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United States Court of Appeals For the First Circuit

No. 25-1611

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION; IBIS REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH;
INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE, AND
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS (UAW); BRITTANY CHARLTON; KATIE
EDWARDS; PETER LURIE; and NICOLE MAPHIS,

Plaintiffs, Appellees,

v.

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH; JAY BHATTACHARYA, in his official
capacity as Director of the National Institutes of Health;
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES; and
ROBERT F. KENNEDY, JR., in his official capacity as Secretary of
the United States Department of Health and Human Services,

Defendants, Appellants.

No. 25-1612

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS; STATE OF CALIFORNIA; STATE OF
MARYLAND; STATE OF WASHINGTON; STATE OF ARIZONA; STATE OF
COLORADO; STATE OF DELAWARE; STATE OF HAWAII; STATE OF
MINNESOTA; STATE OF NEVADA; STATE OF NEW JERSEY; STATE OF NEW
MEXICO; STATE OF NEW YORK; STATE OF OREGON; STATE OF RHODE
ISLAND; and STATE OF WISCONSIN,

Plaintiffs, Appellees,

v.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY, JR., in his official capacity as Secretary of
the United States Department of Health and Human Services;
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES; JAYANTA
BHATTACHARYA, in his official capacity as Director of the
National Institutes of Health; NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH;
NATIONAL CANCER INSTITUTE; NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE; NATIONAL
HEART, LUNG, AND BLOOD INSTITUTE; NATIONAL HUMAN GENOME RESEARCH
INSTITUTE; NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON AGING; NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON

ALCOHOL ABUSE AND ALCOHOLISM; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ALLERGY AND INFECTIOUS DISEASES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTHRITIS AND MUSCULOSKELETAL AND SKIN DISEASES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF BIOMEDICAL IMAGING AND BIOENGINEERING; EUNICE KENNEDY SHRIVER NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CHILD HEALTH AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT; NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON DEAFNESS AND OTHER COMMUNICATION DISORDERS; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DENTAL AND CRANIOFACIAL RESEARCH; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DIABETES AND DIGESTIVE AND KIDNEY DISEASES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON DRUG ABUSE; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH SCIENCES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF GENERAL MEDICAL SCIENCES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MENTAL HEALTH; NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON MINORITY HEALTH AND HEALTH DISPARITIES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF NEUROLOGICAL DISORDERS AND STROKE; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF NURSING RESEARCH; NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MEDICINE; NATIONAL CENTER FOR ADVANCING TRANSLATIONAL SCIENCES; JOHN E. FOGARTY INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE HEALTH SCIENCES; NATIONAL CENTER FOR COMPLEMENTARY AND INTEGRATIVE HEALTH; and CENTER FOR SCIENTIFIC REVIEW,

Defendants, Appellants.

APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

[Hon. William G. Young, U.S. District Judge]

Before

Montecalvo, Kayatta, and Rikelman,
Circuit Judges.

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July 18, 2025

RIKELMAN, Circuit Judge. In early 2025, the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) put into place a new policy that prohibits NIH from funding scientific research grants in certain categories. Two groups of plaintiffs sued, alleging that the new policy and the research grant terminations that directly flowed from it violated the Administrative Procedure Act (APA) and the U.S. Constitution. The plaintiffs claimed, for example, that the new policy was arbitrary and capricious because NIH and HHS never defined the prohibited research categories and their explanation for discontinuing such research rested on circular reasoning. The district court held a trial on the merits, ruled in the plaintiffs' favor, including on their arbitrary and capricious claims, and entered two orders setting aside the new policy and related grant terminations as "illegal" under the APA. See Am. Pub. Health Ass'n v. NIH, Nos. 25-cv-10787, 25-cv-10814, 2025 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 125988, at *9-10 (D. Mass. July 2, 2025). In reaching its ruling, the district court held that the agencies' actions had been "breathtakingly arbitrary and capricious" because of the disconnect between the decisions made and the rationale provided. Id. at *50. The government appellants here (collectively "the Department") then moved the district court for a stay of its order pending appeal, which the district court denied. We now deny the Department's request for a stay from our court.

I. BACKGROUND

This appeal involves two separate cases, which the district court informally consolidated. The plaintiffs in the first case are private research and advocacy organizations and individual researchers who receive NIH funding. The plaintiffs in the second case are states whose public universities and colleges depend on NIH funding to support research projects. The plaintiffs brought APA claims under 5 U.S.C. §§ 706(1) and 706(2)(A), (B), and (C). Because the district court's reasoning and the Department's arguments do not distinguish between the two groups of plaintiffs, neither do we.

After the plaintiffs filed their lawsuits, they moved for a preliminary injunction. The district court treated part of the Department's briefing opposing the preliminary injunction as a motion to dismiss, including on jurisdictional issues. After dismissing some of the plaintiffs' claims, the court consolidated the preliminary injunction hearing on the remaining claims with a trial on the merits under Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 65(a)(2).

Ultimately, the district court issued two decisions that are critical to this appeal. First, the court determined that it had subject matter jurisdiction, rejecting the Department's argument that the case should have been brought in the U.S. Court of Federal Claims. See Memorandum and Order on Subject Matter Jurisdiction, Massachusetts v. Kennedy, No. 25-cv-10814 (D. Mass.

May 12, 2025), Dkt. No. 105. In so ruling, the court distinguished the U.S. Supreme Court's recent per curiam order in Department of Education v. California, 145 S. Ct. 966 (2025). The district court reasoned that these cases are "not . . . action[s] for monetary damages" but instead are "action[s] to stop the [Department] from violating the statutory grant-making architecture created by Congress . . . and exercising authority arbitrarily and capriciously, in violation of federal law and the Constitution." Dkt. No. 105, at 22. Thus, it concluded that the cases belonged in federal district court. Second, the court issued a detailed decision recounting its findings of fact and conclusions of law on a subset of the plaintiffs' APA claims, and issued a partial final judgment under Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 54(b). See Am. Pub. Health Ass'n, 2025 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 125988, at *12 & n.4.

In its decision resolving those APA claims, the district court began by laying out the relevant legal background. NIH is authorized by statute to "make grants-in-aid to universities, hospitals, laboratories, and other public or private institutions, and to individuals" to "promote . . . research, investigations, experiments, demonstrations, and studies relating to the causes, diagnosis, treatment, control, and prevention of physical and mental diseases and impairments of man." 42 U.S.C. § 241(a), (a)(3). Other statutory provisions mandate that the agency consider certain criteria in selecting both the research projects

and the researchers it will fund. See, e.g., id. § 285a-6 (director of the National Cancer Institute "shall expand, intensify, and coordinate the activities of the Institute with respect to research on breast cancer, ovarian cancer, and other cancers of the reproductive system of women"); id. § 285t-1(a) (director of the National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities "shall make awards of grants . . . for the purpose of assisting the institutions in supporting programs of excellence in biomedical and behavioral research training for individuals who are members of minority health disparity populations").

In January 2025, President Donald Trump issued three Executive Orders (EOs) limiting the ability of federal agencies to use federal funds to support research grants in certain categories.¹ Contrary to the stated goals of the EOs, the district court concluded that the Department had engaged in "pervasive racial discrimination in selecting grants for termination," as well as an "unmistakable pattern of discrimination against women's

¹ The first EO instructs government officials to terminate all "diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility[]" (DEIA) policies and programs. Exec. Order 14151, 90 Fed. Reg. 8339, 8339 (Jan. 20, 2025). The second EO directs that "[f]ederal funds shall not be used to promote gender ideology." Exec. Order 14168, 90 Fed. Reg. 8615, 8616 (Jan. 20, 2025). Finally, the third EO requires the Director of the Office of Management and Budget to "[e]xcise references to DEI and DEIA principles, under whatever name they may appear, from Federal acquisition, contracting, grants, and financial assistance procedures." Exec. Order 14173, 90 Fed. Reg. 8633, 8634 (Jan. 21, 2025).

health issues." Am. Pub. Health Ass'n, 2025 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 125988, at *12 n.4.

The district court found that in the weeks after the EOs, officials at HHS and NIH issued several directives (the "Challenged Directives") prohibiting funding activities related to the broad categories targeted by the EOs. Initially, then-Acting Secretary of HHS, Dr. Dorothy Fink, released a directive explaining that the agency would no longer be funding activities "that support DEI and similar discriminatory programs," because such activities were "inconsistent with the Department's policy of improving the health and well-being of all Americans." Id. at *22.

Next, in mid-February, the Acting Director of NIH, Dr. Matthew Memoli, distributed a directive stating that NIH was no longer "supporting low-value and off-mission research programs, including but not limited to studies based on diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) and gender identity." Id. at *26-27. According to Dr. Memoli, all such grants were discriminatory and unscientific.² NIH then removed various notices of funding

² The district court highlighted several other guidance documents that were circulated by HHS and NIH officials during this period. See Am. Pub. Health Ass'n, 2025 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 125988, at *22-36 (discussing the "Pause Directive," "Lauer Memoranda," and "NIH Priorities Directives"). We focus primarily on Dr. Memoli's directive, given that its language was central to the district court's legal conclusions.

opportunities (NOFOs) that purportedly violated these directives. See id. at *27.

After a close review, the district court concluded that the Department's "unreasonable and unreasoned agenda of blacklisting certain topics, . . . on this Administrative Record, has absolutely nothing to do with the promotion of science or research." Id. at *18. The court determined that there was no evidence in the record to support Dr. Memoli's assertion that grants in the prohibited categories were "antithetical to the scientific inquiry, do nothing to expand our knowledge of living systems, provide low returns on investment, and ultimately do not enhance health, lengthen life, or reduce illness." Id. at *55-56. To the contrary, the court found that "Dr. Memoli was taking advice" on what types of research aligned "with the new objectives" not from scientists, but from "official[s] in the so-called Department of Government Efficiency ('DOGE')." Id. at *27. The court also determined that DEI and "gender identity" were never defined in the Challenged Directives or subsequent memoranda. See id. at *52, *55.

The district court went on to make comprehensive findings about the grant terminations. It explained that grant recipients were informed of their funding termination via "template letter[s]" (the "Termination Letters"). Id. at *30. The court further determined that NIH was not involved in drafting

the Termination Letters. See id. at *28-34. For example, the court pointed to testimony by Michelle Bulls, the Chief Grants Management Officer (CGMO) at NIH, who signed each Termination Letter. See id. at *30-33. As the court highlighted, CGMO Bulls testified that "she did not create any of the language" in the letters and was "unaware whether NIH undertook any assessment at all as to whether a particular grant met the criteria being espoused in the letters." Id. at *30. Instead, she explained, the template Termination Letter was created by a DOGE staffer, Rachel Riley. See id. at *34. Thus, the court concluded that HHS and NIH were "being force-fed unworkable 'policy' supported with sparse pseudo-reasoning, and wholly unsupported statements." Id. at *51.

As the district court detailed, the template Termination Letter included a space to "INSERT EXPLANATION -- EXAMPLES BELOW" as to why the grant was being terminated. Id. at *35. That text was followed by a "reason-for-termination menu," that listed: "China," "DEI," and "Transgender issues." Id. "Vaccine Hesitancy," "COVID," "Gender-Affirming Care," "Climate Change," and "Influencing Public Opinion" were later added to the list of "examples for research activities that NIH no longer supports." Id. at *40. The court found that "usage of this list was mandatory." Id. The court also determined that the "boilerplate language" in the Termination Letter about DEI and gender identity

tracked "almost verbatim" the language in Dr. Memoli's February directive. Id. at *54. The record includes examples of Termination Letters sent to individual grant recipients; the court found that those executed Termination Letters did not provide any additional, grant-specific reasoning but merely adhered to the template language. See id. at *31, *50.

The district court concluded that no NIH scientists were involved in selecting the grants to be terminated. See id. at *54-57. Rather, the evidence showed that DOGE staffers (who had no affiliation with either NIH or HHS) decided which grants to terminate, and that NIH leadership merely "followed orders . . . on down the chain." Id. at *29. The court spotlighted an email exchange between Riley and Dr. Memoli in which Riley sent him a list of grants to terminate, and "within [two] minutes," he approved the terminations. Id. at *38. The court also found that Riley provided CGMO Bulls with lists of grants to be terminated. See id. at *30.

Finally, the district court determined that there was no evidence in the administrative record that the Department considered the "reliance interests that naturally inure to [the] NIH grant process" in terminating the grants, contrary to the requirements of the APA. Id. at *59. Those reliance interests included, as the plaintiffs described in their submissions to the district court, "the risk to human life as research and clinical

trials are suspended," and damage to "the overall scientific endeavor" as a result of abruptly terminating hundreds of studies that had been underway for years, representing millions of hours of work.

Based on these findings, the district court concluded that the Challenged Directives and resulting grant terminations were arbitrary and capricious and contrary to law, all in violation of the APA. See id. at *60, *64 (citing 5 U.S.C. § 706(2)(A)). The court entered a separate judgment in each of the two cases. Each judgment provided:

- (1) "the [] Directives . . . are declared . . . arbitrary and capricious, and unlawful, in violation of 5 U.S.C. § 706(2)(A)";
- (2) "the Directives . . . are [] of no effect, void, illegal, set aside and vacated";
- (3) "[t]he Resulting Grant Terminations pursuant to the Directives are declared to be unlawful"; and
- (4) "the Resulting Grant Terminations are . . . of no effect, void, illegal, set aside and vacated."

The court specifically declined to enter an injunction and instead limited its judgments to declaratory relief.³

The Department moved for a stay of those judgments pending appeal.

³ The district court's orders provided relief only to the parties before it. The Department has not argued otherwise.

II. STANDARD OF REVIEW

As the party seeking a stay pending appeal, the Department bears the burden of justifying the extraordinary relief it requests. See Nken v. Holder, 556 U.S. 418, 433-34 (2009). To meet its burden, the Department must make: (1) "a strong showing that [it] is likely to succeed on the merits"; (2) a showing that it "will be irreparably injured absent a stay"; (3) a showing that the "issuance of the stay will [not] substantially injure the other parties interested in the proceeding"; and (4) a showing that "the public interest lies" with the Department, not the plaintiffs. Does 1-3 v. Mills, 39 F.4th 20, 24 (1st Cir. 2022) (quoting Bos. Parent Coal. for Acad. Excellence Corp. v. Sch. Comm. of Bos., 996 F.3d 37, 44 (1st Cir. 2021)). Because the district court held a trial on the merits and issued a partial final judgment, we review its findings of fact for clear error and its legal conclusions de novo. See Aponte v. Calderón, 284 F.3d 184, 191 (1st Cir. 2002).

III. DISCUSSION

In its stay motion, the Department focuses primarily on the first stay factor -- likelihood of success on the merits. In particular, it leans heavily on its argument that the district court lacked subject matter jurisdiction to hear this case, claiming that it is a contract dispute about damages and thus belongs in the Court of Federal Claims. The plaintiffs, for their part, respond that they have not brought a breach of contract

claim, and they do not seek damages against the United States. Instead, their claims rest on federal statutory and constitutional provisions that are independent of the terms of their research grants. According to the plaintiffs, their lawsuit challenges an overarching agency policy that precludes NIH from funding research grants in certain categories, and the district court's orders here provide only quintessential declaratory relief under the APA: They set aside agency action that is arbitrary and capricious.

We conclude that under Supreme Court precedent, the Department has not met its burden of establishing the grounds for a stay in this case.

A. Likelihood of Success on the Merits

1. Jurisdiction

The Department begins by arguing, as it did in the district court, that the Tucker Act bars the district court from exercising jurisdiction in this case. See 28 U.S.C. § 1491(a). Because the Department focuses on this jurisdictional issue in its stay papers, and the parties vigorously dispute how to interpret the Supreme Court's precedent on the interplay between the APA and the Tucker Act, we examine in detail three key cases that guide our decision here: Bowen v. Massachusetts, 487 U.S. 879 (1988); Great-West Life & Annuity Insurance Co. v. Knudson, 534 U.S. 204 (2002); and California. We note that the Department concentrates on California and Great-West but does not cite Bowen in its stay

motion to us, even though Bowen is the only case of the three that is a merits decision in an APA challenge.

In Bowen, the Supreme Court considered whether a federal district court had jurisdiction to review under the APA a final order by the Secretary of HHS refusing to reimburse Massachusetts for a category of expenditures under its Medicaid program. See 487 U.S. at 882. The Secretary of HHS claimed that the case should have been brought in the Court of Federal Claims. See id. at 891. The Supreme Court disagreed. After lengthy analysis, it held that Massachusetts could challenge the "disallowance" of a category of Medicaid expenditures under the APA in federal district court. See id. at 907, 912. The Court explained that Massachusetts had requested declaratory and equitable relief, and thus it was bringing an action "seeking relief other than money damages" under § 702 of the APA, and "even the monetary aspects of the relief that [Massachusetts] sought [were] not 'money damages' as that term is used in the law." Id. at 892-93 (citing 5 U.S.C. § 702).⁴ The Court also pointed out that the orders in the cases before it were not money judgments; instead, the orders simply "reversed"

⁴ As Bowen explained, the APA provides a limited waiver of sovereign immunity for certain types of suits against the federal government. See 487 U.S. at 891-92. To put it simply, the Supreme Court held in Bowen that the suit at issue fell within the scope of that waiver. See id. at 910.

under the APA the disallowance decisions by the Secretary and did not require any amount to be paid. Id. at 909.

In language that has been cited for decades, the Court in Bowen held that although the district court's orders ultimately would lead to the disbursement of funds by the federal government, that "outcome is a mere by-product of that court's primary function of reviewing the Secretary's interpretation of federal law" and did not negate the district court's jurisdiction. Id. at 910. Separately, the Court concluded that the state's claim was not barred by § 704 of the APA, which precludes review where plaintiffs have some other "adequate remedy." See id. (citing 5 U.S.C. § 704). It reasoned that the Court of Federal Claims could not be an adequate alternative forum because it lacked the "general equitable powers of a district court" to grant the relief requested by Massachusetts. Id. at 905.

We now turn to Great-West, which did not involve the APA. Instead, Great-West concerned a lawsuit against an individual to recover "money past due under a contract," 534 U.S. at 210-11, based on a provision in that individual's employee benefit plan; the question before the Court was whether the case had been properly brought in federal court as an action seeking declaratory and injunctive relief under ERISA, see id. at 208. The Court explained that a reimbursement provision in the employee benefit plan was "the basis for the present lawsuit." Id. That provision

specified that "the Plan shall have the right to recover from the [beneficiary] any payment for benefits paid by the Plan that the beneficiary [was] entitled to recover from a third party." Id. at 207 (quotation marks omitted). Thus, the Court reasoned, the case was "quintessentially an action at law," not an action for equitable relief, and could not be brought in federal court under ERISA. Id. at 210. In distinguishing Bowen, the Court noted, in part, that Bowen was not a suit "merely for past due sums, but for an injunction to correct the method of calculating payments going forward," and therefore involved prospective relief. Great-West, 534 U.S. at 212.

Finally, the Supreme Court recently issued a decision in California, granting the government's application for a stay pending appeal, which our court had denied. The critical language in the Court's short decision states:

The APA's waiver of sovereign immunity does not apply "if any other statute that grants consent to suit expressly or impliedly forbids the relief which is sought." 5 U.S.C. § 702. Nor does the waiver apply to claims seeking "money damages." Id. True, a district court's jurisdiction "is not barred by the possibility" that an order setting aside an agency's action may result in the disbursement of funds. Bowen v. Massachusetts, 487 U.S. 897, 910 (1988). But, as we have recognized, the APA's limited waiver of immunity does not extend to orders "to enforce a contractual obligation to pay money" along the lines of what the District Court ordered here. Great-West Life & Annuity Ins. Co. v. Knudson, 534 U.S. 204, 212 (2002). Instead, the Tucker

Act grants the Court of Federal Claims jurisdiction over suits based on "any express or implied contract with the United States." 28 U.S.C. § 1491(a)(1).

California, 145 S. Ct. at 968 (emphasis added). Because of the emergency posture of that case, we focus on the arguments the parties presented in their stay papers to the Court to understand the rationale behind its decision. See New Jersey v. Trump, 131 F.4th 27, 35 (1st Cir. 2025) ("[W]e 'rely on the parties to frame the issues for decision,' given our reluctance to definitively opine on issues for which we have been deprived of 'the benefit of vigorous adversarial testing.'" (citations omitted)); cf. Labrador v. Poe, 144 S. Ct. 921, 930 (2024) (Kavanaugh, J., concurring in the grant of stay) (the "tight timeline" for resolving stay motions is "not always optimal for orderly judicial decisionmaking").

In California, the Court framed Bowen (a case that belonged in federal district court) and Great-West (a case that did not) as representing two ends of the jurisdictional spectrum, so we follow that approach in our analysis. Further, we note that Bowen remains binding upon us because only the Supreme Court is granted "the prerogative of overruling its own decisions," Rodriguez de Quijas v. Shearson/Am. Exp., Inc., 490 U.S. 477, 484 (1989), so we endeavor to harmonize these three cases.

With that framework in mind, we turn to the district court's judgments issued here in response to the plaintiffs'

request that the court declare and set aside as illegal both the Challenged Directives and the grant terminations. First, the court declared that the Challenged Directives violate the APA and are thus void. Second, the court declared that the grant terminations made pursuant to the Challenged Directives violate the APA and are thus void. We treat these declaratory judgments separately, given that "a judicial order vacating an agency rule does not automatically void every decision the agency made pursuant to [that] rule." D.A.M. v. Barr, 486 F. Supp. 3d 404, 414 (D.D.C. 2020).

As to the declaratory judgment vacating the Challenged Directives, the Department does not develop an argument that the district court lacked jurisdiction to order such relief. Thus, we conclude that the Department has waived that particular argument. See United States v. Zannino, 895 F.2d 1, 17 (1st Cir. 1990). Regardless, the district court clearly had jurisdiction to grant "prospective relief" that will govern "the rather complex ongoing relationships" between the Department and grant recipients. Bowen, 487 U.S. at 905.

The declaratory judgment vacating the grant terminations presents a closer question. Nevertheless, we conclude the Department has not established a strong likelihood of success on its jurisdictional argument as to the grant terminations for two key reasons: (1) the district court's orders here did not award

"past due sums," but rather provided declaratory relief that is unavailable in the Court of Federal Claims; and (2) neither the plaintiffs' claims nor the court's orders depend on the terms or conditions of any contract. These facts put this case much closer to Bowen than Great-West and distinguish it from California. We flesh out each of these points below.

First, the district court's orders -- both as to the Challenged Directives and the grant terminations -- provide declaratory relief that is well within the scope of the APA. See U.S. Bancorp Mortg. Co. v. Bonner Mall P'ship, 513 U.S. 18, 25 (1994) (describing the "equitable remedy of vacatur"). Indeed, Bowen made clear that this kind of "specific relief," the effect of which is to "undo the [Department's] refusal to reimburse the [plaintiffs]," is not equivalent to "money damages." 487 U.S. at 910. Instead, it is a type of declaratory relief that will guide an agency as it decides upon its future course of conduct, and such relief is available only in the district court, not in the Court of Federal Claims. See id. at 905.

And, focusing on the grant terminations in particular, the district court's orders afford the same type of relief that the Supreme Court approved in Bowen. The judgment in Bowen "did not order [any] amount to be paid, and it did not purport to be based on a finding that the Federal Government owed [the plaintiff] that amount, or indeed, any amount of money." Id. at 909-10.

Instead, "the judgment t[old] the United States that it may not disallow the reimbursement on the grounds given." Id. at 910. Thus, it simply effectuated the court's "primary function of reviewing the Secretary's interpretation of federal law." Id. That is an apt description of the district court's orders here.

Great-West, by contrast, is clearly distinguishable: It was a breach of contract case, where a party invoked a specific provision in a health insurance plan in seeking to recover payment for medical expenses made by a third party to a beneficiary under that plan. See 534 U.S. at 207. Thus, Great-West explicitly concerned the "enforce[ment] [of] a contractual obligation to pay money past due." Id. at 212.

We likewise have no difficulty distinguishing California. There, the Supreme Court construed the district court as having ordered "the Government to pay out past-due grant obligations." 145 S. Ct. at 968; see also id. (government likely to show that "the District Court lacked jurisdiction to order the payment of money under the APA"); Brief for Respondent at 26 n.3, California, 145 S. Ct. 966 (2025) (No. 24A910). Based on that understanding, the Court held that "the APA's limited waiver of sovereign immunity does not extend to orders 'to enforce a contractual obligation to pay money' along the lines of what the District Court ordered here." California, 145 S. Ct. at 968 (quoting Great-West, 534 U.S. at 212). In this case, however, the

district court did not "enforce a contractual obligation to pay money." Rather, the court simply declared that the Department unlawfully terminated certain grants. Such relief does not constitute "money damages," nor would such declaratory relief be available in the Court of Federal Claims.

Second, neither the district court's orders nor the plaintiffs' claims in this case are premised upon the individual terms of the grant agreements. As an initial matter, the plaintiffs distinguish the "grants-in-aid" at issue here from traditional "contracts," given that relevant statutory and regulatory provisions treat the two differently. See, e.g., 42 U.S.C. § 241(a)(3), (7); 45 C.F.R. § 75.2. The Department's only response is that the same could have been argued in California, but it was not. Instead, the government emphasized in its stay papers to the Supreme Court that the plaintiffs in California, at least at that stage of the proceedings, did not dispute that the grants were equivalent to contracts for the purposes of the jurisdictional analysis. See Reply Brief for Petitioner at 7, California, 145 S. Ct. 966 (No. 24A910) [hereinafter "Reply Br."].

In any event, the district court neither examined any of the plaintiffs' grant terms nor interpreted them in reaching its ruling that the grant terminations must be set aside. Instead, as we have explained, the plaintiffs argued that the Challenged Directives are unlawful agency-wide policies because they violate

various federal statutes and the Constitution -- classic examples of claims that belong in federal district court -- and that the terminations flowed directly from those unlawful policies. See 5 U.S.C. § 706; see also Bowen, 487 U.S. at 908 ("It would be nothing less than remarkable to conclude that Congress intended judicial review of these complex questions . . . in a specialized forum such as the Court of Claims."). And the district court's judgments hinge entirely on intragovernmental communications -- the type of administrative record at the heart of the APA.

Again, Great-West and California are distinguishable. In Great-West, the Supreme Court specifically relied on the employee benefit plan's "reimbursement provision [as] the basis for the present lawsuit." 534 U.S. at 207. And at least one of the respondents' claims for relief in California depended on the terms and conditions of the grant awards, a fact that the government highlighted for the Court. See Application to Vacate at 16, California, 145 S. Ct. 966 (2025) (No. 24A910) [hereinafter "Appl."]; Reply Br. at 9.

In sum, we conclude that the Department is unlikely to succeed in showing that the district court lacked "jurisdiction to review [the challenged] agency action . . . and to grant the complete relief authorized by § 706" of the APA. Bowen, 487 U.S. at 912. Instead, the court likely had jurisdiction to enter the orders here -- which provided declaratory relief under the APA

independent of any contractual language -- to "set[] aside an agency's action[s]" as arbitrary and capricious; the fact that the orders "may result in the disbursement of funds" did not divest the court of its jurisdiction. California, 145 S. Ct. at 968 (citing Bowen, 487 U.S. at 910).⁵

2. Discretion

Next, the Department argues that the grant termination decisions were committed to agency discretion and are therefore unreviewable under the APA. It relies on Lincoln v. Vigil to assert that agency decisions to reallocate funds acquired via a lump sum appropriation (like NIH grant funds) are nonreviewable. See 508 U.S. 182, 184 (1993) (decisions "committed to agency discretion by law" are "not subject to judicial review under the [APA]" (quoting 5 U.S.C. § 701(a)(2))).

The plaintiffs respond that the Department forfeited this argument because it did not raise it in its stay motion to

⁵ The Department suggests that "the Tucker Act impliedly forbids the bringing of contract actions against the government in federal district court under the APA," regardless of the type of relief sought, citing Albrecht v. Committee on Employee Benefits of the Federal Reserve Employee Benefits System, 357 F.3d 62 (D.C. Cir. 2004). In making this argument, the Department assumes that the declaratory relief the district court granted here determined the contractual rights of the parties. As we have explained, however, that is incorrect. The district court's judgments address only the arbitrary and capricious nature of the agencies' policies as laid out in the Challenged Directives and the grant terminations that flowed from those policies. The court did not interpret the terms of any contracts between the parties.

the district court as required under Federal Rule of Appellate Procedure 8(a)(1). See New Jersey, 131 F.4th at 43 (contention for relief advanced in the district court "is different from the contention that [the government] now makes" and was waived). The Department insists that the discretion argument was preserved because its stay papers in the district court alluded to other arguments "made in [its] merits briefing" during the course of the litigation. But if that were enough to incorporate by reference in a Rule 8(a)(1) stay motion every merits contention the party had ever made, district courts would regularly receive bare-bones papers, leaving judges to ferret out the parties' arguments. See McCoy v. Mass. Inst. of Tech., 950 F.2d 13, 22-23 (1st Cir. 1991) ("Overburdened trial judges cannot be expected to be mind readers."). That is contrary to our precedent. Nor does the Department point us to any authority supporting its position.

