

Dear SIC and LD32 Committee Members

November 18, 2023

I was informed by Doyle Beck on Oct 2, 2023, that a "grievance" had been filed against me under a new state GOP rule adopted in summer 2023. Chairman Beck explained to me that he had been tasked with creating rules to govern the grievance process that were fair to all parties. I worked diligently with him during October to define those rules to ensure fairness. He also told me that I would not be provided a copy of the "grievance" until I agreed to the rules. Despite never agreeing to the rules, a copy of the grievance filed by Carolyn Harrison and signed by John Jensen, Rusty Devereaux and Lisa Keller was provided to me on Nov. 4, 2023.

The rules were so full of inconsistencies and contradictions, they were impossible to interpret to determine fairness. Even ChatGPT couldn't decipher them. I then narrowed my concerns to two primary issues: a public process and sufficient time to respond to (at the time) still unknown "grievances."

I asked for a public meeting and public vote in both SIC and LD32 committees. Instead, Chairman Beck responded with a process still hidden from the public. Later he said only the SIC and LD32 committees could make the decision to meet and vote in public, despite him telling me he was the one charged with defining the rules for the process. As I have said publicly: I will respond to the claims in the full light of day. ***I make my votes in public; I will respond to those votes in public.*** In fact, along with other Bonneville County legislators, I already did on May 11, 2023, in front of the full Central Committee. None of the "grievances" from the 2023 session were brought to my attention at that meeting when any PCO could have asked for an explanation before, during or after the meeting.

I asked for sufficient time to explain my votes and respond to SIC questions and LD32 questions. The first version of the rules gave me ONE minute to respond to the "grievances" with an additional ONE minute for a rebuttal. The public was allowed 25 minutes to comment during the LD32 Committee meeting, and I was given ZERO response time to public comments. To his credit, Chairman Beck adjusted from ONE minute to FIVE minutes and allowed me time to respond to public comment. However, without knowing the nature and complexity of the "grievances," I argued that it was impossible to know if five minutes was sufficient and asked for as long as needed to explain my vote for as long as the committees had questions. To be "accused" of something and then prevented from having the time to fully respond is a deliberately biased and unfair process.

Despite many back and forth emails (which I will forward to anyone upon request), my requests for public meetings and votes and sufficient response time have been denied or deferred to a committee with no assurance of a public vote or process. Therefore, I am providing my response to the "grievances" in writing (attached) with supporting documentation also attached to this email.

Representative Wendy Horman

#1 HB138

H138 is not a violation of the Republican Platform cited, which speaks to the Primary being open only to affiliated Republicans. H138 did not change that.

The day I voted on this bill, Feb. 24, 2023, Dorothy Moon called me to ask about its fiscal impact. At no time did she mention she or the party were opposing the bill. I sent her a text at 11:07 am with screenshots of the Legislative Budget Book showing the Secretary of State's budget listing a \$2.5 million dollar reduction if the March primary were moved to May. The vote was taken that same day in the floor session. (The House convened at 11:00 am and adjourned at 11:46 am on Feb. 24.)

An email was sent on March 2, six days *after* I voted, stating opposition to H138, but at the time I voted, I had no knowledge that the state party was opposed to the bill.

I signed the petition to send us back into special session to reinstate a March primary; I did not sign the petition for a May primary.

#2HB265

I completely agree with the Section 4 of the Republican Platform on Children. I voted no on H265 because it may have had the opposite impact Section 4 describes by setting legal precedent that would have been harmful, not protective, of children.

I believe this bill may have had the opposite effect for which it was intended: protecting drag as a free speech right in Idaho rather than banning it in front of children. I voted no on this bill based on a plain reading of the language. I visited with a lawyer in advance my vote because I could see it was so vaguely drafted as to have had virtually no chance of surviving a guaranteed legal challenge. As written, any citizen could have sued a youth dance group or cheerleader that was showing cleavage or bare legs during a performance for being "sexually provocative." There are ways to write bills like this that give them a chance of surviving the 9th Circuit; H265 was not one of them.

Here is just one line as an example of the vague and indefensible language:

(c) The show, exhibition, or performance is patently offensive to an average person applying contemporary community standards in the adult community as a whole with respect to what is suitable for minors.

