A comment on the May 2007 DoD report on Voting Technologies for UOCAVA Citizens

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We have reviewed the Department of Defense report titled "Expanding the Use of Electronic Voting Technology for UOCAVA Citizens" of May 2007. We find the report quite troubling.

Although the report describes many laudable ways to simplify voting for overseas Americans, it also appears fundamentally to be advocating for “a complete Internet voting system”, i.e. one that allows voters to cast their ballots on their own PCs and transmit them to the home jurisdiction over the Internet. The report estimates that it would take between 24 and 60 months to develop such a system, depending on recommendations and guidelines.

In 2003 the Department of Defense engaged our services to review its SERVE Internet voting project. The project was subsequently killed because of the numerous and fundamental security problems with it that we documented in a report we issued in 2004 (http://www.servesecurityreport.org). We are concerned that this new report appears to be trying to persuade readers that SERVE was a successful project and that Internet voting can be made safe and secure. Unfortunately, it does not accurately reflect the degree of concern that we and many others have expressed about Internet voting.

The new report includes (page 12) only the following selective quote from our report:

We want to make it clear that in recommending that SERVE be shut down, we mean no criticism of the FVAP, or of Accenture, or any of its personnel or subcontractors. They have been completely aware all along of the security problems we described, and we have been impressed with the engineering sophistication and skills they have devoted to attempts to ameliorate or eliminate daunting security problems. We do not believe that a differently constituted project could do any better job than the current team.

These are about the only lines in our entire report that were not critical of the SERVE project. Those comments were intended to soften an otherwise harsh assessment, and to make it clear that it was the technology, rather than the people, that we were criticizing. The immediately following sentences from our report were not quoted, but they more accurately reflect the report as a whole:

The real barrier to success is not a lack of vision, skill, resources, or dedication; it is the fact that, given the current Internet and PC security technology, and the goal of a secure, all-electronic remote voting system, the FVAP has taken on an essentially impossible task. There really is no good way to build such a voting system without a radical change in overall architecture of the Internet and the PC, or some unforeseen security breakthrough.

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In fact, no such security breakthrough has occurred, and we remain convinced that there is no way to secure Internet voting. Perhaps that is why the new DoD report resorts in some places to buzzwords instead of substance. For example, the report claims that roaming digital certificates will be used to combat certain threats. While that may sound good to general audiences, the use of such certificates does not address any of the serious problems identified in our SERVE report.

The IVAS system, deployed in 2006, was a modest successor to SERVE. Although it was reviewed favorably in the DoD report, it actually is more insecure than SERVE. IVAS involved email and fax and did not provide any encryption or authentication of ballots. Several parties, including an independent contractor, were in a position to tamper with or destroy ballots before they were received by local election officials. The DoD report cites surveys of local election officials saying that they would use IVAS again. But while such surveys may indicate interest by officials, they say absolutely nothing about whether such a system is actually secure. We believe it is not.

The current Internet and PC architectures are both such highly insecure platforms that it is essentially impossible to develop a secure system for voting in federal elections on them. From time to time some person or company claims to have “solved” the security problems of Internet-based elections. Such solutions typically deal only with some of the easier issues (voter authentication, secure ballot transmission) by using various encryption mechanisms. Invariably, the most difficult vulnerabilities are ignored, defined away, or addressed with ineffective gestures. Such vulnerabilities include insider attacks of various kinds, phishing attacks, DNS attacks, spoofing attacks, viral and backdoor attacks, distributed denial of service attacks, and automated vote buying and selling schemes. The purported mitigations listed on page 12 of the DoD report are examples of ineffective gestures; reading that list makes one wonder if the authors fully understand the gravity and complexity of the security issues.

Most of the security problems with Internet voting are generic to any PC and Internet application, and fundamentally have no effective solutions. This is why the majority of all email transmitted over the Internet is spam, and an estimated 50% of all Internet-connected PCs in the world are infected with malicious software, despite more than a decade of effort and immense investment by the world’s high technology companies in trying to fix these problems. It is not just that no solution to the problems of Internet voting has yet been deployed. The real problem is that no fundamental solution is possible using the current Internet protocols and the current PC hardware and software platforms. We do not anticipate that the changes in the design of Internet and in PC hardware and software needed to support secure elections will be forthcoming within the foreseeable future, and certainly not within the five year time span contemplated in this report.