In any event, the Department, quoting Lincoln, concedes that "an agency is not free simply to disregard its statutory responsibilities: Congress may always circumscribe agency discretion to allocate resources by putting restrictions in the operative statutes." 508 U.S. at 193. As the district court explained, that is exactly what Congress did here. There are numerous statutory provisions that direct NIH to prioritize or to consider certain research objectives -- including many that would seem to fall within the categories proscribed by the Challenged

Directives. See Am. Pub. Health Ass'n, 2025 U.S. Dist. LEXIS, 125988, at *65 (citing, among other provisions, 42 U.S.C. §§ 282(b)(4), 283(p), 283d, and 285f-5(a)).⁶ The district court also explained that governing regulations provide an exclusive list of reasons that NIH can unilaterally terminate grants. See id. at *63 (citing 45 C.F.R. § 75.372(a)); cf. California v. Dep't of Educ., 132 F.4th 92, 98 (1st Cir. 2025) ("[A]pplicable regulations cabin [the agency's] discretion as to when it can terminate existing grants."). Because there are appropriate, "judicially manageable standards" for evaluating the Department's actions, Union of Concerned Scientists v. Wheeler, 954 F.3d 11, 21 (1st Cir. 2020) (citing 5 U.S.C. § 701(a)(2) and Heckler v. Chaney, 470 U.S. 821, 830 (1985)), we conclude that the grant terminations are reviewable under the APA.

3. Arbitrary and Capricious

Finally, the Department asserts that the grant terminations will ultimately be upheld under the arbitrary and capricious standard. Based on the briefing we have received to date, we think the Department has failed to carry its burden of showing that result is likely.

⁶ Contrary to the Department's suggestion, the district court's decision to resolve the legal question on APA grounds, rather than based on those potential statutory violations, does not mean its determination that those statutory provisions limit the agency's discretion was incorrect or irrelevant.

"The APA's arbitrary-and-capricious standard requires that agency action be reasonable and reasonably explained." FCC v. Prometheus Radio Project, 592 U.S. 414, 423 (2021). To assess reasonableness, we look to whether the agency "examine[d] the relevant data and articulate[d] a satisfactory explanation for its action including a 'rational connection between the facts found and the choice made.'" Motor Vehicles Mfrs. Ass'n of U.S., Inc. v. State Farm Mut. Auto Ins. Co., 463 U.S. 29, 43 (1983) (citation omitted). And, when the agency enacts a decision that "rests upon factual findings that contradict those which underlay its prior policy; or when its prior policy has engendered serious reliance interests," it must offer a "more detailed justification" than usual. FCC v. Fox Television Stations, Inc., 556 U.S. 502, 515 (2009); see DHS v. Regents of the Univ. of Cal., 591 U.S. 1, 33 (2020) (when agency is "not writing on a blank slate," it is "required to assess whether there were reliance interests, determine whether they were significant, and weigh any such interests against competing policy concerns" (citation omitted)).

Although our decision is not a holding on the merits, we see no obvious error in the district court's conclusion that the Department's actions bear all the hallmarks of arbitrary and capricious decision-making. To recap, the district court concluded that the Department's decisions rested on circular reasoning, included no explanation for the about-face in agency-

wide policy, and entirely ignored significant reliance interests. For example, the court concluded that the prohibited categories of research grants were never defined, thus allowing the Department to terminate any grant that it wanted to, for any reason. See Am. Pub. Health Ass'n, 2025 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 125988, at *52, *57. It also concluded that there was no indication in the record that anyone at NIH performed any analysis to support the conclusion that the forbidden categories of grants -- let alone the grants selected for termination -- were unscientific and/or wasteful. See id. at *56-57. To the contrary, after reviewing the "sparse" administrative record and hearing live testimony, the district court found, as a matter of fact, that the decisions about the prohibited categories, as well as which grants fell into those categories, were being "force-fed" to NIH by DOGE. Id. at *51.

In its stay motion, the Department asserts that "NIH and its [Institutes and Centers] reviewed their grant portfolios to identify and cancel specific grants that no longer serve agency priorities." But the Department provides no record citation for this claim, and the district court found the exact opposite. To the extent the Department is leveling a challenge to the district court's factual determination, it does not cite to any contrary evidence in the record.

The Department also contends that the district court was wrong to conclude that grants were "indiscriminately terminated by

topic," pointing out that a few dozen "grants researching minority health" were permitted to continue. But the Department does not dispute the court's critical findings that the terminations of hundreds of other grants were unreasonable. For example, the court determined that the categorical language in the Termination Letters was not drafted by anyone at NIH; dozens of grants were terminated very shortly after being flagged by non-NIH staff members; and -- again -- no evidence of any individualized review of any grant material appears in the record. See Am. Pub. Health Ass'n, 2025 U.S. Dist. LEXIS, 125988, at *30-34, *39, *50-51.

Finally, the Department contends that the grantees' reliance interests were adequately accounted for, because the "terminations provided for additional funds, where necessary." The record citation the Department provides for this proposition is a single sentence in one of the Termination Letters that a university "may request funds to support patient safety and animal welfare to support an orderly phaseout of the project." That sentence, which in any event is far from a guarantee of additional funds, does not account for the broad scope of financial and non-financial interests staked on the grant awards, including years of research and millions of hours of work. Nor does it have any bearing on whether the Department considered those myriad interests before issuing and implementing its Directives, which it was required to do under the APA. See DHS, 591 U.S. at 33.

Accordingly, we conclude that the Department has failed to meet its burden under the first Nken factor.

B. Balance of Equities

The second Nken factor requires the Department to demonstrate it will suffer irreparable harm absent a stay. See New York v. Trump, 133 F.4th 51, 71 (1st Cir. 2025). On this point, the Department begins by asserting that the district court's orders will impair "the President's ability to execute core Executive Branch policies." But we have rejected this as a basis for irreparable harm in the past, insofar as it relies on the premise that the challenged agency action was lawful, in cases where we have concluded that the government has failed to show a likelihood of success on the merits. See id. at 71 (rejecting argument that court order irreparably harmed defendants by "intolerabl[y] intru[ding] on the prerogatives of the Executive Branch" because it rested on the premise that the challenged agency action was lawful).

Next, the Department contends that the district court's orders "will result in the immediate outflow of significant amounts of money with limited prospects for recovery." The Department again relies on California to argue that this constitutes an irreparable harm. See 145 S. Ct. at 969 (crediting the government's irreparable harm argument that "it is unlikely to recover the grant funds once they are disbursed").

The Supreme Court was relying on different facts to find irreparable harm in California. The plaintiffs here, unlike those in California, have cited specific federal regulations that provide for the Department's ability to recoup improperly expended funds, and the Department has not argued to us that those regulations are inapplicable. Further, the government's primary contention to the Court in California was that the short-term nature of a TRO would incentivize plaintiffs to draw down nearly \$65 million in a matter of weeks. See Appl. at 25-26, 29. The district court's orders here, which are not time-limited, impose no such concentrated financial pressure.

Nevertheless, the Department is correct that in both California and in this case, the plaintiffs have not "promised to return all funds they receive[] as a result of the district court's order if it is ultimately reversed on appeal." See 145 S. Ct. at 969. So, to the extent that the Department may be unable to recover some funds disbursed during the pendency of this litigation, we conclude that the Department has demonstrated an irreparable harm as California defines it.

Even so, the "stay inquiry calls for assessing the harm to the opposing party." Nken, 556 U.S. at 435. The plaintiffs provided declarations explaining that the abrupt cutoff in funding will, among other things: cause their studies, some of which have been conducted over the course of many years, to "lose validity";

require animal subjects to be euthanized; force researchers with "project-specific knowledge and experience" to leave; delay treatment for patients enrolled in "clinical trials for life-saving medications or procedures"; and force the closure of community health clinics that provide preventative treatment for infectious diseases. Declarations submitted to the district court described that "[i]n many cases, there is no way to recover the lost time, research continuity, or training value once disrupted," because studies and researchers cannot be held in stasis. Some declarants explained that the emergency short-term funding provided by their universities was not a sustainable solution and has required layoffs and research cuts; one declarant emphasized that "[u]sing alternative university funds to continue work . . . is neither possible . . . nor practical." By contrast, the plaintiffs in California had "represented . . . that they ha[d] the financial wherewithal to keep their programs running" in the interim. 145 S. Ct. at 969.

In response, the Department fails to address any of the non-monetary harms that the plaintiffs detailed, which cannot be remedied by belated payment. Thus, the Department has failed to show that the plaintiffs would not suffer substantial harm if the district court's orders were stayed during the pendency of the litigation.

The final Nken factor asks us to consider "where the public interest lies." 556 U.S. at 434 (citation omitted). The Department's one-sentence argument on this point is that "the district court exceeded its authority" by issuing its orders. The Department cites Coggeshall Development Corp. v. Diamond, where we explained that "[f]ederal courts do not have the power to order specific performance by the United States of its alleged contractual obligations." 884 F.2d 1, 3 (1st Cir. 1989). But, as we have already explained, we do not agree that the Department is likely to succeed on its arguments that this is a breach of contract case that belongs in the Court of Federal Claims or that it did not violate the APA. And there is a substantial public interest "in having governmental agencies abide by the federal laws that govern their existence and operations." League of Women Voters of the U.S. v. Newby, 838 F.3d 1, 12 (D.C. Cir. 2016) (cleaned up).

Further, the Department does not refute the plaintiffs' contentions that a stay would result in the setback of "life-saving research by years if not decades" and would eliminate funding for "urgent public health issues." These are serious concerns that suggest the public's interest is aligned with the plaintiffs, at least at this stage of the proceedings, not with the Department.

Accordingly, we cannot say that the balance of equities favors the grant of a stay. Although the Department may suffer

some financial loss in the interim, it has neither quantified that potential loss nor provided any evidence that it will occur imminently. By contrast, the plaintiffs have provided concrete examples of economic and non-economic harms to themselves, to the public at large, and to the scientific and medical advancements of the United States if the stay is granted. The Department has failed to rebut plaintiffs' arguments that these harms are weightier at this stage of the case, especially given our conclusion that the Department has failed to show a likelihood of success on the merits. See Nken, 556 U.S. at 427 ("A stay is an 'intrusion into the ordinary processes of administration and judicial review,' and accordingly 'is not a matter of right, even if irreparable injury might otherwise result to the appellant.'" (cleaned up)).⁷

IV. CONCLUSION

For all these reasons, the Department's motion for a stay is denied.

⁷ A group of four medical societies has tendered a single amicus brief in support of the plaintiffs-appellees, representing that both sides have consented to the filing. We grant leave to file the amicus brief and have considered the amicus brief only insofar as it concerns legal issues and positions raised by the parties.

United States Court of Appeals For the First Circuit

No. 25-1611

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION; IBIS REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH;
INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE, AND
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS (UAW); BRITTANY CHARLTON; KATIE
EDWARDS; PETER LURIE; NICOLE MAPHIS,

Plaintiffs - Appellees,

v.

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH; JAY BHATTACHARYA, in their official capacity as
Director of the National Institutes of Health; UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
AND HUMAN SERVICES; ROBERT F. KENNEDY, JR., in their official capacity as Secretary
of the United States Department of Health & Human Services,

Defendants - Appellants.

Before

Montecalvo, Kayatta, and Rikelman,
Circuit Judges.

ORDER OF COURT

Entered: July 4, 2025

This matter is before the court on defendants-appellants' "Time Sensitive Motion for Stay Pending Appeal and Immediate Administrative Stay." The request for immediate relief is **DENIED**. We note, though, that defendants-appellants filed their motion the day after the district court had entered a promised memorandum reflecting its legal reasoning, and our denial of immediate relief therefore is not based on the timing of relevant filings. In any event, the court intends to rule on the broader request for stay relief as soon as practicable once the motion has been briefed. Plaintiffs-appellees should respond to the stay motion by 5:00 p.m. on Tuesday, July 8, 2025. Any reply should be filed by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, July 9, 2025. The court then will address the stay request as soon as practicable.

By the Court:

Anastasia Dubrovsky, Clerk

cc:

Rachel Anne Meeropol, Alexis Agathocleous, Jessie J. Rossman, Alejandro Ortiz, Suzanne Schlossberg, Kenneth Parreno, Matthew Brinckerhoff, Shalini Goel Agarwal, Ilann Margalit Maazel, Lisa Mankofsky, Max Roller Selver, Michel-Ange Desruisseaux, Olga Akselrod, Oscar Heanue, Sydney Kathryn Zazzaro, Donald Campbell Lockhart, Daniel Tenny, Abraham R. George, Anuj K. Khetarpal, Benjamin C. Wei, John P. Bueker, Douglas H. Hallward-Driemeier, Amish Aajay Shah, Stephanie A. Webster

United States Court of Appeals For the First Circuit

No. 25-1612

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS; STATE OF CALIFORNIA; STATE OF MARYLAND; STATE OF WASHINGTON; STATE OF ARIZONA; STATE OF COLORADO; STATE OF DELAWARE; STATE OF HAWAII; STATE OF MINNESOTA; STATE OF NEVADA; STATE OF NEW JERSEY; STATE OF NEW MEXICO; STATE OF NEW YORK; STATE OF OREGON; STATE OF RHODE ISLAND; STATE OF WISCONSIN,

Plaintiffs - Appellees,

v.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY, JR., in their official capacity as Secretary of Health and Human Services; UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES; JAY BHATTACHARYA, in their official capacity as Director of the National Institutes of Health; NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH; NATIONAL CANCER INSTITUTE; NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE; NATIONAL HEART LUNG & BLOOD INSTITUTE; NATIONAL HUMAN GENOME RESEARCH INSTITUTE; NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON AGING; NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON ALCOHOL ABUSE & ALCOHOLISM; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ALLERGY & INFECTIOUS DISEASES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTHRITIS & MUSCULOSKELETAL & SKIN DISEASES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF BIOMEDICAL IMAGING & BIOENGINEERING; EUNICE KENNEDY SHRIVER NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CHILD HEALTH & HUMAN DEVELOPMENT; NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON DEAFNESS & OTHER COMMUNICATION DISORDERS; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DENTAL & CRANIOFACIAL RESEARCH; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DIABETES & DIGESTIVE AND KIDNEY DISEASES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON DRUG ABUSE; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH SCIENCES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF GENERAL MEDICAL SCIENCES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MENTAL HEALTH; NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON MINORITY HEALTH & HEALTH DISPARITIES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF NEUROLOGICAL DISORDERS & STROKE; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF NURSING RESEARCH; NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MEDICINE; NATIONAL CENTER FOR ADVANCING TRANSLATIONAL SCIENCES; JOHN E. FOGARTY INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE HEALTH SCIENCES; NATIONAL CENTER FOR COMPLEMENTARY & INTEGRATIVE HEALTH; NIH CENTER FOR SCIENTIFIC REVIEW,

Defendants - Appellants.

Before

Montecalvo, Kayatta, and Rikelman,
Circuit Judges.

ORDER OF COURT

Entered: July 4, 2025

This matter is before the court on defendants-appellants' "Time Sensitive Motion for Stay Pending Appeal and Immediate Administrative Stay." The request for immediate relief is **DENIED**. We note, though, that defendants-appellants filed their motion the day after the district court had entered a promised memorandum reflecting its legal reasoning, and our denial of immediate relief therefore is not based on the timing of relevant filings. In any event, the court intends to rule on the broader request for stay relief as soon as practicable once the motion has been briefed. Plaintiffs-appellees should respond to the stay motion by 5:00 p.m. on Tuesday, July 8, 2025. Any reply should be filed by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, July 9, 2025. The court then will address the stay request as soon as practicable.

By the Court:

Anastasia Dubrovsky, Clerk

cc:

David C. Kravitz, Rachel M. Brown, Katherine B. Dirks, Vanessa Arslanian, Gerard J. Cedrone, Allyson T. Slater, Phoebe Lockhart, Chris Pappavaseli, Ketakee Rajiv Kane, Daniel Ambar, Emilio Eugene Varanini IV, Sophia TonNu, Hilary Ann Burke Chan, Kathleen Boergers, Nimrod Pitsker Elias, James C. Luh, Andrew R.W. Hughes, Tyler S. Roberts, Joshua Nomkin, Shannon Wells Stevenson, Lauren Kelsey Peach, Vanessa L. Kassab, Ian R. Liston, David Dana Day, Kalikoonalani Diara Fernandes, Elizabeth C. Kramer, Judith Vale, Peter J. Farrell, Heidi Parry Stern, Bryce Kelly Hurst, Nancy Trasande, Astrid Carrete, Rabia Muqaddam, Molly Thomas-Jensen, Robert A. Koch, Christina L. Beatty-Walters, Jordan Broadbent, Lynn Kristine Lodahl, Donald Campbell Lockhart, Abraham R. George, Anuj K. Khetarpal, Thomas W. Ports Jr., Benjamin C. Wei, Amish Aajay Shah, Stephanie A. Webster

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION;
IBIS REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH;
INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED
AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE, AND
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT
WORKERS (UAW); BRITTANY CHARLTON;
KATIE EDWARDS; PETER LURIE; and
NICOLE MAPHIS,

Plaintiffs,

v.

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH;
JAY BHATTACHARYA, in his official
capacity as Director of the
National Institutes of Health;
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
AND HUMAN SERVICES; and ROBERT F.
KENNEDY, JR., in his official
capacity as Secretary of the
United States Department of Health
and Human Services,

Defendants.

CIVIL ACTION NO.
25-10787-WGY

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS;
STATE OF CALIFORNIA; STATE OF
MARYLAND; STATE OF WASHINGTON;
STATE OF ARIZONA; STATE OF
COLORADO; STATE OF DELAWARE;
STATE OF HAWAI'I; STATE OF
MINNESOTA; STATE OF NEVADA;
STATE OF NEW JERSEY; STATE OF
NEW MEXICO; STATE OF NEW YORK;
STATE OF OREGON; STATE OF RHODE
ISLAND; and STATE OF WISCONSIN,

)
)
Plaintiffs,) CIVIL ACTION NO.
v.) 25-10814-WGY
)
ROBERT F. KENNEDY, JR., in his)
official capacity as Secretary of)
Health and Human Services;)
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF)
HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES;)
JAYANTA BHATTACHARYA, in his)
official capacity as Director of)
the National Institutes of Health;)
NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH;)
NATIONAL CANCER INSTITUTE;)
NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE;)
NATIONAL HEART, LUNG, AND BLOOD)
INSTITUTE; NATIONAL HUMAN GENOME)
RESEARCH INSTITUTE; NATIONAL)
INSTITUTE ON AGING; NATIONAL)
INSTITUTE ON ALCOHOL ABUSE AND)
ALCOHOLISM; NATIONAL INSTITUTE)
OF ALLERGY AND INFECTIOUS)
DISEASES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF)
ARTHRITIS AND MUSCULOSKELETAL AND)
SKIN DISEASES; NATIONAL)
INSTITUTE OF BIOMEDICAL IMAGING)
AND BIOENGINEERING; EUNICE KENNEDY)
SHRIVER NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF)
CHILD HEALTH AND HUMAN)
DEVELOPMENT; NATIONAL INSTITUTE)
ON DEAFNESS AND OTHER)
COMMUNICATION DISORDERS;)
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DENTAL)
AND CRANIOFACIAL RESEARCH;)
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DIABETES)
AND DIGESTIVE AND KIDNEY)
DISEASES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE)
ON DRUG ABUSE; NATIONAL)
INSTITUTE OF ENVIRONMENTAL)
HEALTH SCIENCES; NATIONAL)
INSTITUTE OF GENERAL MEDICAL)
SCIENCES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF)
MENTAL HEALTH; NATIONAL INSTITUTE)
ON MINORITY HEALTH AND HEALTH)
DISPARITIES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE)
OF NEUROLOGICAL DISORDERS AND)

STROKE; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF)
NURSING RESEARCH; NATIONAL LIBRARY)
OF MEDICINE; NATIONAL CENTER FOR)
ADVANCING TRANSLATIONAL SCIENCES;)
JOHN E. FOGARTY INTERNATIONAL)
CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY)
IN THE HEALTH SCIENCES; NATIONAL)
CENTER FOR COMPLEMENTARY AND)
INTEGRATIVE HEALTH; and CENTER)
FOR SCIENTIFIC REVIEW,)
)
Defendants.)
_____)

YOUNG, D.J.

July 2, 2025

**FINDINGS OF FACT, RULINGS OF LAW, AND
ORDER FOR PARTIAL SEPARATE AND FINAL JUDGMENT**

I. INTRODUCTION

These consolidated actions are two of many in this district, and across the Nation, claiming that current Executive Branch policies, mostly through Executive Orders, have been implemented by various agencies in violation of the Administrative Procedure Act, statutory law, and the Constitution. Based upon the evidence presented at the hearing on the APA claims and bench trial of the remainder, this Court concludes what has been occurring at the Department of Health and Human Services ("HHS") and the National Institutes of Health ("NIH") with respect to its disruption of grants, the grant making process and the pipeline of future scientists by

forbidding by fiat certain topics, is on this Administrative Record, illegal under the Administrative Procedure Act ("APA").

After this Court collapsed the separate motions for preliminary injunctions into a single consolidated trial pursuant to Rule 65(a), and after hearing on the Administrative Procedure Act claims and a bench trial on the Constitutional claims (Phase One), in both actions save -- for the APA delay claims (Phase Two), the Court provides its findings of fact and rulings of law pursuant to Rule 52(a) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure as to Phase One.

II. PROCEDURAL HISTORY

In American Public Health Association et al. v. the National Institutes of Health et al., Civ No. 25-10787 ("the '10787 Action"), the American Public Health Association ("APHA"), Ibis Reproductive Health, the International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers, Dr. Brittany Charlton, Dr. Katie Edwards, Dr. Peter Lurie, and Dr. Nicole Maphis (collectively, "the APHA Plaintiffs") seek declaratory and injunctive relief against the National Institutes of Health ("the NIH"), NIH Director Jay Bhattacharya in his official capacity, and Secretary of Health and Human Services Robert F. Kennedy, Jr. in his official capacity.

Similarly, in Commonwealth of Massachusetts et al. v. Kennedy et. al., Civ No. 25-10814 ("the '10814 Action"), the Commonwealth of Massachusetts along with 15 other States¹ (referred to collectively as "the State Plaintiffs"), sue Secretary Kennedy, the Director Bhattacharya, and the federal institutes and centers² (in both actions the defendants are referred here collectively as "the Public Officials" and the APHA Plaintiffs and State Plaintiffs referred to collectively as

¹ In addition to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the State of California, the State of Maryland, the State of Washington, the State of Arizona, the State of Colorado, the State of Delaware, the State of Hawai'i, the State of Minnesota, the State of Nevada, the State of New Jersey; the State of New Mexico; the State of New York, the State of Oregon, the State of Rhode Island; and the State of Wisconsin join as plaintiffs.

² Those ICs are: the National Cancer Institute, the National Eye Institute, the National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute, the National Human Genome Research Institute, the National Institute on Aging, the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, the National Institute of Arthritis and Musculoskeletal and Skin Diseases, the National Institute of Biomedical Imaging and Bioengineering, the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, the National Institute on Deafness and Other Communication Disorders, the National Institute of Dental and Craniofacial Research, the National Institute of Diabetes and Digestive and Kidney Diseases, the National Institute on Drug Abuse; the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences, the National Institute of General Medical Sciences, the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities, the National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke, the National Institute of Nursing Research, the National Library of Medicine, the National Center for Advancing Translational Sciences, the John E. Fogarty International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences, the National Center for Complementary and Integrative Health, and the Center for Scientific Review.

"the Plaintiffs"). Both actions arise from the NIH's newly-minted war against undefined concepts of diversity, equity and inclusion and gender identity, that has expanded to include vaccine hesitancy, COVID, influencing public opinion and climate change.

The actions were randomly reassigned to this Court on May 1, 2025. Elec. Notice Reassignment, ECF No. 99. The Court collapsed the motions into a trial on the merits pursuant to Rule 65(a) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.³ The Court has ruled on jurisdictional issues and a broader motion to dismiss. See Mem. & Order, '10787 Action, ECF No. 84; Mem. & Order, '10817 Action, ECF No. 105.

The trial was divided into two phases largely based on the APA claims, but each phase including other claims: Phase One, APA Section 706(2) (primarily arbitrary and capricious claims) and concomitant statutory and constitutional claims), and Phase Two, Section 706(1) (primarily the delay claims).

The Court held a full hearing and bench trial as to Phase One. At the conclusion of the trial of Phase One, the Court

³ The Court acknowledges that its usual process is expeditious, it observes that while this matter has proceeded to trial, injunctive relief has recently issued as to other actions relating to HHS's and the NIH's actions. See New York v. Kennedy, No. 25-CV-196-MRD-PAS, 2025 WL 1803260, at *13 (D.R.I. July 1, 2025); Massachusetts v. Nat'l Institutes of Health, 770 F. Supp. 3d 277 (D. Mass. 2025) (Kelley, J.), judgment entered, No. 1:25-CV-10338, 2025 WL 1063760 (D. Mass. Apr. 4, 2025).

ruled from the bench that the Challenged Directives taken as a whole, were arbitrary and capricious final agency action, as well as were the terminations of the grants in accordance therewith; the Court took the rest of the matter under advisement. The Court now provides its complete findings of fact and rulings of law as to so much of Phase One as pertains to the APA claims raised therein and addressed from the bench⁴ as

⁴ Time is of the essence in this equity case. For that reason, the Court entered a partial judgment under Fed. R. Civ. P. 54(b) to allow for a prompt appeal of a "clean" decision on the APA claims. Partial Final Judgment, '10787 Action, ECF No. 138; Partial Judgment, '10814 Action, ECF No. 151. Quite properly, the Public Officials have promptly appealed. Notice of Appeal, '10787 Action, ECF No. 139; Notice of Appeal '10814 Action, ECF No. 152. The Public Officials sought a stay pending the appeal, which this Court denied. See Order, '10787 Action, ECF No. 147; Order, '10814 Action, ECF No. 160.

On the ground, while the HHS continues to repeat its now-familiar dirge of empty triumphalism, see <https://www.reuters.com/business/healthcare-pharmaceuticals/federal-judge-says-trump-cuts-nih-grants-are-illegal-politico-reports-2025-06-16/>, the NIH appears to be working in good faith to reassemble its grant-making machinery. See e.g., <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/06/25/science/nih-grant-terminations-halted.html>; <https://www.science.org/content/article/nih-will-reinstate-900-grants-response-court-order>; <https://www.masslive.com/news/2025/06/20-nih-grants-restored-to-umass-system-after-judge-rules-against-trump-admin.html>

More is required to be done on Phase One. In addition to ruling on Constitutional law questions, the Court must address:

Racial Discrimination - Constitutionally Prohibited

The Court has found as fact that there was pervasive racial discrimination in selecting grants for termination. It needs to

fashion a permanent injunction to prevent any continuation of this practice.

Gender Discrimination - Statutorily Prohibited

Speaking from the bench following closing arguments, the Court had not sufficient time to analyze and reflect on the administrative record such that it could make a finding of gender discrimination. Now it has.

The Court finds by a fair preponderance of the evidence that the grant terminations here at issue demonstrate an unmistakable pattern of discrimination against women's health issues. The Court thus needs to afford the parties a chance to present evidence of the harm resulting from such terminations and, in the absence of such evidence, whether this is one of those cases "likely of repetition but evading review."

LGBTQ+ Discrimination - No Federal Remedy

This Court's factual finding that there has been extensive discrimination against everyone whose lived experience of their sexuality is in any way different from the executive orthodoxy expressed in the President's fiat, see Exec. Order 14168, 90 Fed. Reg. 8615 (Jan. 20, 2025), is fully affirmed. What changed in the days following this Court's finding is the Supreme Court's teaching concerning these matters. I had thought the factual finding warranted a more complete equal protection analysis. The decision in United States v. Skrmetti, 145 S. Ct. 1816, 1832 (2025) quite clearly forecloses such analysis. Justice Barrett's concern about imprecision in language addressing these matters, and the skepticism of Justices Thomas and Alito about the role of science, Id. at 1851 (Barrett, J., concurring); 1852 (Thomas, J., concurring), 1867 (Alito, J., concurring) leads this Court to conclude that, while here there is federal government discrimination based on a person's status, not all discrimination is pejorative. After all, setting the voting age, excluding felons from the franchise, and regulating a young person's access to obscene material, see Free Speech Coal., Inc. v. Paxton, No. 23-1122, 2025 WL 1773625, at *9 (U.S. June 27, 2025); Simmons v. Galvin, 575 F.3d 24, 42 (1st Cir. 2009), all "discriminate" based upon an individual's status. They all fall within the state's police powers. This Court is thus not warranted in considering injunctive relief as to an officer of the United States on this ground (despite the fact that these grant determinations were here arbitrary and

required under Rule 52(a) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

III. FINDINGS OF FACT

A. The National Institutes of Health -- The World Standard of Research

The HHS is an Executive Agency of the United States. See generally, 42 U.S.C. § 3501a et seq. The National Institutes of Health is an agency of the HHS, and is comprised of 27 separate institutes and centers ("ICs") that focus on certain diseases or human body systems.

The NIH is run by its Director. Under the Director, there are five deputy directors: (1) Principal Deputy Director; (2) Deputy Director for Intramural Research; (3) Deputy Director of Extramural Research; (4) Deputy Director for Management; and (5) Deputy Director for Program Coordination, Planning, and Strategic Initiatives. See <https://www.nih.gov/about-nih/organization/nih-leadership>.

Congress, through the Public Health Service Act ("the PHSA"), 42 U.S.C. § 201 et seq., mandates that the Secretary of HHS promote research "relating to the causes, diagnosis,

capricious under the APA) because, at least as to puberty blockers, what is a denial of equal protection of the laws in some states is sound public policy in Tennessee.

