



September 21, 2022

Office of the Committee on Professional Conduct  
2100 Riverfront Drive, Suite 200  
Little Rock, AR 72202-1747

Via Electronic Mail: [REDACTED]

Dear Committee on Professional Conduct:

The 65 Project is a bipartisan, nonprofit effort to protect democracy from abuse of the legal system by holding accountable lawyers who engage in fraudulent and malicious attempts to subvert American democracy.

We write to request that the Committee on Professional Conduct review the actions taken by Attorney General Leslie Rutledge, a member of the Arkansas Bar, relating to a concerted effort to overturn the legitimate 2020 presidential election results. Although many attorneys participated in this scheme, Ms. Rutledge played an important role – lending the legal profession’s credibility to the destructive cause and using public office to amplify false assertions and frivolous claims that lacked any basis in law or fact. Specifically, Ms. Rutledge joined with other attorneys general and submitted a brief in support of the State of Texas’s Bill of Complaint in *Texas v. Pennsylvania* before the United States Supreme Court. The importance of so many attorneys general providing their support for the bogus effort cannot be overstated. In the words of Fox commentator Sean Hannity at the time:

Let’s be clear. No state’s attorney general, you’ve got to understand politics here, would ever put their name or reputation on the line over a case that lacks merit on the law or [is] without a strong constitutional basis. Definitely not 17 attorneys general. That is what happened. Eighteen total when you include Texas, no matter what political alliances they have or don’t have.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Hannity was wrong. And just like Mr. Hannity’s commentary, the filings Ms. Rutledge joined were political propaganda masquerading as analysis.

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<sup>1</sup> Yael Halon, *Hannity: Texas is leading the charge to restore election integrity with latest lawsuit*, Fox News, (Dec. 9, 2020), <https://www.foxnews.com/media/hannity-texas-election-integrity>

Then, after filing the amicus brief, Ms. Rutledge sought to intervene in the matter and expressly joined and adopted by reference Texas’s Bill of Complaint, as well as that filed by John Eastman on behalf of Donald Trump. The Court summarily dismissed the effort and Texas’s Commission on Lawyer Discipline is pursuing disciplinary proceedings against Attorney General Ken Paxton for initiating that matter and resting Texas’s arguments on false statements and unsupportable legal claims.

Warranting further scrutiny is Ms. Rutledge’s leadership in an organization that encouraged “patriots” to join with them to “march to the Capitol building and call on Congress to stop the steal” on January 6, 2021, and to “fight to protect the integrity of our elections.” In fact, evidence suggests that Ms. Rutledge’s official staff participated in “War Games” strategy sessions held by these outside political groups, likely doing so while on government time.

A full investigation by your office will demonstrate the egregious nature of Ms. Rutledge’s actions, especially when considered in light of her purposes and the direct and possible consequences of her behavior.

## BACKGROUND

Donald Trump lost the 2020 presidential election.<sup>2</sup> Anticipating his loss, Mr. Trump and his allies began questioning the election’s legitimacy months before even one voter had cast a ballot.<sup>3</sup> In fact, this fit a pattern of Mr. Trump, declaring fraud or a rigged election any time he lost or anticipated a loss.

Joe Biden received over 81 million votes in November 2020, defeating Mr. Trump by over seven million votes and over four percentage points.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Trump’s head of the U.S. Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, Christopher Krebs, [announced](#) that the “November 3<sup>rd</sup> election was the most secure in American history. . . . There is no evidence that any voting system deleted or lost votes or changed votes or was in any way compromised.” Mr. Trump [fired him](#). William Barr, Mr. Trump’s own Attorney General, [declared that the Department of Justice](#) has “not seen fraud on a scale that could have effected a different outcome in the election.” Attorney General Barr announced his resignation less than two weeks later, but not before again confirming that the 2020 elections had been free and fair.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> See United States National Archives, Electoral College Results – 2020, available at <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2020>.

<sup>3</sup> Kevin Liptak, *A List of the Times Trump Has Said He Won’t Accept the Election Results or Leave Office if He Loses*, CNN (Sept. 24, 2020), <https://www.cnn.com/2020/09/24/politics/trump-election-warnings-leaving-office/index.html>.