Patently Offensive? to whom?

Average Person? There is no such thing (See *The End of Average* by Todd Rose)

Contemporary? If we are going to use legally undefined words why not choose the word traditional?

Community Standards? Which Community? Boise? Pocatello? Sun Valley? Ammon? Rexburg?

In the adult community as a whole? How would we prove that in a court of law? Run an election? An initiative? A survey? Go door to door and make everyone report like the census?

Suitable for minors? As defined by whom? The parents taking their kids to drag shows? The parents who aren't? Non-parents?

Even conservative courts and circuits with [Trump appointed judges](#) such as in Tennessee are ruling against drag bills because of free speech. [See S12 in Texas](#)—ruled "unconstitutionally overbroad and vague." "It is not unreasonable to read SB 12 and conclude that activities such as cheerleading, dancing, live theater, and other common public occurrences could possibly become a civil or criminal violation." Look to [St. George, Utah](#) where drag queens won their court appeal to perform in a public park. When you do bills like this wrong, you get celebratory press releases from the [ACLU](#) not the state GOP.

#3 S1147

S1147 does not violate the Education or American Family sections cited. S1147 is not a violation of the Fiscal Responsibility sections of the Republican platform. As the platform is written, any budget bill, for example, that gives state employees or teachers a raise could be a violation because it didn't CUT salaries. I strongly agree with all Platform articles cited.

From Idaho Chooses Life Executive Director, David Ripley

"Rep. Wendy Horman has a 100% pro-Life record over the course of her tenure in the Legislature. She is one of the Legislature's leading defenders of preborn children. Wendy has co-sponsored many of the most important pro-Life laws we've enacted in Idaho – including the Defense of Life Act. That law has effectively shut down the abortion industry in Idaho and has already saved thousands of babies from abortion. Beyond that, Rep. Horman places a priority on the Life issue, and has always made the time to help us when we've needed her. We are most grateful for her support."

See the attached letter from WWAMI that **no Idaho funds are used to support abortion**. Idaho Code 18-87015(2) which state that Idaho taxpayer funding may not be used to "to perform or promote abortion, provide counseling in favor of abortion, make referral for abortion, or provide facilities for abortion or for train to provide or perform abortion."

See also the attached email dated Feb. 20, 2023, from the University of Utah that "**Idaho funds sent to our medical school are not given to departments to teach**" an elective involving **abortion** and "no Idaho-sponsored students took that elective this past year."

Additionally, we have strengthened the policy language around the WWAMI program by making students pay back taxpayer funding if they do not remain in Idaho to practice.

As Chair of the House Appropriations Committee and Co-Chair of the Joint Finance-Appropriations Committee, I have led an effort, along with my JFAC Co-Chair Sen. Scott Grow and our budget staff, to change the budget process to be significantly more transparent and accountable. There will be more of a focus on identifying "maintenance of current operations budgets" in our budget materials. Not only will JFAC members have access to this information, all members of the Legislature and public will as well due to an upgraded budget website that now links to Transparent Idaho (showing ALL state expenditures), federal funding and audit violations.

#4 S1176 Higher Ed Budget

S1176 is not a violation of the Education platform cited. The bill included language that forbade the use of appropriated funds for DEI or social justice ideology purposes.

“SECTION 6. USE OF APPROPRIATED FUNDS. The college and universities shall verify no state appropriated funds are used to support diversity, equity, inclusion, or social justice ideology as part of any student activities, clubs, events, or organizations on campus. Each college and university shall submit a written report of its expenditures related to these activities to the Joint Finance-Appropriations Committee no later than January 14, 2024.”

Additionally, previous year budget bills included budget cuts on identified DEI spending.

#5, #6, #7 IFF Spending, Education and Freedom Indices

I do not work for special interest groups. I work for the people.

Please see my editorial “[Government Of, By and For the People](#).” July 4, 2023

Responsiveness to Constituents

It's possible that there is no other constituent I've spent more time responding to than Carolyn Harrison. We share a common passion for educational choice, and I met and spoke with her many times to help her organize a parent group for educational choice. I shared strategic insights into the legislative process that went far beyond constituent service and spent significant time sharing policy expertise learned over many years working on behalf of students. I even used my personal credibility with a national organization to help her secure grant funding for the parent group, which would not have been granted to her without my support.