This Court regrets serving up matters for appeal on a piecemeal basis but the exigencies of an equitable action and unfolding reality require it.

treatment, control, and prevention of physical and mental diseases and impairments," including by, among other things and relevant here, offering "grants-in-aid to universities, hospitals, laboratories, and other public or private institutions, and to individuals." 42 U.S.C. §241(a)(3). The NIH has similar statutory mandates. 42 U.S.C. §§ 282(b), 284(b).

Congress requires the NIH operate predictably and with stability, not just for its understanding of how the NIH is fulfilling its duties to the American people, but also to provide a predictable path for researchers. Specifically, Congress by statute requires the NIH to provide a "National Institutes of Health Strategic Plan" (the "Strategic Plan") every six years in order "to provide direction to [the NIH's] biomedical research investments." Id. §282(m)(1).

The Strategic Plan's purpose is manifold: providing direction to NIH's research investment, increasing efficiencies across the ICs, leveraging scientific opportunity, and advancing biomedicine. Id.⁵

⁵ Section 282(m)(1) provides:

[A]t least every 6 years . . . the Director of the National Institutes of Health shall develop and submit to the appropriate committees of Congress and post on the Internet website of the National Institutes of Health, a coordinated strategy (to be known as the "National Institutes of Health Strategic Plan") to

The Strategic Plan forms the foundation of the NIH's work. Indeed, NIH is mandated to "ensure that **scientifically based** strategic planning is implemented in support of research priorities as determined by the agencies of the National Institutes of Health, and through the development, implementation, and updating of" the Strategic Plan. 42 U.S.C. § 282(b)(5) (emphasis added).

The Strategic Plan is required to "identify strategic priorities and objectives in biomedical research" of areas such as assessment of the "state of biomedical and behavioral research" and opportunities therein, "priorities and objectives to advance the treatment, cure and prevention of health conditions," "emerging scientific opportunities," "health challenges" and "scientific knowledge gaps." 42 U.S.C. § 282(m)(2)(A). The Strategic Plan is also required to identify "near-, mid-, and long term scientific needs." Id.

The Strategic Plan is a statutorily imposed collaboration, requiring the NIH to consult "with the directors of the national

[(1)] provide direction to the biomedical research investments made by the National Institutes of Health, [(2)] to facilitate collaboration across the institutes and centers, [(3)] to leverage scientific opportunity, and [(4)] to advance biomedicine.

42 U.S.C. § 282(m) (emphasis added).

research institutes and national centers, researchers, patient advocacy groups, and industry leaders.” 42 U.S.C. § 282(m)(4)

Congress historically has paid close attention to its tax-dollar investments in medical, health and behavioral research. In some cases, it has expressed its research priorities directly in the PHSA, see e.g. Section 283(p). For example, Congress has by statute created ICs dedicated to certain systems, and minority populations.

The NIH is the primary source of federal funding for biomedical research in the United States, and is the largest public funder of biomedical research in the world. Due to its operations, NIH has contributed to profound medical breakthroughs and through its funding trains future generations of scientists. It is tax-payer investment in the health and welfare not just of Americans, but humanity. Broadly, the NIH performs research within federal facilities, also called “intramural” research. It also supports research through funding of competitive grants to researchers and institutions outside the federal system. This is known as “extramural” research, and is what is at issue in these consolidated actions.

The NIH’s process to allocate funding from Congress for extramural research is covered by several statutes and regulations. See 42 C.F.R. § 52 et seq.; . The Court presumes the parties’ familiarity with the process, but broadly, with

respect to extramural research, researchers must apply to the NIH for funding. The NIH, in line with its priorities, invites proposals for grants through what is known as "Notice of Funding Opportunity" ("NOFO"). In simple terms, the applications go through a three-step process: a scientific review group, and if successful, then to the advisory council. If the application is approved by the advisory council, their recommendation proceeds to the IC's director who makes the ultimate funding decision.

Grants are, understandably, oftentimes not a one-time event. Research takes time, often requiring continuation grants or multiple grants. The NIH's framework of stability and predictability has proven itself time and again over the past several decades over multiple administrations. It is one reason the United States, through the support of the hard-working government workers at HHS and the NIH, in partnership with the scientific research community, has been unsurpassed in its contributions to breakthroughs in science that have enhanced our lives. To be sure, there are priorities, as funding is not unlimited, and administrations each have differing views on what those priorities ought be, but the NIH's priority changes have been predictable. What is clear is that Congress intends for the NIH to operate with Congressional oversight and certainly some statutory direction, but by and large leaves the science to the scientists. Indeed, the American people have enjoyed a

historical norm of a largely apolitical scientific research agency supporting research in an elegant, merit-based approach that benefits everyone.

That historical norm changed on January 20, 2025. The new Administration began weaponizing what should not be weaponized – the health of all Americans through its abuse of HHS and the NIH systems, creating chaos and promoting an unreasonable and unreasoned agenda of blacklisting certain topics, that on this Administrative Record, has absolutely nothing to do with the promotion of science or research.

B. Timeline of Events

1. January 20, 2025 – January 21, 2025 -- Executive Orders 14151, 14168, and 14173 are issued.

The Executive Branch decided early on, through Executive Orders, to focus on eradicating anything that it labels as Diversity, Equity and Inclusion ("DEI"), an undefined enemy. No one has ever defined it to this Court -- and this Court has asked multiple times. Indeed, as will be demonstrated, while the Executive, HHS, and the NIH certainly identify the acronym DEI and its component words, it's definition is purely circular reasoning: DEI is DEI. It also is focused on gender identity as a priority, proclaiming through Executive Orders its concerns. The Executive Branch, of course, has every right to espouse its views, and this Court opines on neither their veracity nor

wisdom. Nevertheless, the Executive Orders lay the groundwork for what occurred at HHS and the NIH.

a. Executive Order 14151

On January 20, 2025, the President issued Executive Order No. 14151, entitled "Ending Radical and Wasteful Government DEI Programs and Preferencing." Exec. Order 14151, 90 Fed. Reg. 8339 (Jan. 20, 2025) ("EO 14151"). EO 14151 focuses on ending what the Executive views as a perceived "infiltration" of the federal government of "illegal and immoral discrimination programs of the Biden Administration going by the name 'Diversity, Equity and Inclusion'". Id. EO 14151 posits that DEI is mutually exclusive to "serving every person with equal dignity and respect." Id. Under the guise of "making America great," EO 14151 instructs the Attorney General and others to "coordinate the termination of all discriminatory programs, including illegal DEI and 'diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility' (DEIA) mandates, policies, programs, preferences, and activities in the Federal Government, under whatever name they appear." Id. EO 14151 does not define DEI. Additionally, and pertinent here, EO14151 directs each federal agency head to "terminate, to the maximum extent allowed by law, all 'equity-related' grants or contracts" within 60 days. Id. This too has broad, undefined contours. As one Court recently noted, "[t]he vagueness of the term 'equity-related' grants or contracts

invites arbitrary and discriminatory enforcement and does not provide sufficient notice to grantees as to what types of speech or activity they must avoid to prevent termination of their grants or contracts -- compelling grantees and grant applicants to steer far too clear of the forbidden area of anything related to the broad and undefined term of equity.'" San Francisco A.I.D.S. Found. v. Trump, No. 25-CV-01824-JST, 2025 WL 1621636, at *21 (N.D. Cal. June 9, 2025) (cleaned up).

b. Executive Order 14168

On January 20, 2025, the President also issued Executive Order 14168, "Defending Women from Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government." The President claims that women need protection from transgender persons:

Efforts to eradicate the biological reality of sex fundamentally attack women by depriving them of their dignity, safety, and well-being. The erasure of sex in language and policy has a corrosive impact not just on women but on the validity of the entire American system. Basing Federal policy on truth is critical to scientific inquiry, public safety, morale, and trust in government itself.

Exec. Order 14168, 90 Fed. Reg. 8615 (Jan. 20, 2025) ("EO 14168"). The EO goes on to proclaim that "gender ideology" somehow "replaces the biological category of sex with an ever-shifting concept of self-assessed gender identity," that it is a "false claim," and that "includes the idea that there is a vast

spectrum of genders that are disconnected from one's sex." Id. §2(f). Pertinent here, the Executive seeks to stamp "gender ideology" out: "Federal funds shall not be used to promote gender ideology. Each agency shall assess grant conditions and grantee preferences and ensure grant funds do not promote gender ideology." Id. §3(f).

c. Executive Order 14173

On January 21, 2025, President issued Executive Order No. 14173, entitled "Ending Illegal Discrimination and Restoring Merit-Based Opportunity." Exec. Order 14173, 90 Fed. Reg. 8633 (Jan. 21, 2025) ("EO 14173"). Similar to EO 14151, EO 14173 purportedly seeks to end "immoral race- and sex-based preferences under the guise of so-called [DEI] or [DEIA]," and the order requires the Director of the OMB to "[e]xcise references to DEI and DEIA principles, under whatever name they may appear, from Federal acquisition, contracting, grants, and financial assistance procedures" and to "[t]erminate all 'diversity,' 'equity,' 'equitable decision-making,' 'equitable deployment of financial and technical assistance,' 'advancing equity,' and like mandates, requirements, programs, or activities, as appropriate." Id. There is, conspicuously, no definition of DEI.

2. January 21, 2021, The Pause Directive.

On January 21, 2025, HHS Acting Secretary Dorothy Fink (“Acting Secretary Fink”), appointed January 20, 2025, ordered an immediate communication pause until February 1, 2025. R. 1. (“the Pause Directive”).



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

Office of the Secretary
Washington, D.C. 20201

TO: Heads of Operating Divisions Head
Heads of Staff Divisions

THROUGH: Wilma M. Robinson, Ph.D., Deputy Executive Secretary

FROM: Dorothy A. Fink, MD, Acting Secretary

DATE: January 21, 2025

SUBJECT: Immediate Pause on Issuing Documents and Public Communications – ACTION

As the new Administration considers its plan for managing the federal policy and public communications processes, it is important that the President's appointees and designees have the opportunity to review and approve any regulations, guidance documents, and other public documents and communications (including social media). Therefore, at the direction of the new Administration and consistent with precedent, I am directing that you immediately take the following steps through February 1, 2025:

1. Refrain from sending any document intended for publication to the Office of the Federal Register until it has been reviewed and approved by a Presidential appointee. Please note that the Office of the Executive Secretary (Exec Sec) withdrew from OFR all documents that had not been published in the Federal Register to allow for such review and approval.
2. Refrain from publicly issuing any document (e.g., regulation, guidance, notice, grant announcement) or communication (e.g., social media, websites, press releases, and communication using listservs) until it has been reviewed and approved by a Presidential appointee.
3. Refrain from participating in any public speaking engagement until the event and material have been reviewed and approved by a Presidential appointee.
4. Coordinate with Presidential appointees prior to issuing official correspondence to public officials (e.g., members of Congress, governors) or containing interpretations or statements of Department regulations or policy. Nothing in this guidance is intended to limit an employee's personal correspondence with members of Congress or other third parties, including an employee's whistleblower protected communications.
5. Notify Exec Sec promptly of any documents or communications that you believe should not be subject to the directives in paragraphs 1-4 because they are required by statute or litigation; affect critical health, safety, environmental, financial, or national security functions of the Department; or for some other reason. Please provide the title, a brief summary, the target release date, and the rationale for expedited release to your Exec Sec Policy Coordinator.

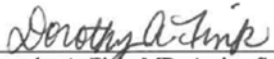
The President's appointees intend to review documents and communications expeditiously and return to a more regular process as soon as possible.

1

NIH_GRANTS_000001

If you identify any actions taken inconsistent with these requests, please know they shall not be considered impliedly ratified. These items should be immediately withdrawn or rescinded to deem them as void and without effect.

Thank you for your assistance in ensuring a smooth transition consistent with our nation's democratic principles.


Dorothy A. Fink, MD, Acting Secretary

R. 1-2.⁶ Although referenced for completeness, this Challenged Directive relates to Phase 2 of this Action, so will not be discussed further at this time.

3. February 10, 2025 -- The Secretarial Directive -- Challenged Directive 2

On February 10, 2025, Acting Secretary Fink, issued the following "Secretarial Directive on DEI-Related Funding" ("the Secretarial Directive"):

⁶ Stylistically, this Court usually avoids inserting full documents in its opinions lest bulk substitute for analysis. Here, however, no paraphrasing can replace the originals and convey what was actually going on.



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

Office of the Secretary
Washington, D.C. 20201

SECRETARIAL DIRECTIVE ON DEI-RELATED FUNDING

February 10, 2025

The Department of Health and Human Services has an obligation to ensure that taxpayer dollars are used to advance the best interests of the government. This includes avoiding the expenditure of federal funds on programs, or with contractors or vendors, that promote or take part in diversity, equity, and inclusion (“DEI”) initiatives or any other initiatives that discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or another protected characteristic. Contracts and grants that support DEI and similar discriminatory programs can violate Federal civil rights law and are inconsistent with the Department’s policy of improving the health and well-being of all Americans.

These contracts and grants can cause serious programmatic failures and yet it is currently impossible to access sufficient information from a centralized source within the Department of Health and Human Services to assess them. Specifically, there is no one method to determine whether payments the agency is making to contractors, vendors, and grantees for functions related to DEI and similar programs are contributing to the serious problems and acute harms DEI initiatives may pose to the Department’s compliance with Federal civil rights law as well as the Department’s policy of improving the health and well-being of all Americans. It is also currently impossible to assess whether payments the Department is making are free from fraud, abuse, and duplication, as well as to assess whether current contractual arrangements, vendor agreements, and grant awards related to these functions are in the best interests of the United States. *See* FAR 12.403(b), 49.101; 45 C.F.R. § 75.371-372. Finally, it is also impossible to determine with current systems whether current contracts and grant awards are tailored to ameliorate these specific problems and the broader problem of DEI and similar programs rather than exacerbate them. The Department has an obligation to ensure that no taxpayer dollars are lost to abuse or expended on anything other than advancing the best interests of the nation.

For these reasons, pursuant to, among other authorities, FAR 12.403(b) and 49.101 and 45 C.F.R. § 75.371- 372, the Secretary of Health and Human Services hereby DIRECTS as follows:

Agency personnel shall briefly pause all payments made to contractors, vendors, and grantees related to DEI and similar programs for internal review for payment integrity. Such review shall include but not be limited to a review for fraud, waste, abuse, and a review of the overall contracts and grants to determine whether those contracts or grants are in the best interest of the government and consistent with current policy priorities. In addition, if after review the Department has determined that a contract is inconsistent with Department priorities and no longer in the interest of the government, such contracts may be terminated pursuant to the Department’s authority to terminate for convenience contracts that are not “in the best interests of the Government,” see FAR 49.101(b); 12.403(b). Furthermore, grants may be terminated in accordance with federal law.

This Directive shall be implemented through the Department's contracts and payment management systems by personnel with responsibility for such systems who shall, in doing so, comply with all notice and procedural requirements in each affected award, agreement, or other instrument. Whenever a DEI or similar contract or grant is paused for review, Department personnel shall immediately send such payment to Scott Rowell, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, for prompt review to determine whether or not the payment is appropriate and should be made. Payments on paused contracts shall remain paused and already terminated contracts shall remain terminated pending completion of that review to the maximum extent permitted by law and all applicable notice and procedural requirements in the affected award, agreement, or other instrument.

I thank you for your attention to this matter, as well as your efforts to ensure that no taxpayer dollars are misspent.


Dorothy A. Fink, M.D., Acting Secretary

R. 4-5. In what will be a common theme throughout the agency action, Dr. Fink chose not to define DEI at all, but merely echoed the EOs, lumping DEI -- whatever DEI is -- as somehow "discriminatory" in nature. Id. Presumably, Dr. Fink, a highly educated physician and acclaimed researcher,⁷ understood the downstream effects of the absence of definition. There is conspicuously nothing else in the Administrative Record concerning the Secretarial Directive.

⁷ Dr. Fink is currently Deputy Assistant Secretary for Women's Health and Director of the Office of Women's Health in the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Health at HHS. Her biography is located <https://womenshealth.gov/about-us/who-we-are/leadership/dr-dorothy-fink>.

4. February 12, 2025 -- The Lauer Memoranda

In the ensuing days, federal courts issued temporary restraining orders against, among others, the NIH. In response, on February 12, 2025, Dr. Michael S. Lauer ("Dr. Lauer"), then-Deputy Director for Extramural Research at the NIH and Michelle G. Bulls, NIH Chief Grants Management Officer ("CGMO Bulls"), issued to the ICs a memorandum stating that NIH "is in the process of reevaluating the agency's priorities based on the goals of the new administration." R. 9. That memorandum states that the "NIH will effectuate the administration's goals over time, but given recent court orders, this cannot be a factor in [Institutions and Centers'] funding decisions at this time." Id. The memorandum also promised "[a]dditional details on future funding actions related to the agency's goals will be provided under a separate memo." Id. The memorandum in full:



Date: February 12, 2025

To: Institute and Center Chief Grants Management Officers (IC CGMOs)

From: Michael S. Lauer, MD Digitally signed by Michael S. Lauer -S
Date: 2025.02.12 09:26:33 -05'00'
Deputy Director for Extramural Research, National Institutes of Health (NIH)

Michelle G. Bulls
NIH Chief Grants Management Officer

Subject: NIH Review of Agency Priorities Based on the New Administration's Goals

NIH is in the process of reevaluating the agency's priorities based on the goals of the new administration. NIH will effectuate the administration's goals over time, but given recent court orders, this cannot be a factor in IC funding decisions at this time. In consultation with NIH leadership and with the Office of General Counsel (OGC), we recognize that NIH programs fall under recently issued Temporary Restraining Orders (*New York et al. v. U.S. Office of Management and Budget* and *Commonwealth of Massachusetts et al. v. National Institutes of Health et al.* see attached). Therefore, with this memo, IC CGMOs are authorized, along with their respective grants management staff, to proceed with issuing awards for all competing, non-competing continuation, and administrative supplements (previously cleared through Office of Extramural Research) grants. Until further notice, as awards are issued, ICs must follow their existing FY25 IC funding policies and use the previously approved negotiated indirect cost rates. Additional details on future funding actions related to the agency's goals will be provided under a separate memo.

Attachments

1. Temporary Restraining Order, *New York et al. v. U.S. Office of Management and Budget* (Jan. 31, 2025)
2. Court Order Questions – HHS OGC Responses (February 4, 2025)
3. Temporary Restraining Order, *Commonwealth of Massachusetts et al. v. National Institutes of Health et al.*, (February 10, 2025)
4. Order Enforcing TRO, *New York et al. v. U.S. Office of Management and Budget* (February 10, 2025)
5. Office of General Counsel Note, *New York et al. v. U.S. Office of Management and Budget* (February 10, 2025)

R.9. The Court views this memorandum as hardly a ringing endorsement of HHS's Secretarial Directive of the Executive Orders.

Nevertheless, that new guidance came the next day. On February 13, 2025, Dr. Lauer and CGMO Bulls issued another memorandum to ICs Chief Grant Management Officers, that announced "hard funding restrictions" on "awards where the program promotes or takes part in diversity, equity, and inclusion [sic] ('DEI') initiatives" with restrictions applying "to new and continuation awards made on or after February 14, 2025." R. 16. The memorandum also states that, "[i]f the sole purpose of the grant, cooperative agreement, other transaction award (including modifications), or supplement supports DEI activities, then the award must be fully restricted. The restrictions will remain in place until the agency conducts an internal review for payment integrity." Id. The February 13, 2025 Memorandum is set forth in full:



National Institutes of Health
Office of Extramural Research

Date: February 13, 2025
To: Institute and Center Chief Grants Management Officers (IC CGMOs)
From: Michael S. Lauer, MD **Michael S. Lauer -S** Digitally signed by Michael S. Lauer -S
Deputy Director for Extramural Research, National Institutes of Health (NIH) Date: 2025.02.13 15:06:52 -05'00'

Michelle G. Bulls
NIH Chief Grants Management Officer

Subject: Supplemental Guidance to Memo Entitled- NIH Review of Agency Priorities Based on the New Administration's Goals

The Office of Extramural Research is issuing supplemental guidance to the memo, dated February 12, 2025, to Institute and Center (IC) Chief Grants Management Officers (CGMOs) and their respective staff to issue hard funding restrictions on awards and within the Payment Management System (PMS)/Program Support Center (PSC) on awards where the program promotes or takes part in diversity, equity, and inclusion ("DEI") initiatives or any other initiatives that discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or any other protected characteristics. The restriction requirement applies to new and continuation awards made on or after February 14, 2025. If the sole purpose of the grant, cooperative agreement, other transaction award (including modifications), or supplement supports DEI activities, then the award must be fully restricted. The restrictions will remain in place until the agency conducts an internal review for payment integrity. Such review shall include, but not be limited to a review for fraud, waste, abuse, of all grants, cooperative agreements, and Other Transactions that determines the funding of the activities/program are in the best interest of the government and consistent with current policy priorities.

Attachments

1. Memo NIH Review of Agency Priorities Based on the New Administration's Goals, February 12, 2025
2. UPDATE - Temporary Restraining Order in State of New York et al. v. Trump et al., 1:25-cv-00039 (D.R.I.), February 12, 2025
3. Secretarial Directive on DEI Related Funding, February 10, 2025

R. 16. It is unclear how the NIH could use this document to determine the contours of DEI, where it does not define the term, nor how to determine whether something "promotes or takes

part in diversity equity and inclusion . . . initiatives." Id.⁸

Further, it apparently relies upon the Secretarial Directive.

Id.

⁸ Consistent with the Administrative Record, NIH Chief Grants Management Officer Michelle Bulls testified in another federal action that she drafted the February 13, 2025 memorandum with Dr. Lauer and acknowledged that the ICs would determine for themselves what in fact DEI meant:

Q · · Do you recognize this document?

A · · Yes.

Q · · And you wrote this document, right?

A · · I wrote it with Dr. Lauer, yes.

Q · · Okay. · And what is it?

A It's the supplemental -- it's the beginning of the guidance providing agency - - I mean ICs with guidance on how to unpause funding.

Q · · And it does say that there is a Restriction. · What's the restriction that it gives guidance about?

A · · On spending funding related to DEI activities on grants.

Q Was there a definition of DEI activities provided with this memo?

MS. ANDRAPALLIYAL: · Objection. · To the extent the information sought is deliberative and not final, I'm instructing the witness not to answer.

BY MR. MCGINTY:

Q · · How are ICs supposed to determine if something fell within DEI activities?

A · · They have scientific, the scientific background and they know their programs, so the Grants Management

5. February 13, 2025 -- Deputy Director of Extramural Research, Dr. Lauer Resigns and Liza Bundensen is promoted as Acting Extramural Research Director.

Deputy Director Lauer resigned that same day, effective February 14, 2025. See Second top NIH official, who oversaw awarding of research grants, departs abruptly, Stat+ <https://www.statnews.com/2025/02/13/nih-michael-lauer-deputy-director-departs/>. Liza Bundesen ("Dr. Bundesen") became acting director of Extramural Research of the NIH after Dr. Lauer resigned. That promotion was short-lived, as she resigned less three weeks later on March 5, 2025. April 3, 2025 Depo. Liza Bundesen 5, State of Washington et al. v. Trump et al. , Civ No. 25-cv-00244, ECF No. 276-8.

6. February 21, 2025 -- The Memoli Directive - Challenged Directive 5

On February 21, 2025, Dr. Matthew Memoli ("Acting Director Memoli"), Acting Director of NIH, appointed by Dr. Fink, from January 22, 2025 through March 31, 2025, see <https://www.nih.gov/about-nih/nih-almanac/leadership/nih->

officials work with the program officials to identify DEI activities where it's not clear in the statute.

Dep. Michelle Bulls 99-100, Decl. Chris Pappavaselio, Ex. 41, ECF No. 77-41. When asked about what statute, she assumed that Minority Health Disparity Institute had some language, but ultimately testified she did not know if "it ties directly, but I think that is being used. And that's an assumption, that's not facts." Id.

directors/matthew-j-memoli-md-ms, and currently Principal Deputy Director of the NIH, sent an email to Nina Schor, Deputy Director for Intramural Research, Alfred Johnson, Deputy Director for Management, and Dr. Bundesen, Deputy Director of Extramural Research:

From: [Memoli, Matthew \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
To: [Bundesen, Liza \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#); [Johnson, Alfred \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#); [Schor, Nina \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
Subject: Memo on NIH priorities
Date: Friday, February 21, 2025 2:54:40 PM
Attachments: [2695_001.pdf](#)

Hello,

After working with OGC we determined it was possible to set priorities at an NIH level, which now allows us to proceed with the process of making sure our programs are meeting these goals. I will talk with you individually about the plan of action.

Thanks,
Matt

--

Matthew J. Memoli, MD, MS
Acting Director, National Institutes of Health
9000 Rockville Pike
Bethesda, MD 20892
matthew.memoli@nih.gov

R. 2929. It is unclear what Dr. Memoli told the recipients of his email about the supposed "plan of action," but on that same date Dr. Memoli issued a Directive entitled "Restoring Scientific Integrity and Protecting Public Investment in NIH

Awards" ("the Memoli Directive"), which was sent out by Deputy Dr. Bundesen:

From: [Bundesen, Liza \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
To: [Kosub, David \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#); [Roman, Laurie \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#); [Bulls, Michelle G. \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#); [Ta, Kristin \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#); [Faenson, Inna \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#); [Corbett, Dawn \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#); [Boone, Ericka \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
Cc: [Jacobs, Anna \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#); [Bundesen, Liza \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#); [Schwetz, Tara \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#); [Joshi, Pritty \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
Subject: URGENT - FW: Memo on NIH priorities
Date: Friday, February 21, 2025 4:19:52 PM
Attachments: [2695_001.pdf](#)

Hi all,

I'm very sorry to once again be sharing an urgent task on a Friday afternoon (I've already talked to David), but **today**, we have to pull down all of the NOFOs that we previously pulled down and put back up (DEI, gender ideology, environmental justice, etc). The attached memo from the Acting NIH Director provides this directive. I understand that Matt Memoli discussed this with OGC.

There are other actions that we will need to take to address this memo, but we can discuss those at a calmer pace on Monday.

I have confirmation that this memo can be shared with other OER staff, and I'm sending to this group now because I think you have the most immediate need to know. Please note that the memo is not to be distributed outside of OER at this time. I will think through how to notify the ICs.

I appreciate you all.

Liza

R. 3823. The memorandum was attached:

Directive on NIH Priorities

Agency: National Institutes of Health

Office of the Director

Action: Directive

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

National Institutes of Health

Office of the Director

EFFECTIVE DATE: February 21, 2025

Restoring Scientific Integrity and Protecting the Public Investment in NIH Awards

The National Institutes of Health (NIH) is the largest public funder of biomedical and behavioral research in the world. The public trusts NIH with substantial funds to foster creative discoveries that will improve health and prevent disease in this Country. Accordingly, NIH is committed to promoting only the highest level of scientific integrity, public accountability, and social responsibility in the programs it funds. And NIH promises to prioritize the funding of projects that will generate a high return on the public's investment, so that taxpayer dollars are not going to waste. Every dollar should be used to make Americans live longer, healthier lives.

This mission requires NIH to ensure that it is not supporting low-value and off-mission research programs, including but not limited to studies based on diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) and gender identity. While this description of NIH's mission is consistent with recent Executive Orders issued by the President, I issue this directive based on my expertise and experience; consistent with NIH's own obligation to pursue effective, fiscally prudent research; and pursuant to NIH authorities that exist independently of, and precede, those Executive Orders.

Research programs based primarily on artificial and non-scientific categories, including amorphous equity objectives, are antithetical to the scientific inquiry, do nothing to expand our knowledge of living systems, provide low returns on investment, and ultimately do not enhance health, lengthen life, or reduce illness. Worse, DEI studies are often used to support unlawful discrimination on the basis of race and other protected characteristics, which harms the health of Americans. Therefore, it is the policy of NIH not to prioritize such research programs.

Likewise, research programs based on gender identity are often unscientific, have little identifiable return on investment, and do nothing to enhance the health of many Americans. Many such studies ignore, rather than seriously examine, biological realities. It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize these research programs either.

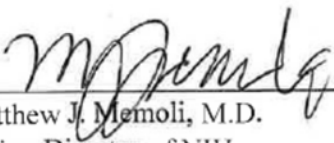
For these reasons and pursuant to, among other authorities, 42 U.S.C. § 282(b) and 45 C.F.R. Part 75 (45 C.F.R. §§ 75.207, 75.210, 75.371–373),¹ the Director of NIH hereby directs:

NIH personnel shall conduct an internal review of all contract solicitations and notices of funding opportunities; applications pending Type 1 and Type 2 awards; existing awards; cooperative agreements; and other transactions. Such review shall be aimed at ensuring NIH grants, contracts, cooperative agreements, and other transactions do not fund or support low-value and off-mission research activities or projects – including DEI and gender identity research activities and programs. NIH personnel should also ensure grants, contracts, cooperative agreements, and other transactions are free from fraud, abuse, and duplication, and are being implemented consistent with federal law.

This Directive shall be implemented by all relevant NIH personnel, including but not limited to those in the Office of Extramural Research, Office of Intramural Research, and the Division of Program Coordination, Planning, and Strategic Initiatives. Grants, contracts, cooperative agreements, and other transactions deemed inconsistent with NIH's mission may, where permitted by applicable law, be subject to funding restrictions, terminated or partially terminated, paused, and/or not continued or renewed, in compliance with all procedural requirements.

Notwithstanding this Directive, and consistent with any court orders that may apply, no open award disbursements may be paused in reliance upon Office of Management and Budget Memorandum M-25-13 or any Executive Order underlying that Memorandum. Previous instructions ordering the immediate release of such funds remain in effect. Also, consistent with any court orders that may apply, this Directive does not instruct personnel to condition or withhold federal funding pursuant to Section 4 of Executive Order 14,187 (Protecting Children from Chemical and Surgical Mutilation) based on the fact that a healthcare entity or health professional provides care or treatment.

