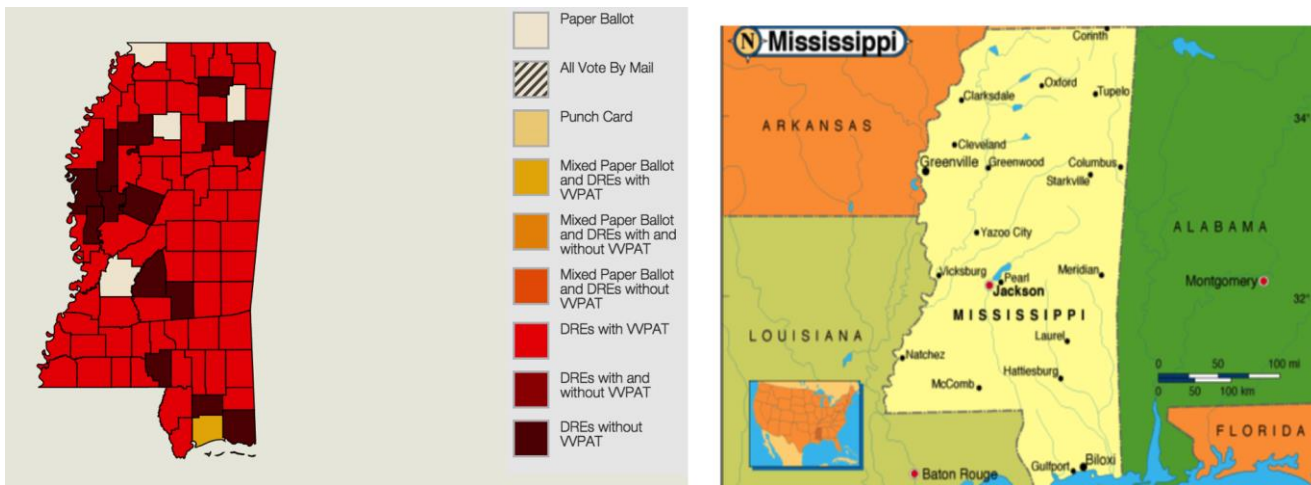
VERMONT



Vermont has paper ballots, some hand-counted, some opti-scanned by *Diebold/Premier/Dominion*. No mandatory audit law but audits may be ordered by Secretary of State. **VERIFIABLE** somewhat **VERIFIED**. No ID required at polls. Unrestricted felon rights; may vote in prison.

MARCH 8

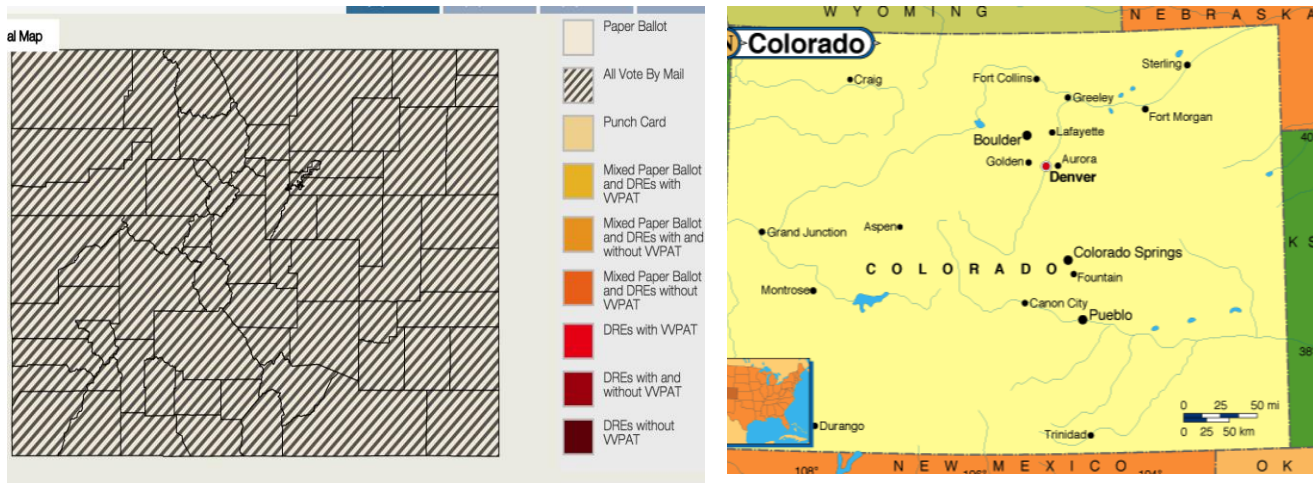
MISSISSIPPI



Mississippi counties mix paperless DREs, DREs with paper trails, and opti-scanned paper ballots. Vendors: *Diebold/Premier/Dominion* and *ES&S*. Paper ballots, including absentee, opti-scanned by *ES&S*. No state audit law. Results **UNVERIFIABLE** and **UNVERIFIED**. Photo ID at the polls. Some felon rights restored after probation, others lost permanently unless restored on appeal to the governor.

A 46-year old truckdriver named Robert Gray won the Mississippi Democratic nomination for governor in 2014. He spent \$60 on his campaign, didn't tell his family he was running, and didn't vote himself in the election because he was "too busy." His 51% victory margin was exactly what was needed to avoid a runoff with either of two credible rivals, one of whom, trial lawyer Vicki Slater, spent \$200,000 on her campaign yet "lost" by nearly 60,000 votes. Explanation offered and accepted: voters think the name Robert Gray looked good on the ballot. A perfect example of blame-the-voters (they're stupid) instead of verifying unaudited computer results.