<sup>4</sup> See Federal Election Commission, *Official 2020 Presidential General Election Results*, available at <https://www.fec.gov/resources/cms-content/documents/2020presgeresults.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> M. Balsamo, *Disputing Trump, Barr says no widespread election fraud*, Associated Press (Dec. 1, 2020), <https://perma.cc/4U8N-SMB5>.

Many of Mr. Trump’s own senior advisors agreed with Attorney General Barr and Mr. Krebs.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, Deputy (and later Acting) Attorney General Jeffrey Rosen and Associate (and later Acting) Deputy Attorney General Richard Donoghue regularly refuted the false information and allegations that Mr. Trump and his allies asserted about a fraudulent election.<sup>7</sup> Mr. Rosen has testified that on December 15, 2020, at a meeting that included Mark Meadows, White House Chief of Staff, that he and others told Mr. Trump that the information he was receiving from his political allies was not correct.<sup>8</sup> And Mr. Donoghue has testified to the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Select Committee) that on December 27, 2020, he told Mr. Trump “in very clear terms” that after “dozens of investigations, hundreds of interviews” looking at “Georgia, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Nevada,” the Department of Justice – Mr. Trump’s own Department of Justice – had concluded that “the major allegations are not supported by the evidence developed.”<sup>9</sup>

Despite clear proof that no fraud occurred, and that no one stole the election from him, Mr. Trump and his lawyers sought to overturn the legitimate results by filing 65 baseless lawsuits across the country.<sup>10</sup> None succeeded, and, in fact, courts have imposed sanctions on the lawyers who participated in these suits and referred them for sanctions to their respective state bars.<sup>11</sup>

But as the Select Committee has revealed, lawyers participated in the effort to overturn the presidential election from public office, as well. Indeed, these lawyers played an even more malevolent role because they used their special roles as public officeholders to propagate lies and misinformation that imperil American democracy.

### **CONDUCT GIVING RISE TO REQUIRED DISCIPLINE**

One significant undertaking to disrupt the election’s outcome centered on a lawsuit filed by the State of Texas. On December 7, 2020, Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton initiated a lawsuit

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<sup>6</sup> See Deposition of Jason Miller (Feb. 3, 2022), available at <https://january6th.house.gov/sites/democrats.january6th.house.gov/files/2022.03.02%20%28ECF%20160%29%20Opposition%20to%20Plaintiff%27s%20Privilege%20Claims%20%28Redacted%29.pdf>; Interview of Jeffrey Rosen (Aug. 7, 2021), United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 117th Cong. 30, available at <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/rosen-transcript-final>.

<sup>7</sup> See Interview of Jeffrey Rosen *see also* Interview of Richard Donoghue (Oct. 1, 2021), available at <https://january6th.house.gov/sites/democrats.january6th.house.gov/files/2022.03.02%20%28ECF%20160%29%20Opposition%20to%20Plaintiff%27s%20Privilege%20Claims%20%28Redacted%29.pdf>

<sup>8</sup> Interview of Jeffrey Rosen.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Richard Donoghue.

<sup>10</sup> W. Cummings, J. Garrison & J. Sergent, *By the numbers: President Donald Trump’s failed efforts to overturn the election*, USA Today (Jan. 6, 2021), available at <https://www.usatoday.com/in-depth/news/politics/elections/2021/01/06/trumps-failed-efforts-overturn-election-numbers/4130307001/>.

<sup>11</sup> See, e.g., *King v. Whitmer*, No. 20-13134 (U.S. Dist. Ct. E. Dist. Mich. Aug. 25, 2021), available at [https://www.michigan.gov/documents/ag/172\\_opinion\\_\\_order\\_King\\_733786\\_7.pdf](https://www.michigan.gov/documents/ag/172_opinion__order_King_733786_7.pdf).

with the United States Supreme Court against Pennsylvania, Georgia, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Texas sought for the Court to enjoin Pennsylvania and the other three defendant states from using the 2020 election results to appoint electors and to instead have the state legislatures choose electors or to have no electors at all.<sup>12</sup> Texas based the request to disenfranchise over 20 million voters on factual and legal assertions that lacked any foundation and that state and lower federal courts had already uniformly rejected.<sup>13</sup> Texas asserted that it – or any state – had the right to pursue these claims before the Supreme Court under its original jurisdiction, even though lower courts had already determined that substantially similar claims lacked merit.<sup>14</sup>