Dated: February 21, 2025


Matthew J. Memoli, M.D.
Acting Director of NIH

R. 3821 – 3822. The Memoli Directive notably picks up gender identity language for the first time.

While Dr. Memoli claimed that this Directive is based upon his "expertise and experience" and attempts to make it appear the NIH was acting "independently" it is obvious that much, if not all, of the content was provided to him by HHS. Indeed, the record reflects that HHS spoon-fed Dr. Memoli exactly what to say in his Directive as later drafts of guidance confirm that certain specific language was provided by HHS, even going so far as to putting it in quotations:

- DEI: "Research programs based primarily on artificial and non-scientific categories, including amorphous equity objectives, are antithetical to the scientific inquiry, do nothing to expand our knowledge of living systems, provide low returns on investment, and ultimately do not enhance health, lengthen life, or reduce illness. Worse, so-called diversity, equity, and inclusion ("DEI") studies are often used to support unlawful discrimination on the basis of race and other protected characteristics ICO's, which harms the health of Americans. Therefore, it is the policy of NIH not to prioritize such research programs."
- Gender-Affirming Care: "Research programs based on gender identity are often unscientific, have little identifiable return on investment, and do nothing to enhance the health of many Americans. Many such studies ignore, rather than seriously examine, biological realities. It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize these research programs." **Reminder: At this time, do not terminate any grants related to gender identify/transgender without clearance from OER. All such actions must be approved before any terminations.**

R. 3280. There is evidence in the record that on that same date, Dr. Memoli was taking advice as to NOFOs that purportedly did not align with the new objectives from Brian M. Smith, an official in the so-called Department of Government Efficiency ("DOGE"). R. 3752-3753.

7. February 22, 2025 -- NOFOs Taken Down

On Saturday, February 22, 2025, Brad Smith of DOGE sent a list to Dr. Memoli of NOFOs that in their view did not fall within the Memoli Directive:

From: Smith, Brad M. EOP/DOGE <Brad.M.Smith@doge.eop.gov>
Date: Saturday, February 22, 2025 at 11:36 AM
To: Memoli, Matthew (NIH/OD) [E] <matthew.memoli@nih.gov>
Subject: [EXTERNAL] NOFOs

Matt,

Thanks so much for your time yesterday. Per our conversation, below are a number of NOFOs that it may be worth your team reviewing to make sure they align with your directive and priorities. We 100% defer to your team on whether each of these align with your directive, but I thought you might find this list helpful as you consider where to focus your review:

<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-23-112.html>

<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-22-145.html>

<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-23-309.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-23-292.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-24-077.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-24-109.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-24-157.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-24-158.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-25-098.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-25-201.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-25-237.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-25-240.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-25-241.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-25-317.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-26-001.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/rfa-files/RFA-MD-24-003.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/rfa-files/RFA-NR-25-004.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/rfa-files/RFA-MD-24-005.html>

Best,
Brad

Dutifully, Dr. Memoli instructed Director Bundesen to
remove published NOFOs because of a lack of alignment:

From: [Memoli, Matthew \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
To: [Bundesen, Liza \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
Cc: [Burklow, John \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
Subject: NOFOS that need to come down
Date: Saturday, February 22, 2025 12:01:32 PM

Hi Liza,

I was sent a list of NOFOS to review that are still up. After my review I have determined these NOFOS in their current form have issues that cause them to not be properly directed at current NIH priorities. Please take these NOFOS down. Some of the projects may be reconsidered after they are modified to address current priorities and definitions.

<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-23-112.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-22-145.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-23-309.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-23-292.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-24-077.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-24-109.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-24-157.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-24-158.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-25-098.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-25-201.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-25-237.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-25-240.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-25-241.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-25-317.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PAR-26-001.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/rfa-files/RFA-MD-24-003.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/rfa-files/RFA-NR-25-004.html>
<https://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/rfa-files/RFA-MD-24-005.html>

Thank you,
Matt

Matthew J. Memoli, MD, MS
Acting Director, NIH

R. 3810. Dr. Memoli then, equally dutifully, reported back to DOGE:

From: Memoli, Matthew (NIH/OD) [E] <matthew.memoli@nih.gov>
Sent: Saturday, February 22, 2025 12:05 PM
To: Smith, Brad M. EOP/DOGE <Brad.M.Smith@doge.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: NOFOs

Hi Brad,

After my review these all need to come down. Some of the projects may be able to be modified to properly address our current priorities, but in their current form they are not in line with what NIH would like to be doing right now. I have instructed OER to take them all down.

Thanks,
Matt

R. 3751. DOGE acknowledged the response, providing what this Court finds to be false deference by DOGE:

From: [Smith, Brad M. EOP/DOGE](#)
To: [Memoli, Matthew \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
Subject: [EXTERNAL] RE: NOFOs
Date: Saturday, February 22, 2025 4:34:04 PM

Matt,

Thanks for the update. We are all very grateful for your leadership.

Best,
Brad

R. 3752.

8. February 28, 2025 – The Grant Terminations Begin

On February 28, 2025, the first batch-terminations

occurred. R. 1403. Dr. Memoli forwarded a spreadsheet to Dr. Bundesen, who forwarded it to CMGO Bulls.⁹

⁹ Consistent with the Administrative Record, Dr. Bundesen testified that as for decisions on terminations, that DOGE was involved in selecting the grants to be terminated, apparently out of the blue:

Q How did you first learn that grants were going to be terminated on February 28th?

A I received a text message over Microsoft Teams from James McElroy. He said, Liza - - something to the effect of: Liza, can you please get in touch with Rachel Riley ASAP, she's been trying to reach you.

I'm paraphrasing.

I said, James, I'm sorry, I do not know who Rachel Riley is. And then shortly thereafter, James called me over a Microsoft Teams video call, and so he was there and Rachel Riley was there. She - introduced herself as being part of DOGE, who was working with HHS.

And she informed me that a number of grants will need to be terminated and that Matt Memoli will be sending me an e-mail, a list of grants in an e-mail shortly thereafter.

Q Did she explain why the grants were being terminated?

A No.

Q Did you ask?

A She explained that -- excuse me, let me clarify.

She said that the current administration's OGC has a different opinion from the previous administration's OGC on grant termination and, therefore, we will need to terminate grants by the end of the day.

That email and spreadsheet is part of the record:

From: [Bundesen, Liza \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
To: [Bulls, Michelle G. \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#); [Jacobs, Anna \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
Subject: FW: Grants for immediate termination today
Date: Friday, February 28, 2025 2:35:58 PM
Attachments: [28 FEB Grants for Cancellation.xlsx](#)
[NIH Termination Letter 022625\[42\].docx](#)

From: Memoli, Matthew (NIH/OD) [E]
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2025 2:34 PM
To: Bundesen, Liza (NIH/OD) [E]
Cc: Smith, Brad M. EOP/DOGE ; Rachel.Riley@hhs.gov; Keveney, Sean (HHS/OGC)
Subject: Grants for immediate termination today

Liza,

Please terminate the grants on the attached spreadsheet by COB today. Attached is an OGC cleared termination letter.

Thank you,

Matt

--

Matthew J. Memoli, MD, MS
Acting Director, National Institutes of Health
9000 Rockville Pike
Bethesda, MD 20892
matthew.memoli@nih.gov

I did not ask what, you know, what grants because I just literally was a little bit confused and caught off guard. And so I waited to see what I would receive by e-mail.

Q: And then what did you receive by e-mail?

A: I received an e-mail from Matt Memoli that said something to the effect of: Liza, the attached list of grants need to be terminated by COB today. And there was an Excel file attached to the e-mail.

Bundesen Depo. 60 - 61.

R. 2295 - 2302. Recall that Dr. Bundesen oversaw extramural research. There is no evidence of any discussion, rather, the evidence in the Administrative Record that Dr. Bundesen followed orders that apparently went from Riley to Dr. Memoli to Dr. Bundesen and on down the chain. Smith is copied on this email.

CGMO Bulls's testimony in another case confirms what the Administrative Record reveals:

Q. . This is one of those letters that you've been asked to send that you were just talking about?

A. . Yes.

Q. . And you signed this letter, right?

A. . Yes.

Q. . Okay. . And why did you send this letter?

A. . I was asked to send it.

Q. . Who asked you to send it?

A. My supervisor.

Q. . Okay. . And who is that?

A. . At the time, Liza Bundesen.

* * *

Q. . Did she tell you why she was asking you to send it?

A. . Yes.

Q. . Okay. . And what did she say?

A. . That we were asked to terminate grants.

Q. . Did she tell you why you were asked to

terminate grants?

A · · She did not.

Q · · Okay.

A · · Can I correct the statement? The e-mail that I received from Liza Bundesen indicated that we needed to terminate the grants, and the language in the letters were provided so I didn't question, I just followed the directive.

Q · · Okay.

A · · She didn't say:· Terminate the grant because of.· She said:· The list below.· So I just wanted to be clear about that.

* * *

Q · · Okay.· And is that the same list that you were talking about earlier that came from Rachel Riley?

A · · That was on the same e-mail, yes.

Depo. Bulls 66-68. CGMO Bulls describes the letters, accurately, as "template letters" Id. She also testified that but for her signature on the letters, she did not create any of the language, which was provided by Rachel Riley, and that she is unaware whether the NIH undertook any assessment at all as to whether a particular grant met the criteria being espoused in the letters. Id. The testimony concerning the February 28, 2025 letters comports with the Administrative Record, though the grant described is not one before this Court:

Q · · So it says here -- actually, can you read

the fourth paragraph, the one that starts with, "This award no longer effectuates."

A · · "This award no longer effectuates agency priorities. · NIH is obligated to carefully steward grant awards to ensure taxpayer dollars are used in ways that benefit the American people and improve their quality of life. · Your project does not satisfy these criteria. · Research programs based on gender identity are often unscientific, have little identifiable return on investment, and do nothing to enhance the health of many Americans. · Many such studies ignore, rather than seriously examine, biological realities. · It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize these research programs."

Q · · Okay. · And this was part of the template letter that Rachel Riley provided?

A · · Yes.

* * *

Q · · Was this edited in any way from the template letter that Rachel Riley provided?

A · · No.

Q · · Okay. · It says, "Your project does not satisfy these criteria." · Do you see that there?

A · · Yeah.

Q · · Are you aware of any assessment of Dr. Ahrens' grant in particular that was made to see if her grant satisfied the criteria?

A · · No.

Q · · Would you have been aware of such assessment if one had been made?

A · · I don't know.

Q · · Okay. · Would you have been aware of such an assessment if one had been made by NIH?

A · · Yes.

Q. . And it says, "Research programs based on gender identity are often unscientific with little identifiable return on investment, and do nothing to enhance the health of many Americans." Did NIH do any assessment of this particular grant to see if it was unscientific?

A. I don't know. . The letter was provided and it was sent. . I don't know what happened before .8. .that.

Q. . Well, did NIH do any assessment?

A. . I don't know.

Q. . You don't know if NIH did an assessment to see if Dr. Ahrens' grant was scientific or not?

A. . Are you talking about -- I don't understand your question, sorry.

Q. . Well, it says in this letter, and I understand you didn't write it, but you signed it, "Research programs based on gender identity are often unscientific." . And that was the reason this particular grant was terminated. .Is that right?

A. . That's what the letter says.

Q. . That's what the letter says. . So I'm trying to figure out whether or not there was any basis to think that Dr. Ahrens' grant was unscientific.

A. . I don't know.

Q. . Okay. . And do you know if there was any assessment to see if it had an identifiable return on investment?

A. . No, I don't know.

Q. . Do you know if NIH did one?

A. . I don't know.

· Q · Okay. · Would you have been aware if NIH did one?

A · · I'm not sure.

Q · · Okay. · And it also says, "and do nothing to enhance the health of many Americans." Do you know if NIH did any assessment to see if Dr. Ahrens' grant would enhance the health of many Americans?

A · · I don't know.

* * *

Q · Did Rachel Riley provide any other template letters that were sent?

A · · Yes.

Q · · Okay. · What were those template letters about?

A · · In that [February 28, 2025] list, I don't recall.

Q · · How about any list for letters that had been sent?

A · · DEI activities, this language. · I think one on China. · I don't know. · That's it that I can recall, and I'm sure I'm blanking right now.

Q · · So what you remember is the gender identity language, the DEI language, and the China. Was there language on vaccine hesitancy that was used?

A · · In that batch, no.

Bulls Depo. 72 - 74. CMGO Bulls later testified, again, consistent with the Administrative Record, that Rachel Riley provided the following DEI language in template letters:

· · Q And then it says, "DEI: · Research programs based primarily on artificial and non-scientific categories, including amorphous equity objectives, are antithetical to scientific inquiry, do nothing to expand our knowledge of living systems, provides low returns on investment, and ultimately do not enhance

health, lengthen life, or reduce illness.· Worse, so called diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) studies are often used to support unlawful discrimination on the basis of race and other protected characteristics, which harms the health of Americans. Therefore, it is the policy of NIH not to prioritize such research programs." ·That language also was provided by Rachel Riley?

A Yes.

Id. 90 - 91. Consistent with the Administrative Record, CMGO Bulls testified that she was provided lists with the categorical reasons for termination, and she executed based on those lists. She had no input into which grants were terminated or for what reasons:

Q· · Okay.· But it's your testimony that the reason that the grant is going to be terminated is provided to you.· Is that right?

A· · That's right.

Q· · And you don't have any input into that?

A· · I don't.

Q· · Okay.· And you're testifying that the template letter for each reason is provided to you. Is that right?

A· · Yes.

Q· · And you don't have any input into that either?

A· · I don't.

Id. 97 - 98. From January 20, 2025 through April 2025, CMGO Bulls had received "more than five lists" of grants to terminate, and she estimated that at that time between 500 and 1,000 grants had been terminated. Id. 98 - 99. While there

had been a “handful” of noncompliance terminations of which the NIH had undertaken between 2012 through January 20, 2025, Bulls Depo. 46 (“My testimony is that it doesn’t happen often, more than one and probably less than five.”), the current type of terminations that were dictated from HHS had occurred only once before during the prior Trump Administration. Id. 47 -48. The Administrative Record is replete with a large number of these new, dictated terminations.

The templates for these letters are all variations on a theme, and has been dictated onto the NIH by Riley as a reason-for-termination menu. A good example is provided in full, but the record is replete with examples of the templates being used:

PRIVILEGED, CONFIDENTIAL, PRE-DECISIONAL

FOR GRANTS ISSUED DECEMBER 2022-MARCH 2024 (TO BE DELTED)

[Address block & date]

[Grant recipient]:

Funding for Project Number **[INSERT]** is hereby terminated pursuant to the 2022 National Institutes of Health (“NIH”) Grants Policy Statement,¹³ and 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(2) (2023). This letter constitutes a notice of termination.¹⁴

The 2022 Policy Statement applies to your project because NIH approved your grant on **[INSERT DATE]**, and “obligations generally should be determined by reference to the law in effect when the grants were made.”¹⁵

The 2022 Policy Statement “includes the terms and conditions of NIH grants and cooperative agreements and is incorporated by reference in all NIH grant and cooperative agreement awards.”¹⁶ According to the Policy Statement, “NIH may ... terminate the grant in whole or in part as outlined in 2 CFR Part 200.340.”¹⁷ At the time your grant was issued, 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(2) permitted termination “[b]y the Federal awarding agency or pass-through entity, to the greatest extent authorized by law, if an award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities.”

This award no longer effectuates agency priorities. NIH is obligated to carefully steward grant awards to ensure taxpayer dollars are used in ways that benefit the American people and improve their quality of life. Your project does not satisfy these criteria. **[INSERT EXPLANATION—EXAMPLES BELOW]**

- China: Bolstering Chinese universities does not enhance the American people’s quality of life or improve America’s position in the world. On the contrary, funding research in China contravenes American national-security interests and hinders America’s foreign-policy objectives.
- DEI: Research programs based primarily on artificial and non-scientific categories, including amorphous equity objectives, are antithetical to the scientific inquiry, do nothing to expand our knowledge of living systems, provide low returns on investment, and ultimately do not enhance health, lengthen life, or reduce illness. Worse, so-called diversity, equity, and inclusion (“DEI”) studies are often used to support unlawful discrimination on the basis of race and other protected characteristics, which harms the

¹³ https://grants.nih.gov/grants/policy/nihgps/nihgps_2022.pdf.

¹⁴ 2 C.F.R. § 200.341(a); 45 C.F.R. § 75.373

¹⁵ *Bennett v. New Jersey*, 470 U.S. 632, 638 (1985).

¹⁶ 2022 Policy Statement at IIA-1.

¹⁷ *Id.* at IIA-153.

PRIVILEGED, CONFIDENTIAL, PRE-DECISIONAL

health of Americans. Therefore, it is the policy of NIH not to prioritize such research programs.

- Transgender issues: Research programs based on gender identity are often unscientific, have little identifiable return on investment, and do nothing to enhance the health of many Americans. Many such studies ignore, rather than seriously examine, biological realities. It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize these research programs.].

Although “NIH generally will suspend (rather than immediately terminate) a grant and allow the recipient an opportunity to take appropriate corrective action before NIH makes a termination decision,”¹⁸ no corrective action is possible here. The premise of Project Number [INSERT] is incompatible with agency priorities, and no modification of the project could align the project with agency priorities.

Costs resulting from financial obligations incurred after termination are not allowable.¹⁹ Nothing in this notice excuses either NIH or you from complying with the closeout obligations imposed by 2 C.F.R. §§ 75.381-75.390. NIH will provide any information required by the Federal Funding Accountability and Transparency Act or the Office of Management and Budget’s regulations to *USAspending.gov*.²⁰

Administrative Appeal

You may object and provide information and documentation challenging this termination.²¹ NIH has established a first-level grant appeal procedure that must be exhausted before you may file an appeal with the Departmental Appeals Board.²²

You must submit a request for such review to [the NIH Director or his designee] no later than 30 days after the written notification of the determination is received, except that if you show good cause why an extension of time should be granted, [the NIH Director or his designee] may grant an extension of time.²³

The request for review must include a copy of the adverse determination, must identify the issue(s) in dispute, and must contain a full statement of your position with respect to such issue(s) and the pertinent facts and reasons in support of your position. In addition to the required written statement, you shall provide copies of any documents supporting your claim.²⁴

Sincerely,

¹⁸ 2022 Policy Statement at IIA-154.

¹⁹ See 2 C.F.R. § 200.343 (2023).

²⁰ 2 C.F.R. § 200.341(c); 45 C.F.R. § 75.373(c).

²¹ See 45 C.F.R. § 75.374.

²² See 42 C.F.R. Part 50, Subpart D.

²³ *Id.* § 50.406(a).

²⁴ *Id.* § 50.406(b).

R. 2482 – 2483.

**9. March 2025 -- The NIH Priorities Directives
Emerge**

Between March 4, 2025, and March 25, 2025 internal staff guidance was issued. See March 4, 2025 email from CMGO Bulls to Chief GMOs, R. 345.

From: [Bulls, Michelle \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
To: [Chief GMOs](#)
Cc: [Bulls, Michelle \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#); [Ta, Kristin \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#); [Sass-Hurst, Brian \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
Subject: DEI Staff Guidance - Final - March 4 2025
Date: Tuesday, March 04, 2025 11:02:00 AM
Attachments: [DEI Staff Guidance - Final 3.4.25.pdf](#)

Good morning,

Attached is staff guidance that includes the DEI term along with details on when the term must be applied. Let's plan to talk through this guidance and note Dr. Memoli has **approved** the DEI term for immediate use. I have also added the process for terminating awards based in DEI as provided to us by HHS. I will follow up with a few of you to pull out the details needed to address terminations that were made yesterday—just to pull the information out and to address specific questions. Finishing up meetings and then, I will that information out to all that were impacted by yesterday's termination list provided to us by HHS/ASA.

Thanks,
Michelle

The guidance is provided in full:

Staff Guidance –Award Assessments for Alignment with Agency Priorities - March 2025

Background

This staff guidance rescinds the guidance provided in the February 13, 2025, memo to IC Chief Grants Management Officers entitled Supplemental Guidance – NIH Review of Agency Priorities Based on the New Administration's Goals. In accordance with the Secretarial Directive on DEI Related Funding (Appendix 1), NIH will no longer prioritize research and research training programs that focus on Diversity, Equity and Inclusion (DEI). Terminations that result from science that no longer effectuates NIH's priorities must follow the appeals guidance below. All other terminations for noncompliance require, always, [appeal language](#).

Prior to issuing all awards (competing and non-competing) or approving requests for carryover, ICs must review the specific aims assess whether the proposed project contains any DEI research activities or DEI language that give the perception that NIH funds can be used to support these activities. To avoid issuing awards, in error, that support DEI activities ICs must take care to completely excise all DEI activities using the following categories.

Category 1: The sole purpose of the project is DEI related (e.g., diversity supplements or conference grant where the purpose of the meeting is diversity), and/or the application was received in response to a NOFO that was unpublished as outlined above.

- Action: ICs must not issue the award.

Category 2: Project partially supports DEI activities (i.e., the project may still be viable if those aims or activities are negotiated out, without significant changes from the original peer-reviewed scope) this means DEI activities are ancillary to the purpose of the project. In some cases, not readily visible. This category requires a scientific assessment and requires the GM to use the DEI Restriction Term of Award in Section IV of the Notice of Award, no exceptions will be allowed without a deviation from the Office of Policy for Extramural Research Administration (OPERA)/Office of Extramural Research (OER).

- Action 1: Funding IC must negotiate with the applicant/recipient to address the activities that are non-compliant, along with the associated funds that support those activities, obtain revised aims and budgets, and document the changes in the grant file.
- Action 2: Once the IC and the applicant/recipient have reached an agreement, issue the award and include the DEI Term and Condition of Award in Section IV of the Notice of Award. Hard funds restrictions are not required.
 - **Note:** If the IC and the applicant/recipient cannot reach an agreement, or the project is no longer viable without the DEI related activities, the IC cannot proceed with the award. For ongoing projects, the IC must work with OPERA to negotiate a bilateral termination of the project. Where bilateral termination cannot be reached, the IC must unilaterally terminate the project. Terminated awards (bilaterally or unilaterally) should follow the process identified in [Appendix 2](#).

Category 3: Project does not support DEI activities, but may contain language related to DEI (e.g., statement regarding institutional commitment to diversity in the 'Facilities & Other Resources' attachment and terminology related to structural racism—this is not all-inclusive).

- Action 1: Funding IC must request an updated application/RPPR with the DEI language removed.
- Action 2: Once the language has been removed, the IC may proceed with issuing the award.

Category 4: Project does not support any DEI activities

- Action: IC may proceed with issuing the award.

R. 2152 -2153. Again, no definition is provided for DEI.

Multiple appendices are provided, simply stating that it is "in accordance with the Secretarial Directive," which is included as an appendix. R. 2154 - 2155. It also includes the boilerplate language regarding DEI, "transgender issues," and China:

Appendix 3 – Language provided to NIH by HHS providing examples for research activities that NIH no longer supports.

- China: Bolstering Chinese universities does not enhance the American people's quality of life or improve America's position in the world. On the contrary, funding research in China contravenes American national-security interests and hinders America's foreign-policy objectives.
- DEI: Research programs based primarily on artificial and non-scientific categories, including amorphous equity objectives, are antithetical to the scientific inquiry, do nothing to expand our knowledge of living systems, provide low returns on investment, and ultimately do not enhance health, lengthen life, or reduce illness. Worse, so-called diversity, equity, and inclusion ("DEI") studies are often used to support unlawful discrimination on the basis of race and other protected characteristics, which harms the health of Americans. Therefore, it is the policy of NIH not to prioritize such research programs.
- Transgender issues: Research programs based on gender identity are often unscientific, have little identifiable return on investment, and do nothing to enhance the health of many Americans. Many such studies ignore, rather than seriously examine, biological realities. It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize these research programs.

Appendix 4 – Approved Term – Use for all Category 2 awards, i.e., renegotiated aims and associated budgets. Approval embedded below. ICs should use this term in the IC specific award conditions

Term and Condition of Award

NIH and the recipient have renegotiated the scope of this award. Pursuant to the revised scope, NIH funds may only be used to support activities within the revised scope of the award. NIH funds may not be used to support activities that are outside the revised scope of the award, including Diversity Equity and Inclusion (DEI) research or DEI-related research training activities or programs. Any funds used to support activities outside the scope will result in a disallowance of costs, and funds will be recovered.

This term is consistent with NIH's ongoing internal review of NIH's priorities and the alignment of awards with those priorities as well as a review of program integrity of awards. Such review includes, but is not limited to, a review for fraud, waste and abuse, and a review of the NIH portfolio to determine whether awards are in the best interests of the government and consistent with policy priorities. If recipients are unclear on whether a specific activity constitutes DEI or has questions regarding other activities that could be considered outside the scope of the award, refrain from drawing down funds and consult with the funding IC, particularly where the activity may impact the specific aims, goals, and objectives of the project.

Approval email from Dr. Memoli (Acting Director, NIH) on Friday, February 28, 2025.

R. 2157. Notably, Appendix 4 delves into renegotiated awards concerning DEI activities. Anticipating questions about an

undefined DEI, the NIH invites recipients to inquire before drawing down funds. Id. Throughout March 2025, the Priorities directive was modified for certain procedures, but the boilerplate language of the reasons for termination did not substantially vary.

10. Friday, March 7, 2025 -- Deputy Director Bundesen Resigns and Acting Director Memoli Appoints Himself Acting Deputy Director of Extramural Research

On Friday, March 7, 2025, a mere three weeks after appointment as Acting Deputy Director of Extramural Research, Director Bundesen resigned from the NIH.

11. March 10, 2025

Dr. Memoli was in the thick of it, and he sent an email to his Deputies and general counsel, expressing that week was going to be busy:

From: [Lorsch, Jon \(NIH/NIGMS\) \[E\]](#)
To: [Bulls, Michelle G. \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
Subject: FW: OER
Date: Monday, March 10, 2025 9:15:25 AM
Attachments: [1VH Termination 3-10-25.xlsx](#)
Importance: High

Do you want to send this out or do you want me to? I assume it should go to GMAC with CC to EPMC?

Let me know how you would like to proceed.

Thanks.

Jon

From: "Memoli, Matthew (NIH/OD) [E]"

Date: Monday, March 10, 2025 at 8:37 AM

To: "Lorsch, Jon (NIH/NIGMS) [E]" , "Jacobson, Ray (NIH/CSR) [E]" , "Schwetz, Tara (NIH/OD) [E]"

Cc: "McElroy, James (NIH/OD) [E]" , "Burklow, John (NIH/OD) [E]" , "Lankford, David (NIH/OD) [E]"

Subject: OER

Good morning,

This is going to be a busy week for OER. There will be many actions this week similar to this. Two things this morning:

1. I would like an updated list of all grants terminated so far.
2. I attached a list of 43 grants, OTA, and NOFOs that need to be terminated/taken down, preferably by COB today if possible. These are on the first tab of the spreadsheet. These no longer align with HHS priorities so we can use the termination letters we have been using regarding HHS priorities.

Please have someone confirm with me when this is complete.

Thank you all again for your efforts and taking OER on.

Matt

--

Matthew J. Memoli, MD, MS

Acting Director, National Institutes of Health

9000 Rockville Pike

Bethesda, MD 20892

matthew.memoli@nih.gov

R. 2352. He wasn't wrong.

**a. The Columbia University Bulk Terminations --
Another Example of the Weaponization of the NIH**

Separate to the categorized grant terminations, there is a curious exchange in the Administrative Record concerning the NIH weighing in on the Columbia University campus unrest. As best the Court can discern, the NIH was being required to come down hard on Columbia University and cancel their grants on the basis of campus unrest. There is no evidence in the record that this had ever been done before. Deputy Director Lorsch, perhaps understanding the implications of cancelling all grants to a research university, appeared to be trying to soften the blow recommending to Dr. Memoli to fire a warning shot across Columbia University's bow -- that Columbia be put on notice that NIH "intended" to terminate a list of grants. Dr. Memoli provided that same recommendation to David Lankford, the NIH's General Counsel:

From: [Memoli, Matthew \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
To: [Lorsch, Jon \(NIH/NIGMS\) \[E\]](#); [Lankford, David \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
Subject: Re: One more thought...
Date: Monday, March 10, 2025 1:15:45 PM
Attachments: [NIH Termination Letter Columbia \(2024 Statement\)_v3 \(signed\).docx](#)
[Columbia Grants for Suspension or Termination.xlsx](#)

Jon,

Attached is a termination letter that was drafted. I think the last paragraph is the relevant part we may need to use, but I defer to David and OGC.

David, we would like to send a single letter to the University telling them we intend to terminate the grants listed in the attached spreadsheet. We will the proceed with orderly terminations through our normal process.

We would like an approved letter sent by close of business today.

Thanks,
Matt

--

Matthew J. Memoli, MD, MS
Acting Director, National Institutes of Health
9000 Rockville Pike
Bethesda, MD 20892
matthew.memoli@nih.gov

From: Lorsch, Jon (NIH/NIGMS) [E] <jon.lorsch@nih.gov>
Date: Monday, March 10, 2025 at 1:03 PM
To: Memoli, Matthew (NIH/OD) [E] <matthew.memoli@nih.gov>
Subject: One more thought...