I also made a genuine effort to meet with Carolyn Harrison over the summer on her "bad books" bill. (Screenshots of text messages provided upon request.) It is she who cancelled scheduled summer meetings. Additionally, she wasn't responding directly to her partner about rescheduling options which caused further delay. The last contact I had with her partner on the bill by text (Carolyn has told me she does not text) was on August 10 when I was camping in an area without cell service. I received many texts while I was off grid and missed the response to that text when I returned to service. I had my three grandchildren staying with me from out-of-state that week and was also preparing for my youngest daughter's wedding in Washington DC on Aug. 19. In preparing this response, I searched my email and found I received an email from Carolyn on Sept. 5 with the subject line, "Bad Books in State of Idaho's Libraries – It's Time for a Change," which I incorrectly assumed was one of her group's many newsletters, not an invitation to meet, and I did not have time to read newsletters that day. She signed a complaint that I was unresponsive to constituents 14 days later.

I represent approximately 52,500 people. There are 365 days in a year. I would need to speak to 144 people every day of the year to listen to "all" constituents. This is not possible, so I do the very best I can. Additionally, some constituents are more demanding and omniscient than others, believing they know everything about how to approach an issue and that their issue deserves more of my time than other constituents' issues. Nonetheless, I still do my best to respond to even difficult constituents.

Congressional standards of constituent mentioned in the "grievance" are not relevant to the Idaho Legislature. Congressional offices are provided up to \$1.9 million annually (See attached, Page 7) for staffing offices, travel, and constituent work. I have no personal staff. None. Zero. I handle it all myself and am paid \$19,000 for a job I work 20-50 hours a week, except during session when it is 75-80 hours per week.

Any allegation that asserts I have not made tremendous efforts to work with Carolyn Harrison and other constituents leads me to believe this entire complaint may be about something else. Is the new state rule and "grievance" process being used to cast aspersions on sitting legislators in order to position challengers for a legislative campaign?

**WWAMI MEDICAL EDUCATION**

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uidaho.edu/academics/wwami

February 2, 2023

Dear Co-Chairs Representative Horman and Senator Grow:

On January 27, during testimony for the Idaho WWAMI program, I was asked to report back on a specific question from Representative Herndon regarding state resources for courses taught by the University of Washington School of Medicine. The following courses were mentioned in the testimony and in an email from Senator Herndon:

CONJOINT 570 TRANSGENDER PATIENTS
FAMED 550 CRITICAL RACE THEORY
FAMED 561 LGBTQ HEALTH AND HEALTH DISPARITIES
OBGYN 628 FAMILY PLANNING AND ABORTION CARE
OBGYN 638 PLANNED PARENTHOOD OF GREATER WASHINGTON AND NORTH IDAHO

On January 30, we contacted Dr. Suzanne Allen, Vice Dean for Academic, Rural and Regional Affairs for the University of Washington School of Medicine to provide information regarding the funding for the above-mentioned courses. On February 2, Dr. Allen responded with the following:

"Funding from the State of Idaho supports the required curriculum for Idaho WWAMI medical students to graduate from UWSOM. The five courses and clerkships asked about are all elective courses and clerkships and [are] not part of the required curriculum".

Each year the University of Idaho sends the following statement along with trustee benefits invoiced from the University of Washington:

In the 2021 Idaho Legislative Session, the Idaho Legislature passed a bill entitled the No Public Funds for Abortion Act. This bill was signed by Governor Brad Little on May 10, 2021 and went into effect on May 10, 2021. Among other things, it created a new criminal statute prohibiting the use of public funds for abortion related activity. This law applies to the electronic payment referenced above. Thus, under Idaho Code § 18-8705(2), you may not use any of these funds to perform or promote abortion, provide counseling in favor of abortion, make referral for abortion, or provide facilities for abortion or for training to provide or perform abortion. "Abortion" is defined in Idaho Code § 18-8702(1) as "the act of using or prescribing any instrument, medicine, drug, or any other substance, device, or means with the intent to terminate the clinically diagnosable pregnancy of a woman with knowledge that the termination by those means will, with reasonable likelihood, cause the death of the unborn child. Such use, prescription, or means is not an abortion if done with the intent to save the life or preserve the health of the unborn child, remove a dead unborn child caused by spontaneous abortion, or remove an ectopic pregnancy."