Mr. Trump enthusiastically endorsed the effort and called it “the big one.”<sup>15</sup> In fact, through his attorney, John Eastman, Mr. Trump filed a motion seeking to intervene that adopted the entirety of the Texas filing.<sup>16</sup> Texas’s Complaint, though, failed to address any of the factual or legal hurdles – including many settled principles of law – that stood in the way of the requested relief. Indeed, Texas’s own solicitor general at that time refused to allow his name to be added to the matter, likely because of its frivolous nature.<sup>17</sup> United States Senator John Cornyn, also a Texas Republican – and former Texas Supreme Court justice – said at the time, “I frankly struggle to understand the legal theory” behind the lawsuit.<sup>18</sup> Republican Senator Ben Sasse called it a “PR stunt rather than a lawsuit.”<sup>19</sup> Conservative commentators and legal scholars lambasted the filing.<sup>20</sup>

The Texas filing alleged that the State had standing to sue the four defendant States because of Texas’s interest “in who is elected as *Vice President* and thus ... can [break Senate ties]”<sup>21</sup> and

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<sup>12</sup> Bill of Complaint (Comp.), p. 4

<sup>13</sup> Emma Platoff, In new lawsuit, Texas contests election results in Georgia, Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania, The Texas Tribune (Dec. 8, 2020), <https://www.texastribune.org/2020/12/08/texas-ken-paxton-election-georgia/>

<sup>14</sup>Comp., p. 8

<sup>15</sup> Nomaan Merchant & Alanna Durkin Richer, *Supreme Court Rejects Texas Lawsuit — Backed by Trump and Most House GOP Members — To Overturn Election Results*, Chicago Tribune (Dec. 12, 2020), <https://www.chicagotribune.com/election-2020/ct-republicans-texas-supreme-court-election-lawsuit-20201211-gnoqqkepqbfxiuoc3b5oqnjvy-story.html>.

<sup>16</sup> Motion of Donald J. Trump, President of the United States, to Intervene in his Personal Capacity as Candidate for Re-Election, p. 4

<sup>17</sup> See Jim Rutenberg et. al., *77 Days: Trump’s Campaign to Subvert the Election*, N.Y. Times (Jan. 31, 2021), <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/31/us/trump-election-lie.html>.

<sup>18</sup> *Cornyn Questions 'Legal Theory' of Texas' Suit to Overturn Other States' Election Results*, CBS Austin (Dec. 10, 2020), <https://cbsaustin.com/news/local/cornyn-questions-legal-theory-of-texas-suit-to-overturn-other-states-election-results>.

<sup>19</sup> Mairead McArdle, *Sasse Predicts Supreme Court Will Toss 'PR Stunt' Texas Election Lawsuit*, Nat'l. Rev. (Dec. 10, 2020), <https://www.nationalreview.com/news/sasse-predicts-supreme-court-will-toss-pr-stunt-texas-election-lawsuit/>.

<sup>20</sup> Emma Platoff, *U.S. Supreme Court Throws Out Texas Lawsuit Contesting 2020 Election Results in Four Battleground States*, Texas Tribune (Dec. 11, 2020), <https://www.texastribune.org/2020/12/11/texas-lawsuit-supreme-court-election-results>.

<sup>21</sup> Brief in Support of Motion to File Bill of Complaint (Brief), p. 13 (emphasis in original).

its interest as *parens patriae* to protect the interest of its electors being able to vote in the Electoral College.<sup>22</sup> Texas cited no caselaw to support these assertions that one State has standing to challenge how another State administers its elections. And no such precedent exists.

Further, the contention was at odds with the constitutional and statutory approach for presidential elections. First, the Constitution's Electors Clause expressly grants to each State the unilateral right to determine the rules under which it will select its own presidential electors.<sup>23</sup> Second, principles of federalism require that every State has the constitutional authority to make and execute the laws for the people within the State without interference by other States. Finally, Texas proposed creating a system of chaos throughout the entire electoral process. As one constitutional expert noted, "This is truly ridiculous.... If the 50 sister States could sue each other to overturn each other's election results, there'd be a mind-blowing cascade of ... intra-family Electoral College mega-suits. Endless!"<sup>24</sup>

As the Attorney General of Arkansas, Ms. Rutledge knows better. And yet, Ms. Rutledge signed onto the effort.