What if we issued a letter to the VPR at the university saying we "intend to terminate the following awards..." with a list of the awards. That would make the point and then we could follow an orderly procedure for doing it. Perhaps there would be a resolution before that process finished?

R. 3462. The email attached a list of Columbia's grants and a draft letter, dated March 7, 2025.¹⁰ The draft without the list is set forth in full here:

¹⁰ This draft letter date coincides with a March 7, 2025 Department of Justice/HHS, Department of Education and General Services Administration Press Release which stated "GSA will assist HHS and ED in issuing stop-work orders on grants and contracts that Columbia holds with those agencies. These stop-



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

Public Health Service

National Institutes of Health
Bethesda, Maryland 20892
www.nih.gov

March 7, 2025

President Katrina Armstrong
The Trustees of Columbia University in the City of New York
202 Low Library
535 W. 116 St.
New York, NY 10027

Dear President Armstrong:

Funding for Project Number [INSERT] is hereby terminated pursuant to the 2024 National Institutes of Health ("NIH") Grants Policy Statement,¹ and 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(2) (2024). This letter constitutes a notice of termination.²

The 2024 Policy Statement applies to your project because NIH approved your grant on [INSERT DATE], and "obligations generally should be determined by reference to the law in effect when the grants were made."³

The 2024 Policy Statement "includes the terms and conditions of NIH grants and cooperative agreements and is incorporated by reference in all NIH grant and cooperative agreement awards."⁴ According to the Policy Statement, "NIH may ... terminate the grant in whole or in part as outlined in 2 CFR Part 200.340."⁵ At the time your grant was issued, 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(2) permitted termination "[b]y the Federal awarding agency or pass-through entity, to the greatest extent authorized by law, if an award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities."

This award no longer effectuates agency priorities. NIH is obligated to carefully steward grant awards to ensure taxpayer dollars are used in ways that benefit the American people and improve their quality of life. Your project does not satisfy these criteria.

NIH is responsible for ensuring that its limited resources are appropriately allocated. NIH policy is that grant dollars should support institutions that foster safe, equal, and healthy working and learning conditions conducive to high-quality research and free inquiry—and should not subsidize institutions that are not built on American values of free speech, mutual respect, and open debate.⁶ In this vein, NIH is aware of recent events at Columbia University involving antisemitic action that suggest the institution has a disturbing lack of concern for the safety and wellbeing of Jewish students. Columbia's ongoing inaction in the face of repeated and severe harassment and targeting of Jewish students has ground day-to-day campus operations to a halt, deprived Jewish students of learning and research opportunities to which they are entitled, and brought shame upon the University and our nation as a whole. Supporting research in such an

¹ <https://grants.nih.gov/grants/policy/nihgps/nihgps.pdf>.

² 2 C.F.R. § 200.341(a); 45 C.F.R. § 75.373.

³ *Bennett v. New Jersey*, 470 U.S. 632, 638 (1985).

⁴ 2024 Policy Statement at IIA-1.

⁵ *Id.* at IIA-155.

⁶ 2024 Policy Statement, Section 4.

work orders will immediately freeze the university's access to these funds. Additionally, GSA will be assisting all agencies in issuing stop work orders and terminations for contracts held by Columbia University." Mar. 7, 2025 Press Release, <https://www.hhs.gov/press-room/task-force-cancels-columbia-university-grants.html>

environment is plainly inconsistent with NIH's priorities and *raison d'être* of funding and championing the very best American research and educational institutions.

Although "NIH generally will suspend (rather than immediately terminate) a grant and allow the recipient an opportunity to take appropriate corrective action before NIH makes a termination decision,"⁷ no corrective action is possible here. The premise of Project Number [INSERT] is incompatible with agency priorities, and no modification of the project could align the project with agency priorities.

Costs resulting from financial obligations incurred after termination are not allowable.⁸ Nothing in this notice excuses either NIH or you from complying with the closeout obligations imposed by 2 C.F.R. §§ 75.381-75.390. NIH will provide any information required by the Federal Funding Accountability and Transparency Act or the Office of Management and Budget's regulations to *USAspending.gov*.⁹

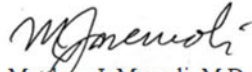
Administrative Appeal

You may object and provide information and documentation challenging this termination.¹⁰ NIH has established a first-level grant appeal procedure that must be exhausted before you may file an appeal with the Departmental Appeals Board.¹¹

You must submit a request for such review to Director Memoli no later than 30 days after the written notification of the determination is received, except that if you show good cause why an extension of time should be granted, Dr. Memoli may grant an extension of time.¹²

The request for review must include a copy of the adverse determination, must identify the issue(s) in dispute, and must contain a full statement of your position with respect to such issue(s) and the pertinent facts and reasons in support of your position. In addition to the required written statement, you shall provide copies of any documents supporting your claim.¹³

Sincerely,



Matthew J. Memoli, M.D., M.S.
Acting Director, NIH

⁷ 2024 Policy Statement at IIA-156.

⁸ See 2 C.F.R. § 200.343 (2024).

⁹ 2 C.F.R. § 200.341(c); 45 C.F.R. § 75.373(c).

¹⁰ See 45 C.F.R. § 75.374.

¹¹ See 42 C.F.R. Part 50, Subpart D.

¹² *Id.* § 50.406(a).

¹³ *Id.* § 50.406(b).

R. 3503-3504.

Drs. Lorsch' s and Memoli's softer approach was apparently wholly rejected; the Administrative Record reflects a full termination:



March 10, 2025

Angela V. Olinto, Ph.D.
Provost, Columbia University
Email: provost@columbia.edu

Dear Dr. Olinto:

NIH is hereby providing notice that funding for the projects in the attached spreadsheet will be terminated pursuant to the National Institutes of Health ("NIH") Grants Policy Statement (GPS),¹ and 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(4).

As reflected in the Notices of Award for the most recent budget period of these projects, the NIH Grants Policy Statement is incorporated as a term and condition of award. The GPS "includes the terms and conditions of NIH grants and cooperative agreements and is incorporated by reference in all NIH grant and cooperative agreement awards."² According to the GPS, "NIH may ... terminate the grant in whole or in part as outlined in 2 CFR Part 200.340."³ At the time the Notices of Award were issued for the most recent budget period, 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(4) permitted termination "[b]y the Federal awarding agency or pass-through entity, to the greatest extent authorized by law, if an award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities."

These awards no longer effectuate agency priorities. NIH is obligated to carefully steward grant awards to ensure taxpayer dollars are used in ways that benefit the American people and improve their quality of life. Your project does not satisfy these criteria.

NIH is responsible for ensuring that its limited resources are appropriately allocated. NIH policy is that grant dollars should support institutions that foster safe, equal, and healthy working and learning conditions conducive to high-quality research and free inquiry⁴—and should not subsidize institutions that are not built on American values of free speech, mutual respect, and open debate. In this vein, NIH is aware of recent events at Columbia University involving antisemitic action that suggest the institution has a disturbing lack of concern for the safety and wellbeing of Jewish students. Columbia's ongoing inaction in the face of repeated and severe harassment and targeting of Jewish students has ground day-to-day campus operations to a halt, deprived Jewish students of learning and research opportunities to which they are entitled, and brought shame upon the University and our nation as a whole. Supporting research in such an

¹ <https://grants.nih.gov/grants/policy/nihgps/nihgps.pdf>.

² NIH GPS, Section 3.

³ *Id.* at Section 8.5.2.

⁴ NIH GPS, Section 4.

environment is plainly inconsistent with NIH's priorities and *raison d'être* of funding and championing the very best American research and educational institutions.

Although "NIH generally will suspend (rather than immediately terminate) a grant and allow the recipient an opportunity to take appropriate corrective action before NIH makes a termination decision,"⁵ no corrective action is possible here. The actions described above are incompatible with agency priorities, and no modification of the projects could align the projects with agency priorities.

Costs resulting from financial obligations incurred after termination are not allowable.⁶ Nothing in this notice excuses either NIH or you from complying with the closeout obligations imposed by 2 C.F.R. §§ 200.344. NIH will provide any information required by the Federal Funding Accountability and Transparency Act or the Office of Management and Budget's regulations to *USAspending.gov*.⁷

Administrative Appeal

You may object and provide information and documentation challenging these terminations. NIH has established a first-level grant appeal procedure that must be exhausted before you may file an appeal with the Departmental Appeals Board.⁸

You must submit a request for such review to Director Memoli no later than 30 days after this letter is received, except that if you show good cause why an extension of time should be granted, Dr. Memoli may grant an extension of time.⁹

The request for review must include a copy of this decision, must identify the issue(s) in dispute, and must contain a full statement of your position with respect to such issue(s) and the pertinent facts and reasons in support of your position. In addition to the required written statement, you shall provide copies of any documents supporting your claim.¹⁰

Sincerely,

Michelle G. Bulls
Director, Office Policy for Extramural Administration
Chief Grants Management Officer - National Institutes of Health
Email: michelle.bulls@nih.gov

cc:
William Berger, Assistant Vice President for Sponsored Projects Administration, Columbia University

⁵ NIH GPS, Section 8.5.2.

⁶ See 2 C.F.R. § 200.343.

⁷ 2 C.F.R. § 200.341(c).

⁸ See 42 C.F.R. Part 50, Subpart D.

⁹ *Id.* § 50.406(a).

¹⁰ *Id.* § 50.406(b).

R. 3805 - 3806. While the parties do not appear to assert claims based directly upon this letter, it was included in the Administrative Record, and in the Court's view is further

evidence of the NIH's grant process being abused as a bludgeon, this time to sanction Columbia University for the Administration's perception of inaction by Columbia with respect to campus unrest. While the Court takes no position as to the merits of the Executive's perception or of the legality of its action, it is clear that Drs. Memoli and Lorsch at least had some pause as to a wholesale termination of Columbia's grants, numbering in the hundreds. R. 3807 - 3809. Indeed, how the scientific and research activities had any connection with unrest issues on Columbia's campus is conspicuously never explained. The record evidence certainly reveals none.

12. March 10, 2025 Further Terminations

The record is replete with termination activity. On March 10, 2025, grants were terminated. See e.g. R. 794 - 795; 1326 - 1333; 1357 -1363. On March 11, 2025, Riley sent Dr. Memoli a list of grants to terminate, that were approved by Dr. Memoli within 2 minutes of the email having been sent:

From: [Memoli, Matthew \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
To: [Riley, Rachel \(OS/ASA\); Bulls, Michelle G. \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
Subject: Re: Shortlist of SGM for Tonight
Date: Tuesday, March 11, 2025 9:49:35 PM

All of these grants can be terminated for being unaligned with current NIH /HHS priorities.

Matt

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From: Riley, Rachel (OS/ASA) <Rachel.Riley@hhs.gov>
Date: Tuesday, March 11, 2025 at 9:43 PM
To: Bulls, Michelle G. (NIH/OD) [E] <michelle.bulls@nih.gov>, Memoli, Matthew (NIH/OD) [E] <matthew.memoli@nih.gov>
Subject: Shortlist of SGM for Tonight

Dr. Memoli –

Please see a short list below/attached; I have sent you 6 in case you find an issue with any one. If you are comfortable, the wonderful [@Bulls, Michelle G. \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#) will work to action tonight:

I will then get you an updated combined list for tomorrow!

Thanks,
Rachel

R. 3820. There is record evidence of template letters being sent on that date. R. 297 – 298; 653 –654 711– 712; 3508 – 3509; 3585 – 3586.

13. March 12, 2025 -- Further Terminations

On March 12, 2025, Dr. Memoli sent an email to Deputy Director Lorsch and Bulls with a list of grants to terminate. R. 3631 - 3635. Brad Smith of DOGE is copied on the email. Id.

From: [Memoli, Matthew \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
To: [Lorsch, Jon \(NIH/NIGMS\) \[E\]](#); [Bulls, Michelle G. \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
Cc: [Smith, Brad M. EOP/DOGE](#); [McElroy, James \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
Subject: Terminations
Date: Wednesday, March 12, 2025 2:00:56 PM
Attachments: [Terminated Grants 3-12.xlsx](#)

Good afternoon,

Attached is a list of grants that should be terminated for not being aligned with current HHS/NIH priorities. If possible, please terminate by COB today.

Thank you,

Matt

--

Matthew J. Memoli, MD, MS
Acting Director, National Institutes of Health
9000 Rockville Pike
Bethesda, MD 20892
matthew.memoli@nih.gov

R. 2932-2933; 3631. Terminations were issued on that date. See e.g. R. 651 - 652 709 - 710.

On March 13, 2025, Dr. Memoli sent an email to Deputy Director Lorsch and Bulls, directing them to terminate an additional 530 grants. Brad Smith of DOGE is copied on the email, which is provided in full:

From: [Memoli, Matthew \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
To: [Lorsch, Jon \(NIH/NIGMS\) \[E\]](#)
Cc: [Cutler, Diane \(HHS/IOS\); Smith, Brad M. EOP/DOGE; Bulls, Michelle G. \(NIH/OD\) \[E\]](#)
Subject: New list for termination
Date: Thursday, March 13, 2025 9:03:01 AM
Attachments: [Grants for Termination 3-13 to 3-24-25.xlsx](#)

Jon,

Here is an additional list of grants for termination There are 530 grants here. I do not expect these to get done today. Please complete these by COB next Friday if possible. A daily evening update on how many were terminated would be appreciated. I want to thank you and Michelle for your diligent work getting this done. Michelle has been doing a lot of heavy lifting and it has not gone unnoticed.

Thank you,

Matt

--

Matthew J. Memoli, MD, MS
Acting Director, National Institutes of Health
9000 Rockville Pike
Bethesda, MD 20892
matthew.memoli@nih.gov

R. 3122 - 3191. There is record evidence of multiple terminations of grants. See e.g., R. 3593 - 3630; March 14, 2025 (R. 289 - 290); March 18, 2025 (R. 440- 441; 601 - 602); March 19, 2025 (R. 391 - 392); March 20, 2025 (R. 158 - 159; 449- 450; 745 -746; 1348 -1349; 1371- 1375; 1392 - 1392; 1397- 1398); March 21, 2025 (R. 114 - 116; 152 - 153; 187 - 189; 757 - 759; 771- 773; 782 - 784; 810-814; 859 - 861; 871 - 873; 877 - 878; 995-996; 1195 -1197; 1237 -1242; 1268-1273; 1284 - 1292; 1380 - 1384; 1399 - 1401; 1416- 1421; 1483 - 1484; 1492 -1493; 1668 - 1670; 1689 -1694; 2415 - 2468); March 24, 2025 (R. 689-

691; 747 - 749; 844 - 846; 1218 - 1220; 1299 - 1301; 1309 -
1310; 2257 - 2258).

14. March 25, 2025 - Staff Guidance (Priorities Directive)

On March 25, 2025, the NIH issued further guidance ("the March 25 Guidance"). R 3216 -3230. This is a continuation of the Priorities Directive, which was changing on the fly over March, though it is not clear whether any grants were terminated based upon this guidance.

INTERNAL: NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT

NIH Grants Management Staff Guidance – Award Assessments for Alignment with Agency Priorities- March 2025

Issue Date: March 25, 2025

Background

This staff guidance rescinds the guidance provided in the February 13, 2025, memo to IC Chief Grants Management Officers entitled Supplemental Guidance – NIH Review of Agency Priorities Based on the New Administration's Goals. In accordance with the Secretarial Directive on DEI Related Funding (Appendix 1), NIH will no longer prioritize research and research training programs that focus on Diversity, Equity and Inclusion (DEI). Terminations that result from science that no longer effectuates NIH's priorities related to DEI, gender identity and other scientific areas must follow the appeals guidance below. All other terminations for noncompliance require, always, [appeal language](#).

Prior to issuing all awards (competing and non-competing) or approving requests for carryover, ICs must review the specific aims/major goals of the project to assess whether the proposed project contains any DEI, gender identity or other research activities that are not an NIH/HHS priority/authority. To avoid issuing awards, in error, that support these activities ICs must take care to completely excise all non-priority activities using the following categories.

ICs should review the current application/RPPR under consideration, only. ICs should not request retroactive changes to previous RPPRs and competitive applications to modify language related to research that has already been conducted. Categories 1-3 are IC determinations not those ordered by HHS.

Category 1: The sole purpose of the project is related to an area that is no longer an NIH/HHS priority/authority (e.g., diversity supplements, diversity fellowships, or conference grant where the purpose of the meeting is diversity), and/or the application was received in response to a NOFO that has been unpublished due to its focus on activities that are no longer an NIH/HHS priority/authority. This applies to all projects, including phased awards, etc.

- **Action:** ICs must not issue the award (competing or non-competing).
- For ongoing projects where NIH will not issue the next Type 5 (IC determination not HHS list), the IC must:
 - Issue a revised award to remove all outyears.
 - Add the action to the master spreadsheet located at: [OD OPERA Grant Action Tracking](#) (access limited to CGMOs).
 - Include the following term in the revised NOA:

Term of Award:

It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize research programs related to [insert category from Appendix 3, verbatim]. Therefore, no additional funding will be awarded for this project, and all future years have been removed. [RECIPIENT NAME] may request funds to support patient safety and orderly closeout of the project, and remaining funds will be deobligated. Funds used to support any

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other research activities will be disallowed and recovered. Please be advised that your organization, as part of the orderly closeout process will need to submit the necessary closeout documents (i.e., Final Research Performance Progress Report, Final Invention Statement, and the Final Federal Financial Report (FFR), **as applicable**) within 120 days of the end of this grant.

NIH is taking this enforcement action in accordance with [2 C.F.R. § 200.340](#) as implemented in [NIH GPS Section 8.5.2](#). This revised award represents the final decision of the NIH. It shall be the final decision of the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) unless within 30 days after receiving this decision you mail or email a written notice of appeal to Dr. Matthew Memoli. Please include a copy of this decision, your appeal justification, total amount in dispute, and any material or documentation that will support your position. Finally, the appeal must be signed by the institutional official authorized to sign award applications and must be dated no later than 30 days after the date of this notice.

- Check PMS to determine amount of funds remaining, and if funds are available request a hard funds restriction of all funds except \$1 in PMS.
- **No cost extension requests:** For second and third NCE's, ICs must determine if the sole purpose of the grant was to support research activities that are no longer an NIH/HHS priority/authority and, if so, issue an award to end the grant project (use disapproved extension term below). If the non-NIH/HHS priority/authority research activities are ancillary to the project, approve the extension (use approved extension term below). Reminder – even if a grant project is in an NCE, IC staff must still determine if non-NIH/HHS priority/authority activities are proposed during the extension period. Extensions may only be approved for orderly closeout, and funds may not be used to support any non-NIH/HHS priority/authority research activities.
 - ICs may use the following term of award when approving/disapproving NCEs:
 - **Term of Award (approved extension):** The no-cost extension has been approved for this project to support orderly closeout of the project, only. NIH grants funds must not be used to support [insert category – e.g., Diversity, Equity and Inclusion (DEI), gender identity, etc.] research or research training activities or programs. Any funds used to support such activities will result in a disallowance of costs, and funds will be recovered.
 - **Term of Award (disapproved extension):** The no cost extension request for this project has been denied. Please proceed with orderly closeout of the project. NIH grant funds must not be used to support [insert category – e.g., Diversity, Equity and Inclusion (DEI), gender identity, etc.] research or research training activities or programs.

Category 2: Project partially supports non-NIH/HHS priority/authority activities (i.e., the project may still be viable if those aims or activities are negotiated out, without significant changes from the original peer-reviewed scope). This means the non-NIH/HHS priority/authority activities are

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ancillary to the purpose of the project, in some cases, not readily visible. This category requires a scientific assessment and requires the GM to use the Restriction Term of Award in Section IV of the Notice of Award. No exceptions will be allowed without a deviation from the Office of Policy for Extramural Research Administration (OPERA)/Office of Extramural Research (OER).

- **Note:** Activities required to comply with [NIH inclusion policies](#) are not considered DEI activities.
- **Action 1:** Funding IC must negotiate with the applicant/recipient to address the activities that are non-compliant, along with the associated funds that support those activities, obtain revised aims and budgets, and document the changes in the grant file. The recipient/awardee cannot rebudget these funds, they must be recovered by the IC. OPERA is consulting with eRA on options to collect these application updates in a structured format.
 - Sample language for requesting application updates from the AOR: It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize [select one of the following: diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI) research programs, gender identity, vaccine hesitancy, climate change or countries of concern, e.g., China or South Africa.] [Funding IC] has identified [insert appropriate activity taken from the list above] activities within section [XXXX] of your application. Please work with the PD/PI to update the application sections and adjust the budget as appropriate to remove all [insert appropriate activity] activities and submit these updates to the Program Official and Grants Management Specialist for review and approval.
- **Action 2:** Once the IC and the applicant/recipient have reached an agreement, issue the award and include the following Term and Condition of Award in Section IV of the Notice of Award. Hard funds restrictions are not required.

Term of Award (Approved 2/28/2025 – Refer to Appendix 4 for the approval from Dr. Memoli):

NIH and the recipient have renegotiated the scope of this award. Pursuant to the revised scope, NIH funds may only be used to support activities within the revised scope of the award. NIH funds may not be used to support activities that are outside the revised scope of the award, including [select one of the following: diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI) research programs, gender identity, vaccine hesitancy, climate change or countries of concern, e.g., China or South Africa, etc.] research or related research training activities or programs. Any funds used to support activities outside the scope will result in a disallowance of costs, and funds will be recovered.

This term is consistent with NIH's ongoing internal review of NIH's priorities and the alignment of awards with those priorities as well as a review of program integrity of awards. Such review includes, but is not limited to, a review for fraud, waste and abuse, and a review of the NIH portfolio to determine whether awards are in the best interests of the government and consistent with policy priorities. If recipients are unclear on whether a specific activity constitutes

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[select one of the following: diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI) research programs, gender identity, vaccine hesitancy, climate change or countries of concern, e.g., China or South Africa., etc.] or has questions regarding other activities that could be considered outside the scope of the award, refrain from drawing down funds and consult with the funding IC, particularly where the activity may impact the specific aims, goals, and objectives of the project.

- **Unable to remove activities that are not an NIH/HHS priority/authority:** If the IC and the applicant/recipient cannot reach an agreement, or the project is no longer viable without the non-compliant activities, the IC cannot proceed with the award. For ongoing projects, the IC must work with OPERA to negotiate a bilateral termination of the project. Where bilateral termination cannot be reached, the IC must unilaterally terminate the project. Terminated awards (bilaterally or unilaterally) should follow the process identified in Category 4.
- **Diversity Supplements:** Type 5 Diversity supplements may no longer be awarded. For ongoing awards, ICs must remove the diversity supplement activities prior to issuing the next Type 5 for the parent award and include the DEI Term and Condition of Award in Section IV of the NOA of the parent grant. The IC must revise the Diversity Supplement award to remove all outyears. If diversity supplement outyears were included in the previous NOA, the IC must revise the prior year award to remove references to those outyear commitments.
- **Conference Grants:** If a conference supported by an NIH grant focuses on scientific topics that are unrelated to DEI, but the conference itself is targeted at a specific population (e.g., underrepresented groups), the IC must work with the applicant/recipient to open the conference up to all populations. If a negotiation to broaden the target audience is not feasible, or the conference is no longer viable, then the IC must terminate the award following the process in Category 4.
- **Diversity Reports (e.g., Ts, R25, K12, and any others):** NIH is modifying the application instructions and RPPR instructions to remove requirements for diversity reports (e.g., Trainee Diversity Report). If ICs receive these reports in applications or RPPRs, the IC should not review the report. These reports provide diversity related information, but do not involve specific DEI activities. ICs must use the following term: "NIH no longer requires the [name of diversity table/plans]. Therefore, NIH did not review the [name of diversity table/plans] provided. NIH funding may not be used to support any diversity, equity or inclusion (DEI) activities". Note: this section applies to diversity related reports, only. Other areas that are no longer NIH/HHS priorities/authority must be addressed under category 2 negotiations.
- **Administrative Supplement Requests:** Administrative supplement applications should be reviewed for any activities that are no longer NIH/HHS priorities/authority and modified as needed. ICs do not need to retroactively review the competitive parent grant application— only the supplement application requires review.

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Category 2B:

Prospective reviews by GM where the DEI language in certain sections of the application has to be removed even though the project itself is not focused on DEI but may have language or have been awarded from a DEI NOFO that is expired/taken down for revision to go back up once the language is appropriately excised.

Examples below, and in these cases, IC should consider using the Category 2 term of award but remove the negotiation language from the term:

- Resource Section
- Biosketch
- RPPRs

Category 2C:

Subprojects terminated by HHS.

- OPERA will restrict the funds associated with the project. No action required from the IC.

Category 3: Project does not support any DEI activities

- Action: IC may proceed with issuing the award.

Category 4/HHS Departmental Authority Terminations:

- OPERA receives a list from the Director, NIH or designee.
- OPERA will issue termination letters on behalf of the IC Chief Grants Management Officers. The IC CGMO will be copied on the email with the termination letter.
 - **Supplements – Parent Award Terminated:** If a terminated award has active supplement(s), all supplement awards must be terminated along with the parent.
 - **Supplement Terminated Only:** If a termination letter references a supplement only, and not the parent award, then the supplement alone must be terminated following the instructions below.
 - **Linked (or equivalent) Awards:** If one linked (or equivalent) award is terminated, the IC is only required to terminate the specific award noted in the letter. The IC must conduct a separate review to determine whether terminating that award will have a structural impact on the scientific design along with associated outcomes and act, as appropriate, to early terminate or allow the remaining awards to continue. Feel free to discuss with OPERA, as needed.
- When a termination letter is received, the IC must:
 - Issue a revised NOA within 3 business days of the date the termination letter was issued to the recipient.
 - Change the budget and project period end dates to match the date of the termination letter.

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- OPERA will place a hard funds restriction on all PMS subaccounts as termination letters are issued. OPERA's Federal Financial Report Center (FFR-C) will deobligate the remaining funds after the Final FFRs are submitted. There is no deobligation action required from the ICs.
- Remove all future years from the project, where applicable. If the grant is in a no cost extension, and HHS requests a termination, the project must be terminated even in a no cost extension. If the grant is in a no cost extension, and HHS did not request a termination, follow the NCE guidance above.
- Include the following Termination Term in the revised NOA:

It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize [insert termination category language from Appendix 3, verbatim]. Therefore, this project is terminated. [RECIPIENT NAME] may request funds to support patient safety and orderly closeout of the project. Funds used to support any other research activities will be disallowed and recovered. Please be advised that your organization, as part of the orderly closeout process will need to submit the necessary closeout documents (i.e., Final Research Performance Progress Report, Final Invention Statement, and the Final Federal Financial Report (FFR), **as applicable**) within 120 days of the end of this grant.

NIH is taking this enforcement action in accordance with [2 C.F.R. § 200.340](#) as implemented in [NIH GPS Section 8.5.2](#). This revised award represents the final decision of the NIH. It shall be the final decision of the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) unless within 30 days after receiving this decision you mail or email a written notice of appeal to Dr. Matthew Memoli. Please include a copy of this decision, your appeal justification, total amount in dispute, and any material or documentation that will support your position. Finally, the appeal must be signed by the institutional official authorized to sign award applications and must be dated no later than 30 days after the date of this notice.

- Note: Appeals language must be included **prior to** October 1, 2025. After October 1, 2025, when HHS will fully adopt 2 CFR 200, per [2 CFR 200.340](#), termination actions taken based on agency priorities are not appealable. This is different from terminations based on noncompliance (administrative and programmatic).
- eRA provides OPERA with daily reports on NOAs issued, so ICs do not need to report to OPERA on each action completed.

Category 5: Awards to Entities in certain foreign countries

- Additional guidance on awards to foreign entities is forthcoming. At this time, ICs should hold all awards to entities located in South Africa or countries identified on any of the following lists.
 - [State Department Countries of Particular Concern](#)
 - [State Sponsors of Terrorism](#)
 - [Final Rule Restricting Transfer of Personal U.S. Data to Countries of Concern](#)

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- [Office of Foreign Assets Control Sanctions List](#)

Separation of Duties Guidance:

OPERA has issued a Separation of Duties (SOD) waiver for all CGMOs, specific to the HHS Departmental Authorities termination actions, to allow IC CGMOs to work up and issue termination actions. Copy available in [Teams](#).

The March 25 Guidance settles on an examples list of:
"China," "DEI," "Transgender issues," "Vaccine Hesitancy",
"COVID-related" research:

Appendix 3 – Language provided to NIH by HHS providing examples for research activities that NIH no longer supports. Use this language for HHS terminations only.

- China: Bolstering Chinese universities does not enhance the American people's quality of life or improve America's position in the world. On the contrary, funding research in China contravenes American national-security interests and hinders America's foreign-policy objectives.
- DEI: Research programs based primarily on artificial and non-scientific categories, including amorphous equity objectives, are antithetical to the scientific inquiry, do nothing to expand our knowledge of living systems, provide low returns on investment, and ultimately do not enhance health, lengthen life, or reduce illness. Worse, so-called diversity, equity, and inclusion ("DEI") studies are often used to support unlawful discrimination on the basis of race and other protected characteristics, which harms the health of Americans. Therefore, it is the policy of NIH not to prioritize such research programs.
- Transgender issues: Research programs based on gender identity are often unscientific, have little identifiable return on investment, and do nothing to enhance the health of many Americans. Many such studies ignore, rather than seriously examine, biological realities. It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize these research programs.
- Vaccine Hesitancy: It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize research activities that focuses gaining scientific knowledge on why individuals are hesitant to be vaccinated and/or explore ways to improve vaccine interest and commitment. NIH is obligated to carefully steward grant awards to ensure taxpayer dollars are used in ways that benefit the American people and improve their quality of life. Your project does not satisfy these criteria.
- COVID: The end of the pandemic provides cause to terminate COVID-related grant funds. These grant funds were issued for a limited purpose: to ameliorate the effects of the pandemic. Now that the pandemic is over, the grant funds are no longer necessary.