Thank you for the opportunity to answer the questions and for the ability to provide evidence that state resources are not spent on the elective courses in question.

Sincerely,

JEFF SEEGMILLER EdD, AT
Regional Dean/ Director, Professor

Exhibit B

Sunday, November 12, 2023 at 14:21:31 Mountain Standard Time

Subject: RE: Follow-up re: WWAMI
Date: Monday, February 20, 2023 at 11:14:27 AM Mountain Standard Time
From: Nate Osborne
To: Representative Wendy Horman, Senator Scott Herndon, Senator Scott Grow
Attachments: Letter to JFAC-WWAMI.pdf

Good Morning Senator Herndon,

I appreciate the follow-up. I have some information on your inquiry into curriculum for WWAMI, as well as answers from the University of Utah which I recently received. I have attached a letter from Jeff Seegmiller, the regional dean/director of the WWAMI program for Idaho. The director addresses your funding inquiry in this letter.

I also received an email from Dr. Benjamin Chan, associate dean of admissions and Idaho affairs from the University of Utah School of Medicine.

From the University of Utah:

"In discussion with our leadership team as well as Office of General Counsel, we can report that:

- 1) Elective courses are voluntarily opted-in by our medical students
- 2) Elective courses are also housed within the individual clinical departments and hospital and, as such, are voluntarily taught by faculty from those departments.
- * 3) The Idaho funds sent to our medical school are not given to departments to teach this elective
- 4) FERPA precludes us from sharing any individual data regarding students that is identifiable.
- 5) There were no Idaho-sponsored medical students who took this elective this past year."

I hope this information is helpful, please feel free to reach out if I can be of any further assistance.

Best,
Nate

From: Representative Wendy Horman <WendyHorman@house.idaho.gov>
Sent: Thursday, February 16, 2023 9:31 PM
To: Senator Scott Herndon <SHerndon@senate.idaho.gov>; Senator Scott Grow <SGrow@senate.idaho.gov>; Nate Osborne <NOSborne@Iso.idaho.gov>
Subject: Re: Follow-up re: WWAMI

Nate - Can you share the response you gave the work group today at lunch? Thanks, Wendy

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Page 1 of 2

Rep. Julianne Young
275 N. 400 W.
Blackfoot, ID 83221

November 21, 2023

LD 32 Committee
Idaho Falls, ID

To whom it may concern:

I write today as a legislative colleague of Representative Wendy Horman. In that capacity, I have seen, first hand, many things that members of the public do not and cannot see. This firsthand knowledge of Representative Horman's service and personal sacrifice leads me to believe that, if this committee understood the things that I know, they would recognize that, rather than meriting censure, Representative Horman merits the sincere appreciation and support of this committee.

During the legislative session I consistently arrive at the capitol building before 7 AM. When I pull into the legislative parking lot, usually at around 6:30, there is only one other vehicle there—consistently, day after day. It is Representative Horman's. When I leave late each night there is only one car still left in the parking lot—consistently, day after day. It is Representative Horman's. For two years I had the privilege of having office space directly across from hers. Frequently, when I would arrive at my office in the morning, her door would be open and we would talk about the things we anticipated during the day and the challenges we faced.

Contrary to the image that she has somehow failed to uphold the Republican platform or stem the tide of big spending, I have personally seen her proactively lead out in exposing corruption and fraud, opposing pornography and inappropriate content in education, and tirelessly working to root out entrenched administrative practices that undermine our ability, as a legislature, to reign in out-of-control state agencies and bureaucracies.

Talk is cheap. Many go to Boise talking big about doing the kinds of things that Representative Horman is actually, quietly, consistently, and articulately accomplishing. Few have succeeded in moving the ball or bringing about meaningful change as she has. She is one of my heroes.

In spite of pressures that would have overwhelmed many other people, Representative Horman has stood apart from and refused to become a tool for the political elite or to participate with the leftist political machinery that seeks to weaken and destroy the conservative voice of the Idaho Republican Party. She has been one of only a handful who have deliberately avoided association with the Main Street Caucus, in spite of being in the political minority, and she has been a stalwart strength to me and others. Again, she is truly one of my heroes.