Additionally, Texas's briefing contained numerous false allegations that Ms. Rutledge's briefs adopted. For example, the Bill of Complaint asserted that: "[t]he probability of former Vice President Biden's winning the popular vote in [each of] the four Defendant States – Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin -- ... given President Trump's early lead in those States as of 3 a.m. on November 4, 2020, is less than one in a quadrillion, or 1 in 1,000,000,000,000,000."<sup>25</sup> However, this statement misrepresented the actual finding made in the unsworn declaration by the expert. Instead, the expert simply stated that it was a "one in quadrillion" chance that Mr. Biden would have prevailed in all four states if the votes counted after 3 a.m. had been "randomly drawn from the same population" as the votes counted before 3 a.m.<sup>26</sup> Hardly the same thing. In fact, the expert himself admitted there were reasons to believe that "Democratic strongholds were yet to be tabulated" by 3 a.m. and that if "the yet-to-be counted ballots were likely absentee mail-in ballots []" or if the post-3 a.m. votes were "from Democratic Strongholds ... [e]ither could cause the later ballots to be non-randomly different from the nearly 95% of ballots counted by 3 a.m. EST [.]"<sup>27</sup> Put simply, Texas misrepresented its expert's conclusions – a fact easily established by reviewing the relevant filings.

Moreover, Texas sought a preliminary injunction to prevent the Defendant States' electors from voting in the Electoral College and to enable state legislatures to replace them with electors for the losing presidential candidate, Mr. Trump. Texas contended that "[t]he issues presented here are neither fact-bound nor complex" and that "[t]his case presents a pure and straightforward

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<sup>22</sup> *Id.*, pp. 14 -15

<sup>23</sup> Const. Art. II, Sect. 1, Cl. 2

<sup>24</sup> Darragh Roche, *Legal Experts Call Texas Election Lawsuit 'Publicity Stunt' Supreme Court Will Never Hear*, Newsweek (Dec. 9, 2020), <https://www.newsweek.com/supreme-court-texas-election-lawsuit-1553409>

<sup>25</sup> Comp., p. 6

<sup>26</sup> Declaration of Charles J. Cicchetti (Cicchetti Decl.), Dec. 6, 2020, p. 5a

<sup>27</sup> Cicchetti Decl., p. 5a; accord, p. 4a

question of law that requires neither finding additional facts nor briefing beyond the threshold issues presented here.”<sup>28</sup> In fact, Texas stated that the matter was a “prime candidate for summary disposition.”<sup>29</sup>

Here, too, Texas’s assertions lacked candor. The State Defendants disputed many of Texas’s allegations of material fact. For example, Michigan disagreed with Texas’s claim that “large numbers of unaccounted for ballots showed up at the TCF Center, and that Republican challengers were wrongly denied access or had challenges improperly rejected[.]”<sup>30</sup> Georgia challenged Texas’s assertions regarding the State’s rejection rate for absentee ballots.<sup>31</sup>

Even more problematic, Texas made various claims that Defendants violated their own State laws in administering their elections. The Defendant States, of course, vigorously disputed that. But, in addition, Texas failed to acknowledge or inform the Court that Mr. Trump and his allies had filed dozens of lawsuits making the same claims, and they had already been universally rejected by state and federal courts.<sup>32</sup>

These were not just minor deficiencies of the Texas complaint. They rendered the entire undertaking frivolous and an attempt to hijack our nation’s highest court for political propaganda. And despite the fact that this was obvious – whether reviewing only the four corners of the filing or the full context – Ms. Rutledge lent the State of Arkansas’s name to the effort.

The motion to intervene that Ms. Rutledge filed adopted these baseless arguments and the amicus brief that Ms. Rutledge signed asserted that Texas “raise[d] serious concerns relating to election integrity and public confidence in elections.”<sup>33</sup> The filing reiterates Texas’s false allegations regarding excluding bipartisan observers from ballot-opening and -counting processes and excluding poll watchers from absentee ballot counting. The amicus brief reasserts Texas’s allegations about *state* law violations, without acknowledging that State supreme courts (the final arbiters in what state law means) rejected such claims already. And the amicus brief doubles down on Texas’s attempt to undermine the legitimacy of the election. Indeed, the word fraud or its variant appears 89 times in the 22-page filing.

As noted earlier, the Supreme Court tersely rejected the effort.