R. 3226.

The March 25 Guidance also features an FAQ section that includes, among other instructions:

6. When ICs issue revised NOAs to terminate awards, do they have to use the exact language provided by HHS in the termination term?

Yes, ICs must use the exact language provided in Appendix 3, with no edits.

R. 3229. In addition, "Notice of Funding Opportunity (NOFO) Guidance," was listed as "[pending]." R. 3228.

On May 15, 2025, it appears that Dr. Memoli was provided an expanded list from the Office of General Counsel

Appendix 3 – Language provided to NIH by HHS providing examples for research activities that NIH no longer supports.

- China: “Bolstering Chinese universities does not enhance the American people’s quality of life or improve America’s position in the world. On the contrary, funding research in China contravenes American national-security interests and hinders America’s foreign-policy objectives.”
- DEI: “Research programs based primarily on artificial and non-scientific categories, including amorphous equity objectives, are antithetical to the scientific inquiry, do nothing to expand our knowledge of living systems, provide low returns on investment, and ultimately do not enhance health, lengthen life, or reduce illness. Worse, so-called diversity, equity, and inclusion (“DEI”) studies are often used to support unlawful discrimination on the basis of race and other protected characteristics ICO’s, which harms the health of Americans. Therefore, it is the policy of NIH not to prioritize such research programs.”
- Gender-Affirming Care: “Research programs based on gender identity are often unscientific, have little identifiable return on investment, and do nothing to enhance the health of many Americans. Many such studies ignore, rather than seriously examine, biological realities. It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize these research programs.” **Reminder: At this time, do not terminate any grants related to gender identify/transgender without clearance from OER. All such actions must be approved before any terminations.**
- Vaccine Hesitancy: “It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize research activities that focuses gaining scientific knowledge on why individuals are hesitant to be vaccinated and/or explore ways to improve vaccine interest and commitment. NIH is obligated to carefully steward grant awards to ensure taxpayer dollars are used in ways that benefit the American people and improve their quality of life. Your project does not satisfy these criteria.”
- COVID (to be used for HHS/NIH OD directed terminations only): “The end of the pandemic provides cause to terminate COVID-related grant funds. These grant funds were issued for a limited purpose: to ameliorate the effects of the pandemic. Now that the pandemic is over, the grant funds are no longer necessary.” **Note: ICO’s may continue to support projects that funds general biology of coronavirus not linked to COVID-19. As ICO’s conduct in-house analysis of project portfolios related to COVID the term may change. Please work with OPERA to develop standard terms based on the outcome of the analysis.**
- Climate Change: “Not consistent with HHS/NIH priorities particularly in the area of health effects of climate change.”
- Influencing Public Opinion: “This project is terminated because it does not effectuate the NIH/HHS’ priorities; specifically, research related to attempts to influence the public’s opinion.”

R. 3536. Again, usage of this list was mandatory:

7. When ICO's issue revised NOAs to terminate awards, do they have to use the exact language provided by HHS in the termination term?

Yes, ICO's must use the exact language provided in Appendix 3, with no edits.

3541.

The terminations continued. See March 26, 2025 (R. 1639 - 1641); March 31, 2025 (R. 2488); April 1, 2025 (R. 760-761; 1274-1276; 1376 - 1378; 1394 -1396); April 2, 2025 (R. 35 - 36; 3762 - 3803); April 7, 2025 (R. 1652); April 8, 2025 (R. 1653 - 1667); May 9, 2025 (R. 3452).

IV. RULINGS OF LAW

A. This Court Maintains Jurisdiction Save For Category of China which has not Harmed these Plaintiffs

This Court retains jurisdiction. The Public Officials press that the Court has no jurisdiction because their high-level activities are interlocutory and the grant terminations, claiming there is no final agency action under the APA. With the exception of grant terminations on the basis of China, all of these arguments are rejected.

1. The Plaintiffs Have No Standing as to the "China" Category

The parties do not dispute that action has not been taken concerning the category of "China." Accordingly, the Court

VACATES its earlier order solely as to this category, that does not apply.

2. Final Agency Action

Final agency action "includes the whole or a part of an agency rule, order, license, sanction, relief, or the equivalent or denial thereof, or failure to act." 5 U.S.C.A. § 551 (13), and a "rule" thereunder "means the whole or a part of an agency statement of general or particular applicability and future effect designed to implement, interpret, or prescribe law or policy or describing the organization, procedure, or practice requirements of an agency." 5 U.S.C. § 551(4). "As a general matter, two conditions must be satisfied for agency action to be 'final': First, the action must mark the 'consummation' of the agency's decisionmaking process. . . -- it must not be of a merely tentative or interlocutory nature. And second, the action must be one by which rights or obligations have been determined, or from which legal consequences will flow." Bennett v. Spear, 520 U.S. 154 (1997).

The Challenged Directives, as a whole, constitute final agency actions at the macro-level, and the resultant, downstream individual terminations and other effects are also independent final agency action as to each of the affected grants. The Public Officials attempts to narrow the action to grant terminations and characterization of the Priorities Directives

by CMGO Bulls "as not independently challengeable"
oversimplifies the record and is a myopic view of the
Administrative Record.

Certainly, taking any particular document in isolation and
out of temporal context is superficially appealing. But the
agency action here occurred in the context of a wholesale effort
to excise grants in 8 categories over a period of less than 90
days. HHS directed NIH to cut without a plan and NIH, with the
assistance of DOGE, made it up as they went along, resulting in
a paper trail of the Challenged Directives. The Public
Officials were trying to comply with an Executive Order 60-day
deadline. See EO 14151 § 2 (B)(i) ("Each agency, department, or
commission head, in consultation with the Attorney General, the
Director of OMB, and the Director of OPM, as appropriate, shall
take the following actions within sixty days of this order: . .
. . . terminate, to the maximum extent allowed by law, all. .
. . . equity action plans," 'equity' actions, initiatives, or
programs, 'equity-related' grants or contracts"). Their
expedition in implementation included all of the Challenged
Directives. The Public Officials argue "that this case is
nothing like Biden v. Texas, where the agency directed personnel
to take all necessary actions to shut down an entire program."
Trial Br. 11. (citing Biden v. Texas, 597 U.S. 785, 808-09
(2022)). They are correct -- this is worse.

The pronouncements of HHS and NIH in the Challenged Directives are consistent: they are final agency action on their evolving "eradication" of DEI, gender identity, and other topics ostensibly under the Executive Orders as quickly as possible. While the President is not typically subject to the APA, Franklin v. Massachusetts, 505 U.S. 788, 801 (1992), the agencies implementing his orders certainly are. New York v. Trump, 133 F.4th 51, 70 n.17 (1st Cir. 2025) ("[T]he District Court did not review the President's actions for consistency with the APA. Rather, it reviewed—and ultimately enjoined—the Agency Defendants' actions under the Executive Orders."). Indeed, "[t]he APA contains no exception for agency actions . . . that carry out an executive order." Orr v. Trump, No. 1:25-CV-10313-JEK, 2025 WL 1145271, at *15 (D. Mass. Apr. 18, 2025) (Kobick, J.).

B. The Administrative Procedure Act

"[F]ederal courts do not exercise general oversight of the Executive Branch; they resolve cases and controversies consistent with the authority Congress has given them." Trump v. Casa, Inc., No. 24A884, 2025 WL 1773631, at *15 (U.S. June 27, 2025).¹¹ Congress has provided such authority, in part,

¹¹ Nor should it. As my colleague Chief Judge McConnell of the District of Rhode Island recently wrote about our system of government:

under the Administrative Procedure Act ("APA"), 5 U.S.C. § 701 et seq. Specifically, the APA provides that any "person suffering legal wrong because of agency action, or adversely affected or aggrieved by agency action within the meaning of a relevant statute, is entitled to judicial review thereof." 5 U.S.C. § 702. It acts "as a check upon administrators whose zeal might otherwise have carried them to excesses not contemplated in legislation creating their offices," Loper Bright Enters. v. Raimondo, 603 U.S. 369, 391 (2024) (quoting United States v. Morton Salt Co., 338 U.S. 632, 644 (1950)), and "sets forth the procedures by which federal agencies are accountable to the public and their actions subject to review by the courts," Department of Homeland Sec. v. Regents of the Univ.

Our founders, after enduring an eight-year war against a monarch's cruel reign from an ocean away, understood too well the importance of a more balanced approach to governance. They constructed three co-equal branches of government, each tasked with their own unique duties, but with responsibilities over the other branches as a check in order to ensure that no branch overstepped their powers, upsetting the balance of the fledgling constitutional republic. See Kilbourn v. Thompson, 103 U.S. 168, 191 (1880). These concepts of "checks and balances" and "separation of powers" have been the lifeblood of our government, hallmarks of fairness, cooperation, and representation that made the orderly operation of a society made up of a culturally, racially, and socioeconomically diverse people possible.

New York v. Trump, 769 F. Supp. 3d 119, 127-28 (D.R.I. 2025).

of Cal., 591 U.S. 1, 16 (2020) (quoting Franklin v. Massachusetts, 505 U.S. 788, 796 (1992)).¹² Broadly, the APA establishes a rebuttable “presumption of judicial review [for] one ‘suffering legal wrong because of agency action.’” Id. (alteration in original) (quoting Abbott Lab’ys v. Gardner, 387 U.S. 136, 140 (1967)). The rebuttal of this presumption is made

¹² Section 706 provides in pertinent part:

To the extent necessary to decision and when presented, the reviewing court shall decide all relevant questions of law, interpret constitutional and statutory provisions, and determine the meaning or applicability of the terms of an agency action. The reviewing court shall—

- (1) compel agency action unlawfully withheld or unreasonably delayed; and
- (2) hold unlawful and set aside agency action, findings, and conclusions found to be—
 - (A) arbitrary, capricious, an abuse of discretion, or otherwise not in accordance with law;
 - (B) contrary to constitutional right, power, privilege, or immunity;
 - (C) in excess of statutory jurisdiction, authority, or limitations, or short of statutory right;

. . . .

In making the foregoing determinations, the court shall review the whole record or those parts of it cited by a party, and due account shall be taken of the rule of prejudicial error.

5 U.S.C. § 706.

"by a showing that the relevant statute 'preclude[s]' review, § 701(a)(1), or that the 'agency action is committed to agency discretion by law,' § 701(a)(2)."¹³ Id. at 17. The first exception is self-explanatory, and the Supreme Court has read the second exception "quite narrowly," applying "it to those rare 'administrative decision[s] traditionally left to agency discretion.'" Id. (alteration in original) (first quoting Weyerhaeuser Co. v. United Staes Fish & Wildlife Serv., 586 U.S. 9, 23 (2018); and then quoting Lincoln v. Vigil, 508 U.S. 182, 191 (1993)); Department of Com. v. New York, 588 U.S. 752, 772 (2019) ("[W]e have read the § 701(a)(2) exception for action committed to agency discretion 'quite narrowly, restricting it to "those rare circumstances where the relevant statute is drawn so that a court would have no meaningful standard against which to judge the agency's exercise of discretion."'") (quoting Weyerhaeuser Co., 586 U.S. at 23)). Examples of decisions traditionally left to agency discretion include "a decision not to institute enforcement proceedings, or a decision by an

¹³ Section 701 provides in pertinent part:

- (a) This chapter applies, according to the provisions thereof, except to the extent that--
- (1) statutes preclude judicial review; or
 - (2) agency action is committed to agency discretion by law.

5 U.S.C. § 701(a).

intelligence agency to terminate an employee in the interest of national security.” New York, 588 U.S. at 772 (citations omitted).

C. The 706(2) (A) Claims -- Arbitrary and Capricious ('10787 Action Count I, '10814 Action Count III)

Section 706(2) (A) of the APA “instructs reviewing courts to set aside agency action that is ‘arbitrary, capricious, an abuse of discretion, or otherwise not in accordance with law.’” Id. at 771 (quoting 5 U.S.C. § 706(2) (A)). “An agency action qualifies as ‘arbitrary’ or ‘capricious’ if it is not ‘reasonable and reasonably explained.’” Ohio v. Environmental Prot. Agency, 603 U.S. 279, 292 (2024) (quoting Federal Commc’ns Comm’n v. Prometheus Radio Project, 592 U.S. 414, 423 (2021)).

Review by the Court under the arbitrary or capricious standard of Section 706(2) (A) is narrow, because all that is “required [is for] agencies **to engage** in ‘reasoned decisionmaking.’” Regents of the Univ. of Cal., 591 U.S. at 16 (quoting Michigan v. Environmental Prot. Agency, 576 U.S. 743, 750 (2015)) (emphasis added). To be sure, this Court may not “substitute its judgment for that of the agency,” but rather “must ensure, among other things, that the agency has offered ‘a satisfactory explanation for its action[,], including a rational connection between the facts found and the choice made.’” Ohio, 603 U.S. at 292 (alteration in original) (first quoting Federal

Commc'ns Com. v. Fox Television Stations, Inc., 556 U.S. 502, 513 (2009); and then quoting Motor Vehicle Mfrs. Ass'n of United States, Inc. v. State Farm Mut. Auto. Ins. Co., 463 U.S. 29, 43 (1983)). Said another way, this Court's review "simply ensures that the agency has acted within a zone of reasonableness and, in particular, has reasonably considered the relevant issues and reasonably explained the decision." Prometheus Radio Project, 592 U.S. at 423.

"Generally, an agency decision is arbitrary and capricious if 'the agency has relied on factors which Congress has not intended it to consider, entirely failed to consider an important aspect of the problem, offered an explanation for its decision that runs counter to the evidence before the agency, or is so implausible that it could not be ascribed to a difference in view or the product of agency expertise.' " Sierra Club v. United States Dep't of the Interior, 899 F.3d 260, 293 (4th Cir. 2018) (quoting Motor Vehicle Mfrs. Assn. of United States, Inc. v. State Farm Mut. Auto. Ins. Co., 463 U.S. 29, 43, 103 S.Ct. 2856, 77 L.Ed.2d 443 (1983)). "Determining whether an agency action is 'reasonable and reasonably explained' is 'measured by what [the agency] did, not by what it might have done.'" Green & Healthy Home Initiatives, Inc. v. Env't Prot. Agency, No. 25-CV-1096-ABA, 2025 WL 1697463, at *20 (D. Md. June 17, 2025) SEC v. Chenery Corp., 318 U.S. 80, 93-94 (1943). "And to this end,

conclusory statements will not do; an 'agency's statement must be one of reasoning.'" Amerijet Int'l, Inc. v. Pistole, 753 F.3d 1343, 1350 (D.C. Cir. 2014) (quoting Butte Cnty., Cal. v. Hogen, 613 F.3d 190, 194 (D.C.Cir.2010)).

This Court, is "ordinarily limited to evaluating the agency's contemporaneous explanation in light of the existing administrative record." New York, 588 U.S. at 780. In the usual course, this is because "further judicial inquiry into 'executive motivation' represents 'a substantial intrusion' into the workings of another branch of Government and should normally be avoided." Id. at 781 (quoting Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Hous. Dev. Corp., 429 U.S. 252, 268 n.18 (1977)).

Indeed, this Court may neither "reject an agency's stated reasons for acting simply because the agency might also have had other unstated reasons" nor "set aside an agency's policymaking decision solely because it might have been influenced by political considerations or prompted by an Administration's priorities." Id. This general rule recognizes the reality that "[a]gency policymaking is not a 'rarified technocratic process, unaffected by political considerations or the presence of Presidential power.'" Id. (quoting Sierra Club v. Costle, 657 F.2d 298, 408 (D.C. Cir. 1981)). Agency "decisions are routinely informed by unstated considerations of politics, the legislative process, public relations, interest group relations,

foreign relations, and national security concerns (among others).” Id.

All that being said, while the Court’s “review is deferential,” it is certainly “‘not required to exhibit a naiveté from which ordinary citizens are free.’” Dep’t of Com. v. New York, 588 U.S. 752, 785 (2019) (quoting United States v. Stanchich, 550 F.2d 1294, 1300 (2nd Cir 1977) (Friendly, J.)).

The Public Officials argue as one of their reasons “[t]he change in democratically accountable leadership with different priorities is not a *post hoc* rationalization; it is historical fact” and that “[w]ith a new administration comes an appropriate opportunity to assess and reassess the agency’s activities.” 10787 Action, Defs. Resp. Trial Br. 4, ECF No. 111. True enough, but what the Public Officials fail to appreciate is that they have to work within the confines of the law. That is, a new administration certainly is entitled to make changes -- even unpopular or unwise changes. What it cannot do is undertake actions that are not reasonable and not reasonably explained. This is where the Public Officials miss the mark. Even under this narrow scope of review, the Public Officials’ actions as evidence under the Challenged Directives are breathtakingly arbitrary and capricious.

A careful review of the Administrative Record confirms to this Court what Justice Jackson wondered aloud three months ago

(albeit from a different agency allegedly doing similar things): that there is no reasoned decision-making at all with respect to the NIH's "abruptness" in the "robotic rollout" of this grant-termination action. Department of Education v. California, 145 S.Ct. 966, 975-76 (Jackson, J. dissenting); see also Thakur v. Trump, No. 25-CV-04737-RFL, 2025 WL 1734471, at *14 (N.D. Cal. June 23, 2025) ("The pace of the review and the resulting large waves of terminations via form letters further suggests a likelihood that no APA-compliant individualized review occurred. These are precisely the kinds of concerns that the APA's bar on arbitrary-and-capricious agency decisionmaking was meant to address.").

The Court "cannot ignore the disconnect between the decision made and the explanation given." New York, 588 U.S. at 785. Based upon a fair preponderance of the evidence and on the sparse administrative record, the Court finds and rules that HHS and, in turn NIH, are being force-fed unworkable "policy" supported with sparse pseudo-reasoning, and wholly unsupported statements.

Starting with DEI, the record is completely devoid of a definition. This Court has been transparent on this issue, see American Pub. Health Assn. v. Natl. Institutes of Health, No. CV 25-10787-WGY, 2025 WL 1548611, at *12 (D. Mass. May 30, 2025),

yet at trial the Public Officials can point only to the **identification** of DEI, but not the **definition** of DEI:

- DEI: Research programs based primarily on artificial and non-scientific categories, including amorphous equity objectives, are antithetical to the scientific inquiry, do nothing to expand our knowledge of living systems, provide low returns on investment, and ultimately do not enhance health, lengthen life, or reduce illness. Worse, so-called diversity, equity, and inclusion ("DEI") studies are often used to support unlawful discrimination on the basis of race and other protected characteristics, which harms the health of Americans. Therefore, it is the policy of NIH not to prioritize such research programs.

R. 3226; Tr. 58-59, ECF No. 156 (citing R. 3226). It is not an autological concept. The Court questioned the Public Officials' counsel in closing arguments: "So that's as close to a definition [of DEI] as we've got?", to which the Public Officials' counsel responded: "That is the agency's reasoning." Id. The Public Officials' counsel's response while unsatisfactory in the sense that one would assume that DEI would be defined somewhere, was accurate and responsive.¹⁴ The Public Officials simply have no definition of DEI.

How, then, can the Public Officials **act** on "DEI" if there is no operative **definition** of "DEI"? The answer is plain: they cannot, at least within the confines of the APA. See Firearms Regul. Accountability Coal., Inc. v. Garland, 112 F.4th 507, 523

¹⁴ The Court observes the Public Officials' counsel have been consistent and responsive to this Court on this issue. Id.; see also, May 22, 2025 Hrg Tr. 19-20, ECF No. 82;

(8th Cir. 2024) (rejecting as arbitrary and capricious an agency standard that relies on circular reasoning because it “allow[ed] the ATF to reach any decision is wish[ed] only looking to specific evidence of community misuse [of a weapon] while ignoring any other examples of the community’s compliant use”). Reliance on an undefined term of DEI (or any other category) “is arbitrary and capricious because it allows the [Public Officials] to arrive at whatever conclusion it wishes without adequately explaining the standard on which its decision is based.” Id. at 525 (cleaned up). Unfortunately, the Public Officials did just that.

The Court need not delve deeply into the rudderless EOs concerning DEI: they do not even attempt to define DEI, but instead set it up as some sort of boogeyman. This lack of clarity was (and is), in the first instance, wholly unfair to the career-HHS and NIH personnel, which must attempt to “align” themselves with the Executive through direction by partisan appointed public officials. Without a definition of DEI, they embarked on a fool’s errand resulting in arbitrary and capricious action.

Then-Acting Secretary of Health and Human Services Dr. Dorothy Fink, picked up the mantle first in the Secretarial Directive, equating without any stated-basis still-undefined DEI with “initiatives that **discriminate** on the basis of race, color,

religion, sex, national origin, or another protected characteristic." R. 5 (emphasis added). Further, she claims that "[c]ontracts and grants that support DEI and similar **discriminatory** programs **can** violate Federal civil rights law and are inconsistent with the Department's policy of improving the health and well-being of all Americans." Id. (emphasis added)

What wordsmithing! Of course discriminatory programs, or initiatives that discriminate, **can** violate federal laws, but there is absolutely **nothing** in the record that demonstrates this is a reasonable statement in the context of DEI -- again undefined -- nor are her statements reasonably explained at all. The statement, respectfully, is utterly meaningless.

On February 13, 2025, the then-NIH Deputy Director of Extramural Research, Dr. Lauer, who provided supposed guidance with respect to still-undefined DEI, using the language of HHS, lumped in "DEI" with "initiatives that discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or another protected characteristic" and advised that if the "sole purpose" of the grants etc. "supports DEI activities" - again undefined - - "then the award must be fully restricted." R. 16. Again, this memorandum and the lack of a definition of DEI or what supporting DEI activities reveals a reluctance to engage. Indeed, though not determinative, Dr. Lauer resigned from a long career in government service the same day he penned the February

13, 2025 memorandum, effective Valentine's Day. Notably, his successor, Ms. Bundesen lasted only 3 weeks after which she too resigned from government service as well. While the Court makes no finding as to Dr. Lauer's or Ms. Bundesen's motivations or reasons for resigning, it is not lost on the Court that oftentimes people vote with their feet.¹⁵

Next, on February 21, 202k, Dr. Fink's appointee, Acting Director Matthew Memoli took the reins. This time, there is evidence that HHS provided him with some circular and nonsensical boilerplate language that was used almost verbatim later on in the grant termination letters. That aside, Dr. Memoli tripled down on the DEI mystery, and added -- in a truly hold-my-beer-and-watch-this moment -- "gender identity" to the mix. The similar nonsensical phrasing appears.

Like his boss at HHS, and whoever drafted the Executive Orders for that matter, Dr. Memoli can certainly identify "diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI)," but is unable (or unwilling) to define it. Instead, he follows Dr. Fink's lead, relegating it to a category "low-value and off-mission research

¹⁵ The lack of any demonstrable pushback on these nonsensical Challenged Directives in the Administrative Record belies the tremendous bureaucratic pressure at play here. It is palpable. While HHS and the NIH bureaucrats are scientists at heart, they are trying to keep their jobs. Scientists cling to reason, not whim -- merit, not loyalty.

programs", including not only DEI, but also undefined gender identity.

Dr. Memoli then goes back in time, attempting to state that even though his "description of NIH's mission is consistent with recent Executive Orders issued by the President," his directive is "based on my expertise and experience; consistent with NIH's own obligation to pursue effective, fiscally prudent research; and pursuant to NIH authorities that exist independently of, and precede, those Executive Orders." See Memoli Directive. While intriguing, the regurgitation of the HHS language belies this separation. Indeed, his description obscures any definition of DEI. The first sentence is untethered to DEI, and is true in the abstract:

"Research programs based primarily on artificial and non-scientific categories, including amorphous equity objectives, are antithetical to the scientific inquiry, do nothing to expand our knowledge of living systems, provide low returns on investment, and ultimately do not enhance health, lengthen life, or reduce illness." Id. Simply put, non-scientific research is non-scientific research, and should not be an NIH priority.

Then Dr. Memoli goes on, "**Worse, DEI studies are often used to support** unlawful discrimination on the basis of race and other protected characteristics, which harms the health of Americans." Id.

What does this mean? Apparently, by using the transition "worse," the term "DEI studies" -- again DEI is undefined -- are somehow inherently "artificial and non-scientific." Without citing a single example, Dr. Memoli claims that DEI studies are "often used in support of unlawful discrimination on the basis of race and other protected characteristics," which he connects with harm to the health of Americans. So, is it the DEI studies that are the problem or how others use them? Who knows. There is not a shred of evidence supporting any of these statements in the record.

Dr. Memoli then transitions to "gender identity", the next boogeyman: "**Likewise, research programs based on gender identity are often unscientific, have little identifiable return on investment, and do nothing to enhance the health of many Americans. Many such studies ignore, rather than seriously examine, biological realities.**" R. 3821 (emphasis added).

There is not a shred of evidence in the Administrative Record backing this up either. Phrases like "often unscientific" and "many studies ignore" are unsupported with anything other than (apparently) Dr. Memoli's experience. Ironically, these kinds of phrases would never survive peer review.

HHS's and the NIH's implementation of the EOs is based literally upon nothing but an undefined term. Without defining it, DEI becomes whatever DEI means to the Public Officials

untethered to anything. This is not reasoned decision-making, in fact it is just the opposite. It is neither reasonable, nor reasonably explained. Indeed, "the fact that an agency's actions were undertaken to fulfill a presidential directive does not exempt them from arbitrary-and-capricious review." Kingdom v. Trump, No. 1:25-CV-691-RCL, 2025 WL 1568238, at *10 (D.D.C. June 3, 2025). The HHS and, in turn the NIH's, best possible (but losing) argument is on this record that they were simply following orders of the Administration (or DOGE), but this is an argument that simply falls flat. Id. ("[I]f an agency could avoid the need to justify its decisions simply by gesturing to an Executive Order and claiming that it was just following the President's directions, the President could unilaterally eviscerate the judicial oversight that Congress contemplated in passing the APA simply by issuing a carbon-copy executive order mandating that an agency act in a particular way before it does so."). That is essentially what has been done here. This is evidenced by the lack of any reasoned decisionmaking at all in the Administrative Record. The Public Officials have decided that they are going to "eradicate" something that they cannot define. That agency action is arbitrary and capricious. Pivoting to gender affirming care, vaccine hesitancy, COVID, Climate Change and Influencing Public Opinion, these terms evolve in the Priorities Directive, evidence that the NIH was

trying to figure it out, all the while being tasked with using those same terms to wipe out grants. None of these terms have a reasonable explanation in the record. The Public Officials "must show that there are good reasons for the new policy. . . . that the new policy is permissible under the statute, that there are good reasons for it, and that the agency believes it to be better." F.C.C. v. Fox Television Studios, 556 U.S. 502, 515 (2009). In plain terms, "this means that the agency need not always provide a more detailed justification than what would suffice for a new policy created on a blank slate." Id. It must do more when, as here, "for example, its new policy rests upon factual findings that contradict those which underlay its prior policy; or when its prior policy has engendered serious reliance interests that must be taken into account." Id. The HHS and NIH have not done so here, and with the exception of a scintilla of evidence with respect to potential disruptions of withdrawn NOFOs, there is no evidence that they even considered the reliance interests that naturally inure to NIH grant process. It is "arbitrary or capricious to ignore such matters." Id. The Public Officials "fail[] to provide an intelligible explanation," which "amount[] to a failure to engage in reasoned decisionmaking ..." Constellation Mystic Power, LLC v. FERC, 45 F.4th 1028, 1057 (D.C. Cir. 2022) (quoting FPL Energy Marcus Hook, L.P. v. FERC, 430 F.3d 441, 448 (D.C. Cir. 2005);

see Thakur, 2025 WL 1734471, at *15 ("The terminated grants were being used to pay Plaintiffs' and their staff's salaries, and to fund graduate student programs, field research, and community outreach. These facts indicate significant reliance interests that cannot simply be ignored.").

As the Court has already ruled, the Court -- relying on the Certified Administrative Record -- rules that on a fair preponderance of the evidence that the Challenged Directives are arbitrary and capricious under Section 706(2) (A), as are the concomitant grant terminations, which action are all set aside and vacated.

D. Section 706(2) (A) Claims -- Not in Accordance with Law ('10787 Action Count II; '10814 Action Count II)

The APA claim that agency action is "not in accordance with law" is a subpart of Section 706(2) (A). In reviewing this claim "a reviewing court must uphold an agency's decision if it is: (1) devoid of legal errors; and (2) "supported by any rational review of the record." New York v. Trump, No. 25-CV-39-JJM-PAS, 2025 WL 715621, at *9 (D.R.I. Mar. 6, 2025) (quoting Mahoney v. Del Toro, 99 F.4th 25, 34 (1st Cir. 2024)).

The Plaintiffs attack the Public officials claim that 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a) (4) operates as a trump card and permits termination of and award that "no longer effectuates the programs goals or agencies priorities." Id.