Exhibit E

In fact, as I consider our current struggle to maintain a semblance of fiscal and moral sanity against the overbearing pressures of amoral government expansion, I see Representative Horman plugging the hole in the dike with one arm while, at the same time, building brand new infrastructure to empower the rest of us to stem the flood with the other arm. It has truly been an exhausting labor of love for her, and the changes she is in now the process of successfully implementing will undoubtedly help to curb government growth for years to come. Truly, her accomplishments in this regard are remarkable! As I said before, she is one of my heroes.

I have watched Representative Horman stand like a stone wall in the face of incredible pressure, tirelessly advocating for greater fiscal conservatism (in spite of a committee and bureaucratic establishment that regularly undermine her efforts), for reform that strengthens the voice of the people's representatives, and for the moral values that are fundamental to civil society. Her knowledge, which is the direct result of tireless hours of study of state budgets and processes gives her an edge that even entrenched bureaucrats cannot compete with. If you were to ask me to name a single Most Valuable Conservative Player in the Idaho House, it would be Representative Horman. She is accomplishing things no one else could possibly get done, and those accomplishments are placing every conservative representative on stronger footing.

Do Representative Horman and I agree on every vote? No. But there is no doubt in my mind that our differences are the result of perspective and experience and not a difference in allegiance to principle. Are there things that still need to be done? Absolutely! But that is not the result of a lack of effort or desire on her part. It is the reality of an incredibly challenging political environment. It can be easy to criticize the execution of a battle plan when you are not on the field.

I remember my Grand-dad telling me, with a twinkle in his wise eyes, that one can be right and still do wrong. Time has taught me that rightness or wrongness is not just a question of logic in regard to details, it is a question of big-picture effect. I have not read the complaint, and we could probably spend a long time examining the accuracy, or not, of individual points, but censoring Representative Horman is the wrong thing to do. I appreciate the role of political parties in providing clarity and accountability, but this prerogative can be exercised to the detriment of the very principles we are organized to support if we are not careful.

I have spent significant time in discussions surrounding our House Ethics Committee hearing process. Like the House ethics process, this hearing process has the potential to be abused. The reality is that the process IS the punishment. Contrary to being a neutral event, just exercising the authority to call an investigation is an act of hostility. It requires the individual so called up to divert precious time and resources away from other responsibilities in order to with what could be characterized as "friendly fire," although I'm not sure what is friendly about it beyond the fact that it comes from those who ought to be friends. **The exercise of this power to investigate and censor should be reserved for circumstances where legislators express open hostility toward or opposition to the party platform, not situations where there are nuanced disagreements and reasonable explanations for differences; certainly not just**

as an ordinary exercise to require someone to 'justify a vote.' To exercise this power where it is not truly justified strips the process of meaningful significance where it IS justified.

Not only does broad exercise of this authority sow discord and distrust, it impedes our capacity to accomplish the real objectives that are critical to our future success. This is the most brutal and punishing aspect of the process. As public servants, we care much more about our ability to make a difference than we do about ourselves! We have already placed everything on the altar in order to make a difference. When those who should support our efforts choose, instead, to impede those efforts by taking up precious, irreplaceable time, and making the already challenging struggle even more difficult, I can see how this could be perceived as a form of betrayal. The fact that this comes at a time when the good Representative is already pressing forward in spite of significant personal challenges that others do not and cannot see only adds insult to injury.

Rather than making the fight more challenging for those striving to defend the summit, I encourage the committee to seek to understand how they can support the objectives the good Representative is so tirelessly laboring for; objectives which are consistent, in every way, with the conservative platform of the Idaho Republican Party.

I'm not only happy to vouch for the character and values of my colleague, I would be glad to stand beside her on the worst of days, and I feel, in a genuine way, that our ability to effectively advocate for the Republican values we both espouse is inextricably intertwined. I urge discretion, discernment, and temperate compassion on the part of committee members and respectfully encourage the prompt dismissal and termination of the complaint process in regard to Representative Horman.

In the Interest of Faith, Family, and Freedom,

Kind regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Julianne Young". The script is fluid and cursive, with the first name and last name clearly legible.

Representative Julianne Young