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<sup>28</sup> Brief, pp. 34-35

<sup>29</sup> *Id.*, p. 34 This last statement was true, as the Court demonstrated, but not in the way Texas meant.

<sup>30</sup> State of Michigan’s Brief in Opposition to Motions for Leave to File Bill of Complaint and for Injunctive Relief (Michigan Brief), p. 16

<sup>31</sup> Georgia’s Opposition to Texas’s Motion for Leave to File Bill of Complaint and Its Motion for Preliminary Relief (Georgia’s Opposition), p. 23

<sup>32</sup> See Opposition to Motion for Leave to File Bill of Complaint and Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Temporary Restraining Order, or Stay [Pennsylvania] (Pennsylvania’s Opposition) pp. 3-5; Georgia’s Opposition, pp. 6-7; and Michigan Brief, pp. 5-7. 10-12.

<sup>33</sup> Brief of Missouri and 16 Other States as Amici Curiae in Support of Plaintiff’s Motion for Leave to File Bill of Complaint, p. 22.

Ms. Rutledge's efforts did not end there.

Ms. Rutledge plays an important role in the Republican Attorneys General Association (RAGA), which took its current form as a 527 organization in 2014. That same year, RAGA formed the Rule of Law Defense Fund (RLDF) as the 501(c)(4) fundraising arm. Ms. Rutledge has served on the executive committee of RAGA since 2016 and in 2017 was appointed as the organization's vice chair and then chair.

In December 2018, the Arkansas Ethics Commission cautioned Ms. Rutledge after she accepted \$2,700 from the RAGA Arkansas PAC for her election campaign, despite the group's failure to register with the Arkansas Secretary of State's office.

And in 2020, RAGA and RLDF paid over \$41,000 to cover Ms. Rutledge's travel, lodging, and food for trips on 12 separate days. Her own disclosures reveal the following, which include a trip on or around the same date that Ms. Rutledge signed on to Texas's filing:

**Addendum to the Statement of Financial Interest for Attorney General Leslie Rutledge- January 2020**

**Section 11: Non-Governmental Sources of Payment**

**1. Republican Attorneys General Association**

Address: 1747 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Suite 800, Washington, DC 20006

Expenses from national meetings and trainings including food, lodging, and travel.

Date of Expense:	Amount:
2/25/2020	\$1,000.10
2/29/2020	\$2,757.34
08/21/2020	\$1,957.72
8/24/2020	\$5,948.55
9/28/2020	\$3,773.30
10/10/2020	\$2,850.43
11/9/2020	\$2,824.01

**2. Rule of Law Defense Fund**

Address: 1747 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Suite 800, Washington, DC 20006

Expenses from national meetings and trainings including food, lodging, and travel.

Date of Expense:	Amount:
1/22/2020	\$2,118.32
1/23/2020	\$4,665.62
2/29/2020	\$1,675.18
9/10/2020	\$320.08
9/23/2020	\$6,353.37
10/6/2020	\$2,414.59
11/9/2020	\$145.93
12/9/2020	\$2,814.56

It has been reported and verified through open records requests that in the leadup to the presidential election, RAGA and RLDF held dozens of strategy sessions – called “war games” – with the staff of Attorneys General.<sup>34</sup> Ms. Rutledge’s chief of staff, deputy chief of staff, and assistant attorney general and legislative director participated in RAGA/RLDF funded trips, which coincided with a “war games” event.<sup>35</sup>

RAGA and RLDF were both separately listed as organizers on the website of the March to Save America, the rally held on the Ellipse in Washington, D.C. on January 6, 2021.<sup>36</sup> The day before the rally, RLDF financed and sent out robocalls that promoted the March and called on “patriots” “join them” to “fight to protect the integrity of our elections.”<sup>37</sup> Note the choice of words – not “rally,” not “demonstrate” or “support.” Instead, RLDF called on “patriots” to “fight.”