Section 340 is part of OMB's guidance, and that is all that is -- nonbinding guidance. See 2 C.F.R. §1.105(b) ("Publication of the OMB guidance in the CFR does not change its nature—it is guidance, not regulation."). That provision falls under the section entitled "Remedies for Noncompliance." Section 200.339 provides "remedies for noncompliance." 2 C.F.R. §

That provision provides in pertinent part:

- (a) The Federal award may be terminated in part or its entirety as follows:
 - (1) By the Federal agency or pass-through entity if the recipient or subrecipient fails to comply with the terms and conditions of the Federal award;
 - (2) By the Federal agency or pass-through entity with the consent of the recipient or subrecipient, in which case the two parties must agree upon the termination conditions. These conditions include the effective date and, in the case of partial termination, the portion to be terminated;
 - (3) By the recipient or subrecipient upon sending the Federal agency or pass-through entity a written notification of the reasons for such termination, the effective date, and, in the case of partial termination, the portion to be terminated. However, if the Federal agency or pass-through entity determines that the remaining portion of the Federal award will not accomplish the purposes for which the Federal award was made, the Federal agency or pass-through entity may terminate the Federal award in its entirety; or
 - (4) By the Federal agency or pass-through entity **pursuant to the terms and conditions of the Federal award, including, to the extent**

authorized by law, if an award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities.

2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a). That provision requires that an agency “must clearly and unambiguously specify all termination provisions in the terms and conditions of the Federal award.” Id. at § 200.340(b). An agency terminating an award “must provide written notice of termination to the recipient or subrecipient . . . [which] should include the reasons for termination, the effective date, and the portion of the Federal award to be terminated, if applicable. 2 C.F.R. § 200.341 Section 200.340 is an OMB Regulation that provides only guidance to all agencies, and is not binding. See 2 C.F.R. §1.105(b) (“Publication of the OMB guidance in the CFR does not change its nature -- it is guidance, not regulation.”)

As an initial matter, HHS’s adoption of the regulation is not effective until October 2025; accordingly, the regulation is wholly inapplicable here. See Health and Human Services Adoption of the Uniform Administrative Requirements, Cost Principles, and Audit Requirements for Federal Awards, 89 FR 80055-01 (“HHS will adopt all of the rest of 2 CFR part 200 with an effective date of October 1, 2025.”). Instead, a different statute, 45 C.F.R. § 75.372(a) (2024) allows for unilateral termination only where there is a failure “to comply with the terms and conditions of the award” or “for cause.” 45 C.F.R. §

75.372(a)(1) (2024). Plaintiffs argue that "the plain language of the regulation mandates that these are the exclusive conditions under which HHS and its sub-agencies may terminate a grant." ECF 103 28 (citing Pol'y & Rsch., LLC v. United States Dep't of Health & Human Servs., 313 F. Supp. 3d 62, 76 (D.D.C. 2018); Healthy Teen Network v. Azar, 322 F. Supp. 3d 647, 651 (D. Md. 2018). That in and of itself demonstrates legal error. Simply put, the Public Officials cannot rely on a regulation that does not yet apply to their respective agencies in their template.

But even if it applied, under the cited regulation, an agency can terminate an award "pursuant to the terms and conditions of the Federal award, including, **to the extent authorized by law**, if an award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities." 2 C.F.R. § 200.340 (emphasis added). This is a distinction with a difference, because "this regulation cannot authorize actions that contravene statutory requirements, nor does it relieve [the Public Officials] of [their] duty to follow the law." Pacito v. Trump, No. 2:25-CV-255-JNW, --- F.Supp. 3d ----, ----, 2025 WL 893530, at *9 (W.D. Wash. Mar. 24, 2025) (quoting 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(4)).

The Public Officials counter that the regulation has been incorporated into the terms and conditions of the grantees' awards. Even if the regulation applied as a contractual term,

whether the “award no longer effectuates the programs goals or agency priorities” can still be challenged under the APA where the underlying reasons violate the APA. See Thakur v. Trump, No. 25-CV-04737-RFL, 2025 WL 1734471, at *14 (N.D. Cal. June 23, 2025) (“2 C.F.R. § 200.340, to the extent it applies, does not alter the requirement under the APA that Defendants must provide a reasoned decision for their termination.”); American Ass'n of Colls. for Tchr. Educ. v. McMahon, 770 F. Supp. 3d 822, 851 (D. Md. 2025 (ruling that even if termination letters invoked a valid reason to terminate under 2 C.F.R. § 200.340, APA claims survived because the letters “fail[ed] to provide [the plaintiffs] any workable, sensible, or meaningful reason or basis for the termination of their awards”). Reliance on these inapplicable regulation as basis for template letter terminations in conjunction with meaningless descriptions is contrary to law under Section 706(2)(A) of the APA.

**E. Section 706(2)(C) Claims -- In excess of
Statutory Authority ('10787 Action Count III;
'10814 Action Count I)**

An APA action brought under Section 706(2)(C), challenges agency action “in excess of statutory jurisdiction, authority, or limitations, or short of statutory right.” Id. The “[C]ourt[] must exercise [its] independent judgment in deciding whether an agency has acted within its statutory authority.” Loper Bright, 603 U.S. at 412. “[T]he [C]ourt fulfills [its]

role by recognizing constitutional delegations, 'fix[ing] the boundaries of [the] delegated authority. . .and ensuring the agency has engaged in "reasoned decisionmaking" within those boundaries." Id. at 395 (citation omitted) (first quoting Henry P. Monaghan, Marbury and the Administrative State, 83 Colum. L. Rev. 1, 27 (1983); and then quoting Michigan, 576 U.S. at 750).

The Plaintiffs identify a litany of statutes that they claim violate Congress's mandate to the Public Officials to conduct research various areas such as women's health, gender identity, COVID, vaccination. See DEI: 42 U.S.C. §§ 282(b)(4); 282(b)(8)(D)(ii), 282(h), 283o(b)(2), 285a-6; 285b-7a(c)(1), 285t(a), 285t(f)(1)(D); gender identity: 42 U.S.C. §283(p); COVID-19: 42 U.S.C. §285f-5(a); vaccine hesitancy: 42 U.S.C. §283d. They also contend the DEI provision conflicts with Congress's mandate to embrace diversity. See 42 U.S.C. §§ 282(h), 287d(e), 283o(b)(2), 285(t)(a), 288(a)(4), 285t-1(a), (b). To be sure the ill-defined categories certainly can be read to overlap these statutes. Inasmuch as the Court has declared the Public Officials' actions arbitrary and capricious and set them aside on that ground, it need not dive into the contours of the statutory overlap.

As for the Strategic Plan, as the Public Officials correctly argue, they have, in fact, complied with that statute. The Strategic Plan is evidence of how the NIH typically

proceeds, giving guidance and providing researchers with predictability on which to generally rely. The Court rules that the Challenged Directives do not contravene the statutory requirement under 42 U.S.C. § 282(m) of a Strategic Plan, under Section 706(2)(A), or Section 706(2)(C). At the same time, the Strategic Plan demonstrates that more than a sentence or two is necessary to change priorities that wipe out categories of research.

V. CONCLUSION

Every Administration has political priorities and enjoys the ability to make policy changes. But the agencies that implement those changes have to have a reasoned and reasonable explanation for doing so. The Public Officials are not prohibited from blacklisting a handful of categories of research. They must, however, comply with Congress's mandate as to research and other priorities, and even where the Public Officials have discretion, they must provide a reasoned and reasonable explanation. The Public Officials in their haste to appease the Executive, simply moved too fast and broke things, including the law. As previously ordered, partial separate and final judgments have entered in favor of the Plaintiffs in the '10787 Action, ECF No. 138, and in the '10814 Action, ECF No. 151. This Court was careful to limit the relief, as it must, only to the parties before it. See CASA, Inc., No. 24A884, 2025

WL 1773631, at *15 (U.S. June 27, 2025) (“When a court concludes that the Executive Branch has acted unlawfully, the answer is not for the court to exceed its power too.”)

SO ORDERED.

/s/ William G. Young
WILLIAM G. YOUNG
JUDGE
of the
UNITED STATES¹⁶

¹⁶ This is how my predecessor, Peleg Sprague (D. Mass. 1841-1865), would sign official documents. Now that I’m a Senior District Judge I adopt this format in honor of all the judicial colleagues, state and federal, with whom I have had the privilege to serve over the past 47 years.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION;)
IBIS REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH;)
INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED)
AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE, AND)
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT)
WORKERS (UAW); BRITTANY CHARLTON;)
KATIE EDWARDS; PETER LURIE; and)
NICOLE MAPHIS,)
)
Plaintiffs,)
v.)
)
NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH;)
JAY BHATTACHARYA, in his official)
capacity as Director of the)
National Institutes of Health;)
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH)
AND HUMAN SERVICES; and ROBERT F.)
KENNEDY, JR., in his official)
capacity as Secretary of the)
United States Department of Health)
and Human Services,)
)
Defendants.)
)

CIVIL ACTION NO.
25-10787-WGY

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS;
STATE OF CALIFORNIA; STATE OF
MARYLAND; STATE OF WASHINGTON;
STATE OF ARIZONA; STATE OF
COLORADO; STATE OF DELAWARE;
STATE OF HAWAI'I; STATE OF
MINNESOTA; STATE OF NEVADA;
STATE OF NEW JERSEY; STATE OF
NEW MEXICO; STATE OF NEW YORK;
STATE OF OREGON; STATE OF RHODE
ISLAND; and STATE OF WISCONSIN,

	Plaintiffs,)	CIVIL ACTION NO.
v.)	25-10814-WGY
)	
ROBERT F. KENNEDY, JR., in his)	
official capacity as Secretary of)	
Health and Human Services;)	
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF)	
HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES;)	
JAYANTA BHATTACHARYA, in his)	
official capacity as Director of)	
the National Institutes of Health;)	
NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH;)	
NATIONAL CANCER INSTITUTE;)	
NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE;)	
NATIONAL HEART, LUNG, AND BLOOD)	
INSTITUTE; NATIONAL HUMAN GENOME)	
RESEARCH INSTITUTE; NATIONAL)	
INSTITUTE ON AGING; NATIONAL)	
INSTITUTE ON ALCOHOL ABUSE AND)	
ALCOHOLISM; NATIONAL INSTITUTE)	
OF ALLERGY AND INFECTIOUS)	
DISEASES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF)	
ARTHRITIS AND MUSCULOSKELETAL AND)	
SKIN DISEASES; NATIONAL)	
INSTITUTE OF BIOMEDICAL IMAGING)	
AND BIOENGINEERING; EUNICE KENNEDY)	
SHRIVER NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF)	
CHILD HEALTH AND HUMAN)	
DEVELOPMENT; NATIONAL INSTITUTE)	
ON DEAFNESS AND OTHER)	
COMMUNICATION DISORDERS;)	
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DENTAL)	
AND CRANIOFACIAL RESEARCH;)	
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DIABETES)	
AND DIGESTIVE AND KIDNEY)	
DISEASES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE)	
ON DRUG ABUSE; NATIONAL)	
INSTITUTE OF ENVIRONMENTAL)	
HEALTH SCIENCES; NATIONAL)	
INSTITUTE OF GENERAL MEDICAL)	
SCIENCES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF)	
MENTAL HEALTH; NATIONAL INSTITUTE)	
ON MINORITY HEALTH AND HEALTH)	
DISPARITIES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE)	
OF NEUROLOGICAL DISORDERS AND)	
STROKE; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF)	
NURSING RESEARCH; NATIONAL LIBRARY)	

OF MEDICINE; NATIONAL CENTER FOR)
 ADVANCING TRANSLATIONAL SCIENCES;)
 JOHN E. FOGARTY INTERNATIONAL)
 CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY)
 IN THE HEALTH SCIENCES; NATIONAL)
 CENTER FOR COMPLEMENTARY AND)
 INTEGRATIVE HEALTH; and CENTER)
 FOR SCIENTIFIC REVIEW,)
)
 Defendants.)

YOUNG, D.J.

June 24, 2025

ORDER

After careful consideration, the Court denies the motions for stay.

1. This Court has subject matter jurisdiction

The issue of this Court's subject matter jurisdiction has been fully addressed in its opinion Massachusetts v. Kennedy, No. CV 25-10814-WGY, 2025 WL 1371785, at *3 (D. Mass. May 12, 2025) and it would be superogatory to rehearse it here.

Significantly, the defendants raise no question about the full trial they have been accorded under the Administrative Procedure Act nor about either this Court's findings of fact¹

¹ *You have to listen to the bastards, Austin. They might just have something.*

-Hon. Franklin H. Ford

. . .
 Judicial fact-finding is ... rigorous.
 Necessarily detailed, judicial fact-finding
 must draw logical inferences from the

record, and, after lucidly presenting the subsidiary facts, must apply the legal frame-work in a transparent written or oral analysis that leads to a relevant conclusion. Such fact-finding is among the most difficult of judicial tasks. It is tedious and demanding, requiring the entirety of the judge's attention, all her powers of observation, organization, and recall, and every ounce of analytic common sense he possesses. Moreover, fact-finding is the one judicial duty that may never be delegated to law clerks or court staff. Indeed, unlike legal analysis, many judges will not even discuss fact-finding with staff, lest the resulting conclusions morph into judgment by committee rather than the personal judgment of the duly constituted judicial officer.

Fair and impartial fact-finding is supremely important to the judiciary...

While trial court legal analysis is appropriately constrained by statutes and the doctrine of stare decisis, the true glory of our trial courts, state and federal, is their commitment to fair and neutral fact-finding. Properly done, facts found through jury investigation or judicial analysis truly are "like flint."

Yet there has been virtual abandonment by the federal judiciary of any sense that its fact-finding processes are exceptional, or due any special deference. Federal district court judges used to spend their time on the bench learning from lawyers in an adversarial atmosphere, and overseeing fact-finding by juries or engaging in it themselves. This was their job and they were proud of it. Today, judges learn more reflectively, reading and conferring with law clerks in chambers. Their primary challenge is the proper application of the law to the facts—facts that are either taken for granted, or sifted out of briefs and affidavits, and, in the mode of the European civil justice systems, scrutinized by judges

upon a comprehension and largely undisputed record of decision nor about this Court's rulings of law.²

2. A stay would cause irreparable harm to the plaintiffs

This is a case in equity concerning health research already bought and paid for by the Congress of the United States through funds appropriated for expenditure and properly allocated during this fiscal year. Even a day's delay further destroys the unmistakable legislative purpose from its accomplishment.

3. The balance of the equities strongly militates against a stay.

Again, it is worth noting that no question is here raised in the motions for stay about the scope of this Court's declarations under the APA. They are limited to the particular grants identified by the parties with standing before this Court which were arbitrarily and capriciously terminated by the defendants.³

and clerks behind closed doors. While judges do talk to lawyers in formal hearings, these hearings can be short, and usually serve to test and confirm a judge's understanding rather than develop it.

William G. Young, A Lament for What Was Once and Yet Can Be, 32 B.C. Int. & Comp. L. Rev. 312-314 (2009) (footnotes omitted)


² The full written decision will soon follow.

³ Indeed, the Court notes with approbation that the NIH and related defendants appear to be - now that the law is clearly declared - moving quietly and expeditiously (this Court said "forthwith") to restore the specific terminated grants, see <https://www.masslive.com/news/2025/06/20-nih-grants-restored-to-umass-system-after-judge-rules-against-trump-admin.html>.

While the grant of a stay would throw the entire process into limbo during the course of the appeal, its denial means only that the executive defendants must comply with the Act of Congress rather than sequestering funds (probably forever) during the course of the appeal.

Far, far better were the defendants to seek expedited briefing and review so that a precedential decision may issue with ramifications beyond these parties and these grants.

SO ORDERED.


WILLIAM G. YOUNG
JUDGE
of the
UNITED STATES⁴

This is how our government ought function without demeaning injunctive orders.

⁴ This is how my predecessor, Peleg Sprague (D. Mass. 1841-1865), would sign official documents. Now that I'm a Senior District Judge I adopt this format in honor of all the judicial colleagues, state and federal, with whom I have had the privilege to serve over the past 47 years.

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS**

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH
ASSOCIATION; IBIS REPRODUCTIVE
HEALTH; INTERNATIONAL UNION,
UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE,
AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT
WORKERS (UAW); BRITTANY
CHARLTON; KATIE EDWARDS; PETER
LURIE; and NICOLE MAPHIS,

Plaintiffs,

v.

NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH;
JAY BHATTACHARYA, *in his official
capacity as Director of the National Institutes
of Health*; UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND
HUMAN SERVICES; and ROBERT F.
KENNEDY, JR., *in his official capacity as
Secretary of the United States Department of
Health and Human Services,*

Defendants.

Case No. 1:25-cv-10787-WGY

[PROPOSED] RULE 54(b) PARTIAL FINAL JUDGMENT

For all the reasons stated on the record on June 16, 2025, Plaintiffs American Public Health Association (“APHA”), Ibis Reproductive Health, International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers (“UAW”), Brittany Charlton, Katie Edwards, Peter Lurie, and Nicole Maphis (collectively, “Plaintiffs”) are entitled to judgment on their claim that the challenged “Directives” (specified below in paragraphs 1(a)-(j)) and “Resulting Grant

Terminations”¹ are arbitrary and capricious in violation of the Administrative Procedure Act, 5 U.S.C. § 706(2)(A). Pursuant to Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 54(b), and for all the reasons stated on the record, the Court finds that there is no just reason to delay entry of judgment on that claim.

It is hereby **ORDERED, ADJUDGED, AND DECREED** that:

1. The following Directives from the National Institute of Health (“NIH”) and U.S. Department of Health & Human Services (“HHS”), taken as a whole, are **DECLARED** to be final agency action, arbitrary and capricious, and unlawful, in violation of 5 U.S.C. § 706(2)(A):
 - a. The February 10, 2025 directive issued by the Acting Secretary of HHS entitled “Secretarial Directive on DEI-Related Funding.” AR0004-05.²
 - b. The February 12, 2025 memorandum entitled “NIH Review of Agency Priorities Based on the New Administration’s Goals.” AR0009.
 - c. The February 13, 2025 memorandum entitled “Supplemental Guidance to Memo Entitled NIH Review of Agency Priorities Based on the New Administration’s Goals.” AR0016.
 - d. The February 21, 2025 “Directive on NIH Priorities” entitled “Restoring Scientific Integrity and Protecting the Public Investment in NIH Awards.” AR2930-31.
 - e. The March 4, 2025 memorandum issued by NIH, entitled “Staff Guidance – Award Assessments for Alignment with Agency Priorities – March 2025.” AR2136-42.
 - f. The March 13, 2025 directive issued by Michelle Bulls, entitled “Award Revision Guidance and List of Terminated Grants via letter on 3/12.” AR1957-68.


¹ The term “Resulting Grant Terminations” refers to any terminations of any grants (including subawards and supplements) of Plaintiffs or members of Plaintiff associations APHA and UAW by the National Institutes of Health (including any of NIH’s constituent institutes and centers), on the basis of one or more of the Challenged Directives, the Challenged Directives as a whole, or any of the reasoning therein, but specifically limited to, those specific grant terminations, including non-competitive renewals, that Plaintiffs identified in the spreadsheets submitted to the Court and served upon defendants on May 27, 2025 and June 13, 2025, which spreadsheets are Attached hereto as Exhibits A and Exhibit B, respectively.

² References herein to the administrative record produced by Defendants on June 2, 2025 match the page numbers in the record (*e.g.*, “AR0004” corresponds to “NIH_GRANTS_000004”).

- g. The March 20, 2025 memorandum issued by Sean R. Keveney, the Acting General Counsel at HHS, entitled “Termination of COVID-19 Grants.” AR2591.
 - h. The March 25, 2025 memorandum issued by NIH, entitled “NIH Grants Management Staff Guidance – Award Assessments for Alignment with Agency Priorities – March 2025.” AR3218.
 - i. The May 7, 2025 memorandum issued by Michelle Bulls, entitled “NIH Grants Management Staff Guidance – Award Assessments for Alignment with Agency Priorities – DRAFT.” AR3547-77.
 - j. The May 15, 2025 memorandum issued by Michelle Bulls, entitled “NIH Grants Management Staff Guidance – Award Assessments for Alignment with Agency Priorities – DRAFT.” AR3516-46.
 - k. The undated memoranda titled “NIH Grants Management Staff Guidance – Award Assessments for Alignment with Agency Priorities – Draft.” AR3231-3350.
2. Pursuant to 5 U.S.C. § 706(2), the Directives set forth in Paragraphs 1(a)-(j) of this Judgment are hereby **OF NO EFFECT, VOID, ILLEGAL, SET ASIDE AND VACATED.**
3. The Resulting Grant Terminations pursuant to the Directives are **DECLARED** to be unlawful, arbitrary and capricious final agency actions under 5 U.S.C. § 706(2)(A).
4. Pursuant to 5 U.S.C. § 706(2), the Resulting Grant Terminations are hereby **OF NO EFFECT, VOID, ILLEGAL, SET ASIDE AND VACATED.**
5. Judgment shall enter in favor of Plaintiffs and against Defendants on Count I.A and I.C of the Complaint.
6. The Court retains jurisdiction to enforce this Judgment.

The Clerk is directed to enter judgment in conformity with the foregoing forthwith.

June 23, 2025


HON. WILLIAM G. YOUNG
Judge of the United States

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS**

COMMONWEALTH OF
MASSACHUSETTS, *et al.*,

Plaintiffs,

v.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY, JR., *et al.*,

Defendants.

No. 1:25-cv-10814-WGY

~~REVISED PROPOSED~~ **RULE 54(b) FINAL JUDGMENT**

For all the reasons stated on the record on June 16, 2025, plaintiffs are entitled to judgment on their claim that the Challenged Directives¹ and Resulting Grant Terminations² are arbitrary and capricious in violation of the Administrative Procedure Act, 5 U.S.C. §706(2)(A). Pursuant to

¹ The “Challenged Directives” consist of (1) the February 10, 2025, directive entitled “Secretarial Directive on DEI-Related Funding” reproduced at pp. 4–5 of the administrative record; (2) the February 12, 2025, memorandum entitled “NIH Review of Agency Priorities Based on the New Administration’s Goals” reproduced at p. 9 of the administrative record; (3) the February 13, 2025, memorandum entitled “Supplemental Guidance to Memo Entitled – NIH Review of Agency Priorities Based on the New Administration’s Goals” reproduced at p. 16 of the administrative record; (4) the February 21, 2025, memorandum entitled “Directive on NIH Priorities” and “Restoring Scientific Integrity and Protecting the Public Investment in NIH Awards” reproduced at pp. 2930–2931 of the administrative record; (5) the March 4, 2025, directive entitled “Staff Guidance - Award Assessments for Alignment with Agency Priorities—March 2025” reproduced at pp. 2135–2172 of the administrative record; (6) the March 13, 2025, directive entitled “Award Revision Guidance and List of Terminated Grants via letter on 3/12” reproduced at pp. 1957–1968 of the administrative record; and (7) subsequent revisions to the “Award Assessments for Alignment with Agency Priorities” directive dated March 25 (reproduced at pp. 3216–3230 of the administrative record), May 7 (reproduced at pp. 3547–3581 of the administrative record), May 15 (reproduced at pp. 3516–3546 of the administrative record), and undated (reproduced at pp. 3231–3350 of the administrative record).

² The term “Resulting Grant Terminations” refers to any terminations of grants (including subawards) awarded by the National Institutes of Health (including any of NIH’s constituent institutes and centers) to any plaintiff state (including any plaintiff state’s instrumentalities, public colleges and universities, subdivisions, counties, and municipalities) on the basis of one or more of the Challenged Directives, the Challenged Directives as a whole, or any of the reasoning therein. For purposes of this definition, a “termination” includes failure to award a non-competing continuation of a grant. The Resulting Grant Terminations include those specific grant terminations that plaintiffs identified in the spreadsheet submitted to the Court and served upon defendants on June 13, 2025, which spreadsheet it attached hereto as Exhibit A.


Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 54(b), and for all the reasons stated on the record, the Court finds that there is no just reason to delay entry of judgment on that claim.

It is therefore **ORDERED, ADJUDGED, and DECREED** that:

- I. The Challenged Directives as a whole are arbitrary and capricious in violation of 5 U.S.C. §706(2)(A). Thus, the Challenged Directives as a whole are void, illegal, and of no force and effect and are hereby vacated and set aside pursuant to §706(2).
- II. The Resulting Grant Terminations are arbitrary and capricious in violation of 5 U.S.C. §706(2)(A). Thus, the Resulting Grant Terminations are void, illegal, and of no force and effect, and are hereby vacated and set aside pursuant to §706(2).
- III. Judgment shall enter in favor of plaintiffs and against defendants on Count 3 of the Amended Complaint.
- IV. The Court retains jurisdiction to enforce this judgment.

The Clerk is directed to enter judgment in conformity with the foregoing forthwith.

June 23, 2025


HON. WILLIAM G. YOUNG
Judge of the United States

1 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

2 DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS (Boston)

3 No. 1:25-cv-10814-WGY

4 COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, et al,
5 Plaintiffs

6 vs.

7 ROBERT F. KENNEDY, JR., et al,
8 Defendants

9 No. 1:25-cv-10787-WGY

10 AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION, et al,
11 Plaintiffs

12 vs.

13 NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH, et al,
14 Defendants

15 *****

16 For Hearing Before:
17 Judge William G. Young

18 Bench Trial, Phase 1
19 (Closings)

20 United States District Court
21 District of Massachusetts (Boston.)
22 One Courthouse Way
23 Boston, Massachusetts 02210
24 Monday, June 16, 2025

25 *****

26 REPORTER: RICHARD H. ROMANOW, RPR
27 Official Court Reporter
28 United States District Court
29 One Courthouse Way, Room 5510, Boston, MA 02210
30 rhr3tubas@aol.com

1 about the contours of Phase 1, and when I say a
2 "thorough written opinion," it's focused on Phase 1.
3 And at an appropriate time, however it comes out, I
4 would enter an order that the interests of justice are
5 that there be a separate judgment so it can be
6 immediately appealed by whoever wants to appeal.

7 If you say you want to -- if you tell her you want
8 me to stay my hand, the Court will honor it. If any of
9 you want to hear if I have anything to say, she'll tell
10 me that. I don't need to know who. It's up to me
11 whether I see my way clear to say anything at all today.

12 It goes without saying that I am very grateful
13 both for the briefing and the extraordinarily fine oral
14 arguments made by counsel. We'll take the matter under
15 advisement.

16 We'll recess.

17 (Recess, 12:50 a.m.)

18 (Resumed, 2:00 p.m.)

19 THE COURT: This case warrants and will receive a
20 full written opinion. At the same time, this case
21 commenced with a request for a preliminary injunction,
22 and the Court takes that very seriously. And the
23 parties, and I include all the parties, have stepped up
24 to afford the Court the chance to make findings and
25 rulings upon an adequate record.

1 I have worked on the case really since the day it
2 was filed. I still must further reflect upon the
3 extensive record, the extensive administrative record
4 before the Court, and I intend to do so.

5 But there are some findings and rulings that the
6 Court's efforts, aided by you all, and aided by the
7 Court's law clerks, that I'm able to make today, and in
8 the interests of justice, I'm going to do it, right now.

9 These are -- well let me start really by saying
10 what I'm not going to address, and nothing I say now
11 should, um, implicate or suggest any finding yet to be
12 made, though the Court reserves its right to make such
13 findings upon a more thorough review of the record or,
14 as we will see, as the record comes to be more fully
15 developed.

16 So I am not -- well I have limited today's
17 remarks, at least the first phrase, because I'm going to
18 stop and let you ask questions, and then I have
19 something else to say. But the first-phase remarks this
20 afternoon are limited entirely to the claims under the
21 Administrative Procedure Act, and nothing else.

22 Even as to the claims under the Administrative
23 Procedure Act, the Court makes no rulings. I have the
24 data on which I could make them, but I do not today make
25 any ruling on conflicts with the challenged directives

1 or terminations and the governing statutes and
2 regulations save -- that is the Administrative Procedure
3 Act itself is a governing statute. Likewise, um, I am
4 not today going to endeavor to interpret any of the
5 governing regulations.

6 There is evidence here that, um -- that these
7 directives are at least a part of the process that led
8 us to the terminations that, um, we are dealing with in
9 this case, there was some input of some sort by some
10 representative of DOGE. The Court makes no finding
11 either way -- either way as to that, but reserves its
12 right further to consider that matter.

13 The Court has expressed a concern, a very real
14 concern about discrimination here. I'll have more to
15 say about that after our break.

16 One of the things that concerns the Court is that
17 there is more than a little evidence here of, um,
18 discrimination on issues of women's health. I make no
19 such finding. I reserve the right to make that finding
20 should I come to be satisfied, by a fair preponderance
21 of the evidence, that such discrimination exists. So
22 those are the things I'm not making any findings on.

23 As to my remarks today, they are necessarily
24 conclusory. I've challenged the defendants for making
25 conclusory statements, and perhaps I'm going to make

1 some, but I do so only in the interests of justice and
2 for expedition, I am satisfied that everything I say now
3 is fully supported by the evidentiary record, and, um,
4 in the full written opinion I will, um, have ample
5 recourse to that record. And I reserve my right to make
6 further subsidiary, um, factual determinations, and draw
7 further legal conclusions. But what I say now decides
8 the points to which I speak, having in mind there's
9 going to be a full written opinion that will follow. So
10 let me address the first part of what I want to say.

11 The Court, on the administrative record, rules
12 that the parties before it have standing. The Court,
13 having carefully considered the briefs and the oral
14 arguments, treats the challenged directives as a whole,
15 as a process, does not break them down into discrete
16 paragraphs, and rules that when treated as a whole,
17 these directives constitute final agency action under
18 the Administrative Procedure Act, Sections 551 and 704.