COLORADO



Colorado caucuses for both parties are precinct meetings with VERIFIABLE results by public head-count or public count of anonymous paper ballots. But the map is instructive: Colorado is an all vote-by-mail state. All registered voters receive mailed paper ballots. Voted mailed ballots are opti-scanned by *ES&S*, *Diebold/Dominion*, *Hart InterCivic*, and *Sequoia/Dominion*. Voters must surrender unvoted absentee ballot at polls if they prefer to vote there- on DREs with paper trails from *Diebold/Dominion*, *Sequoia/Dominion*, *Hart InterCivic* or *ES&S*. State audit law requires 1% of voting devices per county must have their paper trails matched to the digital totals on the machine memory cards. Statewide results are PARTIALLY VERIFIABLE and PARTIALLY VERIFIED. Non-photo ID required at polls. Felon rights restored after parole.

THE REST OF THE NATION

Make your own racing forms with voting system maps and audit info from <https://www.verifiedvoting.org/verifier2014/>; ID laws info at www.voteriders.org/voter-id or http://ballotpedia.org/Voter_identification_laws_by_state; felon voting rights info at <http://felonvoting.procon.org/view.additional-resource.php?resourceID=006025>

Again, thanks to Pam Smith and the indefatigable researchers at VerifiedVoting for years of info-gathering.

GLOSSARY

VERIFIABLE RESULTS – Results that can be proven as accurate by publicly observable count of visible ballots.

UNVERIFIED RESULTS - Results obtained internally by computer code seen only by developers, election tech staff, and contracted service vendors. No public count of tangible ballots. .

DRE (Direct Record Electronic) - Computer voting machines with touchscreens that voters touch to make choices and cast voted ballot. Votes are recorded on digital memory cards and tallied internally by the machine. Memory cards are usually removed and tallied together with other precinct machines' memory cards in a central tabulator for county results. Sometimes wireless networks are used.

VVPAT (Voter Verified Paper Audit Trail) – A paper record of the voters' DRE ballot. It prints out the voters' choices and shows them under glass, disappearing when the voter touches the final Cast Vote button. Research shows voters do not always check the VVPAT for accuracy before voting. They cannot take the VVPAT with them. It stays in the machine for use by election officials in audits or recounts, but in many jurisdictions, no audits or recounts occur and the DRE VVPAT serves no practical purpose. Digital results are certified.

DRE POLL TAPES – A paper printed at the close of polls from each DRE voting machine that shows results in every race from the votes cast on that machine. Those totals can presumably be matched to the memory card totals that are carried to the central tabulator for tallying as the precincts' official results and published on the Secretary of State's website, but public access to the tapes for this purpose has been denied. At opening of polls, pollworkers must print a tape showing 0 votes in each race on each machine to prove no digital ballots-stuffing.

AUDIT – A partial recount to check the accuracy of election results by state or county. Most state audit laws require a statistical percentage of precincts to be randomly chosen, per county, for a full hand recount. But there is often no guidance for procedure if the percentage audit shows problems. Manual counts of VVPATs are less reliable than paper ballot recounts because the VVPAT often was not checked for accuracy by the voter. Auditing by opti-scan for a recount is not public verification. Audits of paperless DREs (DRE w/o VVPAT) by re-tabulating memory cards, or even tallying poll tapes together, is also not public verification, because DRE counting code is vulnerable to undetectable glitch and malware.

Los Angeles Registrar Connie McCormack quit her position in 2006 in part because she refused to count the VVPATs from Diebold DREs used in early voting in LA. Secretary of State Debra Bowen had mandated the VVPAT count when a technical review found the Diebold software inaccurate. McCormack said the curly thermal paper and fading ink made the trails impossible to count - a problem activists had warned about for years.

RECOUNTS – A complete second count of a race. Whether it constitutes public verification of results depends on whether there is anything publicly observable to recount, i.e., on the voting system used in the race, and the process used to recount.

TS (TouchScreen) – The DRE screen that voters touch to make choices and cast their final ballots.

DRE w/o VVPAT – A paperless computer voting machine with no verification of results possible.

DRE w/ VVPAT – A computer voting machine with a paper trail that may be inaccurate and is difficult to count.

OPTI-SCANNER – Scanners that process and count paper ballots with software, much faster than human eye. Opti-scan results can be VERIFIED in public by manual counting of ballots. Manual counting of paper ballots in mandatory statewide audits is currently the best verification any election jurisdiction offers, but dark patches in ballot chains of custody, and statistical insufficiency of partial hand-counts, can still be manipulated by determined fraudsters.

There is a lot we can do: the promise of citizen oversight alone is powerful. And it works. When Pima County, Arizona activists convinced a judge to mandate a security camera on their central tabulator to deter illegal access, an alert activist noticed, on his computer feed in the wee hours, that someone had entered the tabulator room and was trying to remove the tabulator's security seal, which had been affixed after testing that day. The embarrassed election official who was caught by security guards gave an awkward explanation that convinced knowledgeable activists his wee-hours visit was not necessary for a licit reason. It gave county cronies cover to ignore the breach. But whatever the man intended to do didn't get done.

Knowledge is power. Power to the people.