It is well-documented what happened at the January 6 event. Heeding the call to “fight,” at the end of the rally, rioters made their way to the Capitol, breached security, vandalized the building, assaulted police officers, and sought to hunt down members of Congress and Vice President Pence. Nine people died as a result of the insurrection, including four police officers who committed suicide within seven months of responding to the attack.<sup>38</sup> The insurrectionists injured over 138 police officers.<sup>39</sup> To date, 910 people have been charged in connection with the January 6 insurrection, with at least 390 of those defendants pleading guilty, and courts have imposed sentences reaching over 60 months.<sup>40</sup>

### **A SUBSTANTIAL BASIS EXISTS FOR THE OFFICE OF PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT TO INVESTIGATE MS. RUTLEDGE’S CONDUCT AND TO IMPOSE APPROPRIATE DISCIPLINE**

The Office of Professional Conduct should investigate Ms. Rutledge’s actions on the following basis:

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<sup>34</sup> Paul Wagman, *News Analysis: Top Missouri politicians fuel political ambitions, campaign chests with election myths*, Gateway Journalism Review (May 5, 2022), <https://gatewayjr.org/news-analysis-top-missouri-politicians-fuel-political-ambitions-campaign-chests-with-election-myths/>.

<sup>35</sup> See <https://financial-disclosures.sos.arkansas.gov/index.html#/exploreFilerDetail/245902/3>.

<sup>36</sup> Wagman, *News Analysis*.

<sup>37</sup> Rebecca Rivas, Eric Landry denies involvement in call for Trump supporters to march on U.S. Capitol, Missouri Independent (Jan. 9, 2021), <https://missouriindependent.com/2021/01/09/eric-schmitt-denies-involvement-in-call-for-trump-supporters-to-march-on-u-s-capitol/>.

<sup>38</sup> Jan Wolfe, *Four Officers Who Responded to U.S. Capitol Attack Have Died by Suicide*, Reuters (Aug. 2, 2021), available at <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/officer-who-responded-us-capitol-attack-is-third-die-by-suicide-2021-08-02/>.

<sup>39</sup> Michael S. Schmidt & Luke Broadwater, *Officers’ Injuries, Including Concussions, Show Scope of Violence at Capitol Riot*, N.Y. Times (Feb. 12, 2021), available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/11/us/politics/capitol-riot-police-officer-injuries.html>.

<sup>40</sup> Madison Hall et. al., *At Least 910 People Have Been Charged in the Capitol Insurrection so far. This Searchable Table Shows Them All*, Insider (Sept. 12, 2022), <https://www.insider.com/all-the-us-capitol-pro-trump-riot-arrests-charges-names-2021-1>.



1. Ms. Rutledge Violated Rule 3.1 By Asserting an Issue She Should Have Reasonably Known To Be Frivolous

Rule 3.1 provides, in part, as follows: “A lawyer shall not bring or defend a proceeding, or assert or controvert an issue therein, unless there is a basis in law and fact for doing so that is not frivolous.”

Comment 2 states that: “A filing or assertion is frivolous ... if the lawyer is unable either to make a good faith argument that the action taken is consistent with existing law or that it may be supported by a good faith argument for an extension, modification or reversal of existing law.”

The amicus brief that Ms. Rutledge signed and submitted to the United States Supreme Court reasserted allegations made by Texas that lacked any basis in law or fact. Indeed, the Texas filing cited no authority for allowing the State to have standing to sue Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. The amicus brief provided none, either. Additionally, the Texas Complaint made false claims of fact and misrepresented Texas’s own expert’s findings. Specifically, the filings:

- Claimed that the State of Texas had standing to sue the four defendant states, but failed to provide a single precedent for the argument.<sup>41</sup>
- Repeated allegations regarding voter fraud, unsecured ballots, and state officials destroying ballot materials that had already been rejected by every state and federal court that had heard similar concocted claims.<sup>42</sup>
- Misrepresented its own expert’s conclusion by claiming that “[t]he probability of former Vice President Biden’s winning the popular vote in [each of] the four Defendant States – Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin -- ...given President Trump’s early lead in those States as of 3 a.m. on November 4, 2020, is less than one in a quadrillion, or 1 in 1,000,000,000,000,000.”<sup>43</sup> In actuality, the expert’s opinion focused on the likelihood of Mr. Biden overcoming Mr. Trump’s early lead if the votes counted *after* 3:00 a.m. had been “randomly drawn from the same population” as the votes counted *before* 3:00 a.m.<sup>44</sup>
- Relied on unfounded factual assumptions that the votes tabulated after 3:00 a.m. would come from the same randomly drawn population as those counted before 3:00 a.m. and that the 2020 and 2016 electorates were identical.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> See Opposition to Motion for Leave to File Bill of Complaint and Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Temporary Restraining Order, or Stay [Pennsylvania] (“Pennsylvania’s Opposition”) pp. 3-5; Georgia’s Opposition, pp. 6-7; and Michigan Brief, pp. 5-7, 10-12.