In our 2004 report we made the case against the SERVE Internet voting system. However, those arguments actually apply to any Internet voting system, and so we repeat them here (in slightly updated form):

a) Paperless electronic voting systems have been widely criticized elsewhere for various deficiencies and security vulnerabilities: that their software is totally closed and proprietary; that the software undergoes insufficient scrutiny during certification; that they are especially vulnerable to various forms of insider (programmer) attacks; and that they have no voter-verified audit trails (paper or otherwise) that could largely circumvent these problems and improve voter confidence. All of these criticisms apply directly to Internet voting systems as well.

b) In addition, Internet voting systems have numerous other fundamental security problems
that generally leave them vulnerable to a variety of well-known cyber attacks (insider attacks, denial of service attacks, spoofing, automated vote buying, viral attacks, etc.), any one of which could be catastrophic.

c) Such attacks could occur on a very large-scale, and could be launched by anyone in the world, from a disaffected lone individual to a well-financed enemy agency outside the reach of U.S. law. These attacks could result in widespread, selective voter disenfranchisement, and/or privacy violation, and/or vote buying and selling, and/or vote switching, even to the extent of reversing the outcome of many elections at once, including the presidential election. With care in the design, some of the attacks could succeed and yet go completely undetected. Even if detected and neutralized, such attacks could have a devastating effect on public confidence in elections.

d) It is impossible to estimate the probability of a successful cyber-attack (or multiple successful attacks) on any one election. But the attacks we are most concerned about are quite easy to perpetrate. In some cases there are kits readily available on the Internet that could be modified or used directly for attacking an election. And we must consider the obvious fact that a U.S. general election offers one of the most tempting targets for cyber-attack ever, whether the attacker’s motive is overtly political or simply self-aggrandizement.

e) The vulnerabilities we describe cannot be fixed by better design of Internet voting software. They are fundamental in the architecture of the Internet and of PCs and their software. They cannot be eliminated for the foreseeable future. It is quite likely that they will never be eliminated without a wholesale redesign and replacement of much of the hardware and software security systems that are part of, or connected to, today’s Internet.

f) An Internet voting system might appear to work flawlessly in 2008, or whenever it is first deployed, with no successful attacks detected. Unfortunately, but inevitably, a seemingly successful Internet voting experiment in a U.S. presidential election would be viewed by many as strong evidence that Internet voting can be reliable, robust, and secure. Such reasoning is as fallacious as a claim that our cities are safe from “dirty bomb” attacks because we have been living in cities for a long time and no such attack has ever occurred. Any apparently successful election using Internet voting would encourage expansion of the idea in future elections, as well as the marketing of Internet voting systems to jurisdictions throughout the United States and in other countries.

g) Just because no successful attack is detected does not mean that none has occurred. Unlike military attacks, many cyber attacks, especially if cleverly hidden, would be extremely difficult or impossible to detect, even in cases when they change the outcome of a major election. Furthermore, the lack of a successful attack in one election does not mean that successful attacks would be less likely to happen in the future. Quite the contrary; future attacks would be more likely, both because there is more time to prepare the attack, and because expanded use of Internet voting would make the prize of a successful attack more valuable. In other words, a “successful” trial of Internet voting is the top of a slippery slope toward even more vulnerable systems in the future.

h) We certainly believe that there should be better support for voting for our military and for citizens living overseas. Unfortunately, we are forced to conclude that it would be a very serious mistake to deploy an Internet voting system. Because the danger of successful, large-scale attacks is so great, we reluctantly recommend against any Internet voting until
both the Internet and the world’s home computer infrastructure have been fundamentally redesigned.

Compounding these problems, companies selling Internet voting systems almost invariably claim that the software is proprietary, and refuse to permit examination and evaluation of their systems by independent experts. We fully expect that if this project goes forward, whatever company wins the contract will make exaggerated security claims, as others have in the past, and decline to permit independent experts to attempt to verify those claims and publish the results.

We understand the importance of providing military and overseas U.S. citizens with the best possible access to absentee voting. Many of these people are putting their lives on the line to protect our country, and we support many of the measures in the new DoD report that will make voting easier for them. But, we would do them no favor by providing them with a flagrantly insecure and inauditable method of voting. We believe it would be irresponsible to put our democracy at risk by allowing votes to be transmitted over the wide-open and insecure Internet.