<sup>42</sup> See *id.*

<sup>43</sup> Motion for Leave to File Bill of Complaint and Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Temporary Restraining Order, or Stay.

<sup>44</sup> Eric Litke, *Fact Check: Statistical Analysis Supporting Pro-Trump Supreme Court Case is ‘Ludicrous,’* USA Today (Dec. 10, 2020),

<https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/factcheck/2020/12/10/fact-check-ludicrous-statistical-analysis-supporting-pro-trump-case/3877743001/>.

<sup>45</sup> *Id.*

- Requested extraordinary relief without providing any precedent to support the request.<sup>46</sup>
- Used only an incomplete and misleading quotation from 3 U.S.C. § 2 to suggest that a state legislature could appoint replacement electors “for any reason.”<sup>47</sup>

Notably, the Texas State Bar Commission on Lawyer Discipline is pressing forward with an action against Mr. Paxton for bringing that matter. The Commission’s initial filing states:

Respondent’s pleadings requesting this extraordinary relief misrepresented to the United States Supreme Court that an “outcome-determinative” number of votes in each Defendant States supported Respondent’s pleadings and injunction requests. Respondent made representations in his pleadings that: 1) an outcome determinative number of votes were tied to unregistered voters; 2) votes were switched by a glitch with Dominion voting machines; 3) state actors “unconstitutionally revised their state’s election statutes;” and 4) “illegal votes” had been cast that affected the outcome of the election.

Respondent’s representations were dishonest. His allegations were not supported by any charge, indictment, judicial finding, and/or credible or admissible evidence, and failed to disclose to the Court that some of his representations and allegations had already been adjudicated and/or dismissed in a court of law.

In addition, Respondent misrepresented that the State of Texas had “uncovered substantial evidence... that raises serious doubts as to the integrity of the election process in Defendant States,” and had standing to bring these claims before the United States Supreme Court.<sup>48</sup>

Ms. Rutledge’s brief adopted by reference the same arguments as Texas’s Bill of Complaint and the amicus brief was equally dishonest. Ms. Rutledge therefore warrants investigation and discipline.

## 2. Ms. Rutledge Used Tactics to Burden Other Persons

Rule 4.4(a) provides that, “In representing a client, an attorney shall not use means that have no substantial purpose other than to embarrass, delay, or burden a third person, or use methods of obtaining evidence that violate the legal rights of such a person.”

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<sup>46</sup> See Pennsylvania’s Opposition.

<sup>47</sup> See *id.*

<sup>48</sup> *Comm’n for Lawyer Discipline v. Paxton*, Cause No. 471-02574-2022 (Dist. Ct. Collin Cty., Tex.) Original Disciplinary Pet. at 4.

Ms. Rutledge supported an effort that would invalidate the votes of tens of millions of citizens. The Third Circuit Court of Appeals addressed the notion of throwing out the valid votes of millions of Pennsylvanians by stating:

Granting relief would harm millions of Pennsylvania voters too. The Campaign would have us set aside 1.5 million ballots without even alleging fraud. As the deadline to certify votes has already passed, granting relief would disenfranchise those voters or sidestep the expressed will of the people. Tossing out those ballots could disrupt every down-ballot race as well. There is no allegation of fraud (let alone proof) to justify harming those millions of voters as well as other candidates.<sup>49</sup>

Ms. Rutledge’s effort went further than the plaintiffs in Pennsylvania, who sought to decertify or invalidate the election in one state. Here, Ms. Rutledge sought to prevent the counting of four states’ votes – to disenfranchise tens of millions of voters because Ms. Rutledge did not like how the elections in those states turned out. Further, the effort Ms. Rutledge supported would have led to a constitutional crisis. In short, Ms. Rutledge sought to harm tens of millions of legal voters without any basis, and the effort burdened nothing less than American democracy itself.

3. Ms. Rutledge Violated Rule 8.4 by Assisting Others to Violate Rules of Professional Conduct

Rule 8.4 provides that, “It is professional misconduct for a lawyer to ... violate or attempt to violate the Rules of Professional Conduct, knowingly assist or induce another to do so, or do so through the acts of another.”

Ms. Rutledge assisted Mr. Paxton, Mr. Eastman, and others with violating their own states’ rules of professional conduct. As discussed above, the Texas State Bar Commission on Lawyer Discipline is proceeding against Mr. Paxton for his filings in *Texas v. Pennsylvania*. Similarly, Mr. Eastman is currently subject to an investigation by the State Bar of California’s Chief Trial Counsel after receiving numerous complaints regarding Mr. Eastman’s conduct to overturn the 2020 election, including his representation of Mr. Trump before the United States Supreme Court.

Therefore, as Ms. Rutledge aided Mr. Paxton’s and Mr. Eastman’s efforts that violated rules of professional conduct, Ms. Rutledge, too, violated Rule 8.4(a).

4. Ms. Rutledge Violated Rule 8.4(c) by Engaging in Conduct Involving Dishonesty, Fraud, Deceit or Misrepresentation

As discussed above, the filings that Ms. Rutledge signed and joined contained numerous falsehoods that demonstrate a willingness to deceive the public and our nation’s highest court.

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<sup>49</sup> *Donald J. Trump for President, Inc.*, 830 F. App’x at 390.

As Comment 6 to Rule 8.4 underscores, “Lawyers holding public office assume legal responsibilities going beyond those of other citizens.” Rule 8.4 provides that it constitutes professional misconduct for a lawyer to “[e]ngage in conduct involving dishonesty, fraud, deceit, or misrepresentation.”

False statements intended to foment a loss of confidence in our elections and resulting loss of confidence in government generally damage the proper functioning of free society. When those false statements are made by an attorney, it also erodes the public’s confidence in the integrity of attorneys admitted to our bar and damages the profession’s role as a crucial source of reliable information.<sup>50</sup>

Ms. Rutledge violated these standards by communicating demonstrably false and misleading statements to the public and in court filings in an effort to keep Mr. Trump in power.

Additionally, an organization to which Ms. Rutledge held a critical leadership position at relevant times also sent out robocalls encouraging people to attend the January 6<sup>th</sup> rally and “fight” Congress’s certifying Mr. Biden’s victory. These communications falsely suggested a stolen election. Ms. Rutledge’s associations with RAGA and RLDF are too strong to simply allow Ms. Rutledge to claim that RAGA acted independently and without Ms. Rutledge’s knowledge. Certainly, a sufficient basis exists to further investigate the matter.

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The United States Supreme Court has long recognized in upholding disciplinary actions that “speech by an attorney is subject to greater regulation than speech by others.”<sup>51</sup> As officers of the court an attorney is “an intimate and trusted and essential part of the machinery of justice” and a “crucial source of information and opinion.”<sup>52</sup> Although attorneys, of course, maintain First Amendment rights, the actions in question here cross far beyond protected speech. Indeed, disciplinary boards and courts considering the conduct of other lawyers involved in the effort to overturn the 2020 election have rejected assertions that the attorneys enjoyed First Amendment protections for their conduct.

Ms. Rutledge chose to offer her professional license and public trust to Mr. Trump’s arsenal during the latter’s assault on our democracy. She cannot be shielded from the consequences of that decision simply because she holds high public office.

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<sup>50</sup> *In the Matter of Rudolph W. Giuliani*, Supreme Court of the State of New York Appellate Division, First Judicial Dept., May 3, 2021, available at [https://www.nycourts.gov/courts/ad1/calendar/List\\_Word/2021/06\\_Jun/24/PDF/Matter%20of%20Giuliani%20\(2021-00506\)%20PC.pdf](https://www.nycourts.gov/courts/ad1/calendar/List_Word/2021/06_Jun/24/PDF/Matter%20of%20Giuliani%20(2021-00506)%20PC.pdf).

<sup>51</sup> *Ohralik v. Ohio State Bar Assn.*, 436 U.S. 447, 465 (1978).

<sup>52</sup> *Gentile v. State Bar of Nevada*, 501 U.S. 1030, 1056, 1072 (1991).

For the reasons set forth above, we respectfully request that the Office of Professional Conduct investigate Ms. Rutledge's conduct and impose appropriate discipline.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Michael Teter".

Michael Teter  
Managing Director, The 65 Project  
[REDACTED]