19 When you look at these directives, 7 different
20 explanations are offered for agency action. The law, as
21 to the adequacy of such explanations, I -- I would take
22 it, though there are many cases, but the one I want to
23 refer to specifically is Judge Gorsuch's opinion for the
24 Court in **Ohio vs. Environmental Protection Agency**, found
25 at 603 United States at 279, um -- well the PIN cite

1 will be 144 Supreme Court 2040 at 2024. And there,
2 speaking for the Court, Justice Gorsuch says:

3 "An agency" -- and I'm omitting citations. "An
4 agency action qualifies as, quote, 'arbitrary' or,
5 quote, 'capricious' if it is not, quote, 'reasonable'
6 and 'reasonably explained.' In reviewing an agency's
7 action under that standard, a Court is not, quote, 'to
8 substitute its judgment for that of the agency,' closed
9 quote, but it must ensure, among other things, that the
10 agency has offered a satisfactory explanation for its
11 action, including a rational connection between the
12 facts found and the choice made. Accordingly, an agency
13 cannot simply ignore an important aspect of the
14 problem."

15 This Court finds and rules that the explanations
16 are bereft of reasoning virtually in their entirety.
17 These edicts are nothing more than conclusory,
18 unsupported by factual development.

19 Moreover, in -- as presented to this Court, there
20 is no reasoned argument as to the reliance interests of
21 the many parties affected. It's well to have recourse
22 precisely to the statute under which this Court -- the
23 Act of Congress under which this Court draws its
24 authority for the conclusions and rulings that the Court
25 makes.

1 I quote paragraph -- not paragraph, Section 706,
2 "Scope of Review of the Administrative Procedure Act."
3 This -- this defines, in this aspect of the case, the
4 powers of this United States District Court in
5 circumstances. This power is derived directly from the
6 statute enacted by the people's representatives in both
7 Houses of Congress. It trumps any regulation. It
8 trumps any order, directive, or edict. Here is what it
9 says:

10 "To the extent necessary to decision and when
11 presented, the reviewing Court shall decide all relevant
12 questions of law, interpret constitutional and statutory
13 provisions, and determine the meaning or applicability
14 of an agency action."

15 Then, in Paragraph 2, it empowers the Court to
16 "Hold unlawful and set aside agency action, findings,
17 and conclusions, found to be" -- and I here have
18 reliance on Subparagraph A, "arbitrary and capricious."

19 This Court rules that the determinations -- that
20 the challenged directives, excuse me, taken as a whole
21 are -- and each of them are, when taken as a whole,
22 arbitrary and capricious, they are of no force and
23 effect, they are void and illegal. And so are each of
24 the terminations before this Court declared arbitrary
25 and capricious, void, and of no effect, they are illegal

1 and they are vacated and set aside.

2 I looked up and spotted Ms. Meeropol and I should
3 be specific.

4 I am not now deciding anything beyond the ruling I
5 just made. That does not mean that in further
6 consideration of the NOFO claims, I could not, or I
7 could not further analyze the argument that was made by
8 those plaintiffs. All I'm saying is I am not now doing
9 that, I'm not ready, nor am I sufficiently confident to
10 do it. I'm speaking only to those things about which I
11 -- a careful review satisfies me that on that ground --
12 on the grounds I have announced, I am confident in the
13 action that the Court takes.

14 Having done that, the Court, um, at least sitting
15 this afternoon, accepts the representation of the
16 government counsel, I'm sure made after careful
17 consideration, that he expects that the defendants
18 promptly will comply with the, um, decisions as to the
19 law made by this Court, and I'm relying on that. The
20 Court -- because the case goes on, the Court has
21 continuing jurisdiction. And if these -- this vacation
22 of these particular grant terminations, the vacation of
23 these directives, taken as a whole, um, does not result
24 in forthwith, um, disbursement of funds both
25 appropriated by the Congress of the United States and

1 allocated heretofore by the defendant agencies, if that
2 doesn't happen forthwith, the Court has ample
3 jurisdiction.

4 But as I stated earlier, I do come from a kindler,
5 gentler period of jurisprudence when, if a Court of
6 competent jurisdiction -- and this Court is such a
7 court, declares the law authoritatively, executive
8 agencies are presumed to put that declaration into
9 effect, that's the authorization of the Congress in the
10 Administrative Procedure Act. And based on the
11 representation of counsel, I have every reason to
12 believe that will be done.

13 Now to give effect to the few conclusory findings
14 I have made and the rulings I have thus-far made, the
15 plaintiffs are charged with, forthwith, tomorrow will be
16 soon enough, um, preparing a partial but final judgment
17 as to these issues. I will enter that final judgment,
18 um, under Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 54(d), in the
19 interests of justice so that there is a basis for an
20 immediate appeal, should anyone wish to appeal.

21 There is more to this case. I very much
22 understand that. I both welcome any such appeal, but it
23 is my duty to move as rapidly as careful and
24 conscientious analysis permits, and I believe I have
25 given it to so much of this action as I have just spoken

1 to.

2 I have more to say on another topic, but this is a
3 good time to stop and simply go around and see if there
4 are any questions. This is not a time to argue or seek
5 to reargue, just are there any questions about what the
6 Court has found and ruled. Questions. And we'll go in
7 the order of the argument.

8 Mr. Cedrone?

9 (Pause.)

10 MR. CEDRONE: No, your Honor, I think it's clear.

11 THE COURT: Fine.

12 Mr. Parreno?

13 MR. PARRENO: No, your Honor, no questions.

14 THE COURT: And, Mr. Ports, any questions?

15 MS. PORTER: I want to make sure that we're clear
16 that this -- the order applies to all grants listed by
17 the plaintiffs, that's both sets of plaintiffs, as most
18 recently updated, um, any orders to set them aside and
19 terminate them, to vacate them, and set them aside.

20 So everything on that list?

21 THE COURT: That is the list to which I have
22 referenced. Your question is perfectly appropriate.
23 That's what I'm speaking about.

24 MS. PORTER: Okay, thank you, your Honor.

25 THE COURT: All right.

1 Any other questions?

2 MS. PORTER: Does this apply to, I guess, the
3 status of, um, grants listed where there have been no
4 action, no affirmative action by the agency other than
5 maybe, um --

6 THE COURT: I think I've made myself clear. I
7 have a list and I've acted on it.

8 MS. PORTER: Okay, thank you, your Honor.

9 THE COURT: All right.

10 Now I have something else to say.

11 MR. PARRENO: Your Honor, if I may?

12 THE COURT: Yes.

13 MR. PARRENO: What, um, just to make it clear,
14 what counsel on the other side has addressed has raised
15 another question for us, and perhaps if I may raise it
16 with the Court?

17 We wish to ask the Court for the opportunity to
18 provide one additional list of plaintiff members, grants
19 of plaintiff members that have not yet been provided to
20 the Court, and we're prepared to, um, provide that.

21 THE COURT: Work it out with them. If they
22 oppose, I will take that into account. But work it out
23 with them.

24 MR. PARRENO: Yes, thank you, your Honor.

25 THE COURT: Now there's another aspect of this

1 case, a darker aspect, one that I take very seriously,
2 and it's this.

3 I could not -- I cannot, as a United States
4 District Judge, read this record without coming to the
5 conclusion, and I draw this conclusion -- I am hesitant
6 to draw this conclusion, but I have an unflinching
7 obligation to draw it, that this represents racial
8 discrimination and discrimination against America's
9 LGBTQ community, that's what this is. I would be blind
10 not to call it out. My duty is to call it out. And I
11 do so.

12 Now clearly I have no hesitancy in enjoining
13 racial discrimination, I said during the course of the
14 argument, and it is the law and I must uphold it, and I
15 have no hesitancy in upholding it. The extirpation of
16 affirmative action is a legitimate government policy.
17 It is not a license to discriminate on the basis of
18 color. It simply is not. That's what the Civil War
19 amendments are about. Any discrimination, any
20 discrimination by our government is so wrong that it
21 requires the Court to enjoin it, and at an appropriate
22 time I'm going to do it.

23 Having said that, I welcome -- if the parties
24 wish, though I don't require any extension of the
25 record, evidence as to harm so that I may more carefully

1 and accurately frame such an injunction. That's racial
2 discrimination.

3 It is palpably clear that these directives and
4 that the set of terminated, um, grants here also are
5 designed to, um, frustrate, to stop research that may
6 bear on the health -- we're talking about health here,
7 the health of Americans, of our LGBTQ community. That's
8 appalling. Having said it, I have very real questions
9 about whether this Court has the power to enjoin it. I
10 do not assert such a power, though I find the record
11 will be clear to anyone that it has and is occurring
12 under this, um, under what's going on.

13 Now I'm speaking only of health care, I'm speaking
14 only of the parties before me, nothing else. I don't
15 have a record as to that. It's not the province of this
16 Court just to invade against discrimination. But on
17 this record, these two aspects of discrimination are so
18 clear that I would fail in my duty if I did not note it.

19 And so the parties are invited, as to those two
20 aspects and -- though I make no finding with respect to
21 it, any harm to the issues involving women's health.
22 Gender differences are an appropriate area of research
23 and research and, um, trying to advance the frontiers of
24 science so that all Americans have the best health care
25 that we can afford.

1 You will meet and inform the Court as to when --
2 if any party wishes -- I am bound by case-in-
3 controversy, I say what I will receive evidence on, but
4 I do not require anything. I've said everything that I
5 am able to say. And while there's another phase to this
6 case, on this discrimination issue, I am prepared to
7 receive evidence, but I do not require it.

8 If the parties wish to present evidence, you'll
9 inform me as to when you're prepared to begin such
10 evidentiary -- because defense counsel is correct, they
11 have the right to cross-examine as to that, and at least
12 as to any discrimination as to LGBTQ people, they -- it
13 may very well be that while I can recognize it and call
14 it out, I have no power to enter injunctions with
15 respect to it. But I'm certainly open to considering
16 that.

17 But let me say something about racial
18 discrimination here. I've never seen a record where
19 racial discrimination was so palpable. I've sat on this
20 bench now for 40 years, I've never seen government
21 racial discrimination like this. And I confine my
22 remarks to this record, to health care. And I ask
23 myself, how -- how can this be, because on this record
24 anyway, I don't see anyone pushing back against it?

25 I don't -- take a look at the people who have been

1 named as defendants here, one of them is a cabinet-level
2 officer. The other one is, not the same individual, but
3 is now the Director of the National Institutes of
4 Health. And though I needed help as to what an "IC" is,
5 there are other distinguished, um, at the National
6 Institutes of Health level and their subsidiary
7 institutes, these are distinguished doctors, they are
8 people whose profession has been devoted to the American
9 people, to our society. All our society. They are all
10 American citizens.

11 Now I don't claim any high moral ground here. I'm
12 a United States District Judge, I have the protections
13 that the Founders wrote into the Constitution, along
14 with imposing upon me a duty to speak the truth in every
15 case, and I try to do that. And so I've asked myself,
16 what if I didn't have those protections? What if my job
17 was on the line, my profession, all the career to which
18 I have devoted whatever poor skill I have, would I have
19 stood up against all of this? Would I have said, "You
20 can't do this, you are bearing down on people of color
21 because of their color. The Constitution will not
22 permit that." I see nothing in this record.

23 And, you know, when I ask myself that question,
24 without the protections of --

25 (Phone rings.)

1 THE COURT: I was going pretty well there.

2 (Laughter.)

3 THE COURT: Okay.

4 -- without the protections of an independent
5 judiciary so necessary to our society, as I know my own
6 heart, I do not have an answer to that question, for
7 myself, and that makes me unutterably sad.

8 And so we're going to recess. But is it true of
9 our society as a whole, have we fallen so low? Have we
10 no shame?

11 We'll recess.

12 (Recess, 2:35 p.m.)

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION;)
IBIS REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH;)
INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED)
AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE, AND)
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT)
WORKERS (UAW); BRITTANY CHARLTON;)
KATIE EDWARDS; PETER LURIE; and)
NICOLE MAPHIS,)
)
Plaintiffs,)
v.)
)
NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH;)
JAY BHATTACHARYA, in his official)
capacity as Director of the)
National Institutes of Health;)
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH)
AND HUMAN SERVICES; and ROBERT F.)
KENNEDY, JR., in his official)
capacity as Secretary of the)
United States Department of Health)
and Human Services,)
)
Defendants.)
)

CIVIL ACTION NO.
25-10787-WGY

YOUNG, D. J.

May 30, 2025

MEMORANDUM AND ORDER

This civil action brought by the American Public Health Association ("APHA"), IBIS Reproductive Health ("Ibis"), the International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers ("UAW"), Dr. Brittany Charlton, Dr. Katie Edwards, Dr. Peter Lurie, and Dr. Nicole Maphis

(collectively, "the Plaintiffs") seeks declaratory and injunctive relief against the National Institutes of Health, Director Jay Bhattacharya in his official capacity, and Secretary Robert F. Kennedy, Jr. in his official capacity (collectively, "the Public Officials"). It is one of many lawsuits across the nation that allege that the current Administration's policies have been implemented in an unlawful manner, in violation of the Administrative Procedure Act and the Constitution, by agencies of the Executive Branch.

The Plaintiffs filed a motion for a preliminary injunction, and, consistent with its usual practice, this Court promptly scheduled a hearing and collapsed the motion into a trial on the merits pursuant to Rule 65(a) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. The Court construed the parties' submissions on that motion for preliminary injunction as a motion to dismiss, ECF No. 66, which, for the reasons stated below, is ALLOWED in part as to Counts IV, VI, and VII which are dismissed without prejudice, and DENIED in part as to the remaining Counts.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Procedural History

The Plaintiffs filed suit against the Public Officials on April 2, 2025. See Compl., ECF No. 1. On April 25, 2025, the Plaintiffs filed a Motion for Preliminary Injunction, which has been fully briefed. Pls.' Mot. Prelim. Inj., ("Pls.' Mot."),

ECF No. 37; Mem. Law Supp. Pls.' Mot. Prelim. Inj. ("Pls.' Mem."), ECF No. 41; Defs.' Opp'n Pls.' Mot. Prelim. Inj. ("Defs.' Opp'n"), ECF No. 66; Pls.' Reply Supp. Pls.' Mot. Prelim. Inj. ("Pls.' Reply"), ECF No. 71; Suppl. Br. Standing Pl. UAW, ECF No. 79.¹

On May 1, 2025 this action was randomly reassigned to this session of the Court. Elec. Notice Reassignment, ECF No. 52. This Court promptly scheduled a hearing on the preliminary injunction motion for May 22, 2025. Elec. Clerk's Notes, ECF No. 77. The motion for preliminary injunction was collapsed into a trial on the merits pursuant to Rule 65(a) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, the opposition to the motion was construed as a motion to dismiss, and the Plaintiffs' reply was construed as an opposition. Id. The parties accepted the Court's invitation to hear the motion at that time, the Court heard argument on the motion to dismiss, and it took the matter under advisement. Id.

B. Facts Alleged

The Court takes the following facts almost verbatim from the Complaint, and accepts them as true for purposes of the motion to dismiss. Quotation marks are omitted for readability.

¹ The Court also received submissions from amici. See ECF Nos. 76 and 81. The Court is grateful for these helpful submissions.

The Court presumes familiarity with the history of the National Institutes of Health ("NIH"), the types of grants it awards, and the grant process, skipping to the salient allegations. Compl. ¶¶ 26-80.

1. Executive Orders 14151, 14168, and 14173

Beginning on January 20, 2025, President Trump issued a series of executive orders ("EOs"). Compl. ¶ 80. In the first EO mentioned in the Complaint, Executive Order No. 14151, entitled "Ending Radical and Wasteful Government DEI Programs and Preferencing," the President declared that the prior administration "forced illegal and immoral discrimination programs, going by the name 'diversity, equity, and inclusion' (DEI), into virtually all aspects of the Federal Government, in areas ranging from airline safety to the military." See Exec. Order 14151, 90 Fed. Reg. 8339 (Jan. 20, 2025) ("EO 14151"). EO 14151 instructs the Attorney General and others to "coordinate the termination of all discriminatory programs, including illegal DEI and 'diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility' (DEIA) mandates, policies, programs, preferences, and activities in the Federal Government, under whatever name they appear." Id. ¶ 81 (citing EO 14151). Additionally, it directs each federal agency head to "terminate, to the maximum extent allowed by law, all 'equity-related' grants or contracts" within 60 days. Id.

On January 21, 2025, President Trump issued Executive Order No. 14173, entitled "Ending Illegal Discrimination and Restoring Merit-Based Opportunity." See Exec. Order 14173, 90 Fed. Reg. 8633 (Jan. 21, 2025) ("EO 14173"). Similar to EO 14151, to address the purported "immoral race- and sex-based preferences under the guise of so-called [DEI] or [DEIA]," the order requires the Director of the OMB to "[e]xcise references to DEI and DEIA principles, under whatever name they may appear, from Federal acquisition, contracting, grants, and financial assistance procedures" and to "[t]erminate all 'diversity,' 'equity,' 'equitable decision-making,' 'equitable deployment of financial and technical assistance,' 'advancing equity,' and like mandates, requirements, programs, or activities, as appropriate." Compl. ¶ 82.

With respect to gender, on January 20, 2025, the President also issued Executive Order 14168, "Defending Women from Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government," directing that "federal funds shall not be used to promote gender ideology," instructing federal agencies to revise grant conditions accordingly, and defining "gender ideology" as a "false claim" that "replaces the biological category of sex with an ever-shifting concept of self-assessed gender identity," and that "includes the idea that there is a vast spectrum of genders that are disconnected from one's sex." Id. ¶ 83

(quoting Exec. Order 14168, 90 Fed. Reg. 8615 (Jan. 20, 2025) ("EO 14168")).

2. OMB Issues Guidance Based Upon the Executive Orders

On January 27, 2025, the Office of Management and Budget ("OMB") issued a memorandum directing all federal agencies -- including the NIH -- to "temporarily pause all activities related to obligation or disbursement of all Federal financial assistance, and all other relevant agency activities that may be implicated by [the Eos, supra], including, but not limited to, financial assistance for DEI, woke gender ideology, and the green new deal." Id. ¶ 84

3. The NIH Implements the Executive Orders and OMB Guidance

On February 12, 2025, the NIH issued a memorandum stating that it "is in the process of reevaluating the agency's priorities based on the goals of the new administration." Id. ¶ 87. That memorandum states that the "NIH will effectuate the administration's goals over time, but given recent court orders, this cannot be a factor in [Institutions and Centers' ("ICs")] funding decisions at this time." Id. The memorandum also indicates that "[a]dditional details on future funding actions related to the agency's goals will be provided under a separate memo." Id.

On February 13, 2025, NIH issued another memorandum to IC chief grant management officers ("February 13 Memo"), that announced "hard funding restrictions" on "awards where the program promotes or takes part in diversity, equity, and inclusion [sic] ('DEI') initiatives" with those restrictions applying "to new and continuation awards made on or after February 14, 2025." Id. ¶88. The memorandum also states that, "[i]f the sole purpose of the grant, cooperative agreement, other transaction award (including modifications), or supplement supports DEI activities, then the award must be fully restricted. The restrictions will remain in place until the agency conducts an internal review for payment integrity." Id.

On February 28, 2025, the NIH issued staff "guidance" ("February 28 Guidance") that rescinded the February 13 memorandum, but expanded on its core anti-DEI messaging, stating: "NIH will no longer prioritize research and research training programs that focus on Diversity, Equity and Inclusion (DEI) Prior to issuing all awards (competing and non-competing) or approving requests for carryover, ICs must review the specific aims[,] assess whether the proposed project contains any DEI research activities or DEI language that give the perception that NIH funds can be used to support these activities." Id. ¶ 92. The memorandum also instructs officials to "completely excise all DEI activities[.]" Id.

The February 28 Guidance identifies four categories of awards and mandates actions for each category deemed "DEI related":

- "Category 1" - the "sole purpose of the project is DEI related (e.g., diversity supplements or conference grant where the purpose of the meeting is diversity), and/or the application was received in response to a [Notice of Funding Opportunities] that was unpublished as outlined above." For projects construed as Category 1, "ICs must not issue the award."
- "Category 2" - the project "partially supports DEI activities (i.e., the project may still be viable if those aims or activities are negotiated out, without significant changes from the original peer-reviewed scope) this [sic] means DEI activities are ancillary to the purpose of the project [sic]. In some cases, not readily visible [sic]." For projects construed as Category 2, "[i]f the IC and the applicant/recipient cannot reach an agreement" to renegotiate the scope of the project, "or the project is no longer viable without the DEI related activities, the IC cannot proceed with the award." For any such ongoing project, "the IC must work to negotiate a bilateral termination of the project," but "[w]here bilateral termination cannot be reached, the IC must unilaterally terminate the project."
- "Category 3" - the project "does not support DEI activities, but may contain language related to DEI (e.g., statement regarding institutional commitment to diversity in the 'Facilities and Other Resources' attachment and terminology related to structural racism-this is not all-inclusive)." For projects construed as Category 3, ICs "must request an updated [application or progress report] with the DEI language removed," and only once the language has been removed may the IC "proceed with issuing the award."
- "Category 4" - the project does "not support any DEI activities." ICs "may proceed with issuing the award."
- Category 5 projects are those awarded "to [e]ntities in certain foreign countries." According to that part of the document, "Additional guidance on awards to foreign

entities is forthcoming. At this time, ICs should hold all awards to entities located" in certain countries, including South Africa.

Id. ¶ 97.

On March 25, 2025, the NIH issued further guidance ("the March 25 Guidance"). Id. ¶ 96. The March 25 Guidance also identifies a list of forbidden topics for NIH grants and prescribes language to be included in termination letters, identifying "China," "DEI," and "Transgender issues," "Vaccine Hesitancy" and "COVID-related" research. Id. ¶¶ 98-99. Like the February 25 Guidance, the March 25 Guidance directs NIH officials to revise Notices of Award that are terminated pursuant to the Directives, and instructs them to include the following (or substantially similar) language in those revisions: "It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize [insert termination category language from Appendix 3, verbatim]. Therefore, this project is terminated." Id. ¶ 100.

The March 25 Guidance also features an FAQ section that includes, among other instructions:

When ICs issue revised [Notices of Award ("NOAs")][to terminate awards, do they have to use the exact language provided by HHS in the termination term? Yes, ICs must use the exact language provided in Appendix 3, with no edits.

Id. ¶ 101. In addition, regarding "Notice of Funding Opportunity (NOFO) Guidance," the document has only the following text: "[pending]." Id. ¶ 102.

In sum, the Plaintiffs allege that the Directives -- comprised of the February 28 Guidance, the March 25 Guidance, and other versions of these documents that articulated areas of research that purportedly "no longer effectuate[] agency priorities" -- fail to define critical terms, such as "diversity, equity, and inclusion" or "DEI"; "artificial and non-scientific categories"; "amorphous equity objectives"; "[t]ransgender issues"; "gender identity"; or "COVID-related." Id. ¶ 103.

The Plaintiffs allege that pursuant to the Directives, each termination notice begins by identifying the project number, identifying which year's Grants Policy Statement applies to the grantee's project, and stating that the letter "constitutes a notice of termination," purportedly pursuant to that Grants Policy Statement and 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(2). Id. ¶ 106. The notice also emphasizes that "obligations generally should be determined by reference to the law in effect when the grants were made." Id. Citing the pertinent year's Grants Policy Statement, each notice states, "[a]t the time your grant was issued, 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(2) permitted termination '[b]y the Federal awarding agency or pass-through entity, to the greatest extent authorized by law, if an award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities.'" Id. ¶ 107.

Each notice includes one of a few slightly different scripts stating that the grant "no longer effectuates agency priorities." Id. ¶ 108. The language in these notices repeats the mandatory language from the appendices, described above, and is nearly identical across notices. Id. ¶¶ 108-09. Each notice outlines the appeals process. Id. ¶ 110.

The Plaintiffs allege that for the vast majority, if not all, of the grants terminated since February 28, 2025, the notices: (1) offer no other justifications for termination, (2) fail to explain how or why the relevant grant fails to "effectuate agency priorities" or otherwise warrants termination, and (3) fail to cite any project-specific information or data, much less any reasons to disregard that information or data. Id. ¶¶ 111-12. Further, the Plaintiffs allege that the assertions in the termination notices about the lack of scientific validity, rigor, or public health benefit of the studies contradict the conclusions of NIH and the external scientists who previously reviewed these projects and chose to award those grants in the first place, including the multiple panels of experts in the grantees' fields who judged the proposals based on criteria such as the lead scientist's track record, the rigor of the study's design, and the project's likelihood of addressing a pressing biomedical-research issue. Id. ¶ 112. These notices also purportedly do not address NIH's

prior assessment that the projects do meet agency priorities and are aligned with the statutory mandate and goals of NIH and the pertinent IC. Id. Finally, the Plaintiffs claim the notices reveal that NIH failed to consider any reliance interests at stake for ongoing grants. Id. ¶ 113.

For grants that were terminated, the NIH also issued revised NOAs with new end-of-project dates that reflected immediate or near-immediate termination. Id. ¶ 114. These revised NOAs included new termination language with statements that were substantively similar to the language included in Appendix 3 of the February 28 Guidance and March 25 Guidance, and made explicit reference to "2 C.F.R. §200.340 as implemented in NIH [Grants Policy Statement] Section 8.5.2" as the regulatory authority for these terminations. Id.

According to the Plaintiffs, evidence suggests the language in the termination notices did not originate with NIH or the Department of Health and Human Services staff but was instead drafted by staff from the Department of Government Efficiency ("DOGE"). For example, metadata associated with at least one such notice shows it was authored by "JoshuaAHanley," apparently a 2021 law school graduate, who works at DOGE. Id. ¶ 115.

4. Results of the Grant Terminations and Delays

The Plaintiffs allege that the terminations cut across diverse topics that NIH is statutorily required to research.

Id. ¶ 116. These terminations purportedly compromise NIH's ability to fulfill, among other things, its statutory obligations. Id. ¶¶ 118-24. The Plaintiffs provide specific examples of how the termination of the research funding of the Individual Plaintiffs, Ibis, and the Associational Plaintiffs' members affects medical and scientific research. Id. ¶¶ 125-94.

II. ANALYSIS

A. Standard of Review

Pursuant to Rule 8(a)(2) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure, a complaint "that states a claim for relief must contain . . . a short and plain statement of the claim showing that the pleader is entitled to relief." Fed. R. Civ. P. 8(a). To test the sufficiency of the pleading, a defendant can file a motion to dismiss pursuant to Fed. R. Civ. P. 12(b)(6), and, to test the subject matter jurisdiction of the Court, a motion to dismiss pursuant to Fed. R. Civ. P. 12(b)(1). "When faced with motions to dismiss under both 12(b)(1) and 12(b)(6), a district court, absent good reason to do otherwise, should ordinarily decide the 12(b)(1) motion first." Katz v. Pershing, LLC, 806 F. Supp. 2d 452, 456 (D. Mass. 2011) (Stearns, J.) (quoting Northeast Erectors Ass'n of the BTEA v. Secretary of Labor, Occupational Safety & Health Admin., 62 F.3d 37, 39 (1st Cir. 1995), aff'd, 672 F.3d 64 (1st Cir. 2012)). Whether a motion is brought under Rule 12(b)(1) or 12(b)(6), "the reviewing court

must take all of plaintiff's allegations as true and must view them, along with all reasonable inferences therefrom, in the light most favorable to plaintiff." Verlus v. Experian Info. Sols., Inc., No. 23-CV-11426-DJC, 2025 WL 836588, at *1 (D. Mass. Mar. 17, 2025) (Casper, J.). The complaint must include sufficient factual allegations that, accepted as true, "state a claim to relief that is plausible on its face." Bell Atl. Corp. v. Twombly, 550 U.S. 544, 570 (2007). Courts "draw every reasonable inference" in favor of the plaintiff, Berezin v. Regency Sav. Bank, 234 F.3d 68, 70 (1st Cir. 2000), but they disregard statements that "merely offer legal conclusions couched as fact or threadbare recitals of the elements of a cause of action," Ocasio-Hernández v. Fortuño-Burset, 640 F.3d 1, 12 (1st Cir. 2011) (cleaned up). Accordingly, the Court addresses the jurisdictional issues first, and then proceeds to the merits arguments.

B. The Motion to Dismiss for Lack of Subject Matter Jurisdiction

As an initial matter, this Court rules that the motion to dismiss for lack of subject matter jurisdiction based on challenges relating to the Tucker Act, sovereign immunity, programmatic attack, jurisdiction over individual actions, and agency discretion, is DENIED substantially for the same reasons set forth in Massachusetts v. Kennedy, No. CV 25-10814-WGY, 2025

WL 1371785, at *5 (D. Mass. May 12, 2025), a related case before this Court.

That leaves standing. Just a few weeks ago, this Court wrote at length about standing in American Ass'n of Univ. Professors v. Rubio, No. CV 25-10685-WGY, --- F.Supp. 3d ---, 2025 WL 1235084, at *13-18 (D. Mass. Apr. 29, 2025), so much of this will be familiar.

"As Justice Scalia memorably said, Article III requires a plaintiff to first answer a basic question: 'What's it to you?'" Food & Drug Admin. v. Alliance for Hippocratic Med., 602 U.S. 367, 379 (2024) (quoting Antonin Scalia, The Doctrine of Standing as an Essential Element of the Separation of Powers, 17 Suffolk U. L. Rev. 881, 882 (1983)). As the Supreme Court recently explained, "[f]or a plaintiff to get in the federal courthouse door and obtain a judicial determination of what the governing law is, the plaintiff cannot be a mere bystander, but instead must have a 'personal stake' in the dispute," and "courts do not opine on legal issues in response to citizens who might 'roam the country in search of governmental wrongdoing.'" Id. (first quoting TransUnion LLC v. Ramirez, 594 U.S. 413, 423 (2021); and then quoting Valley Forge Christian Coll. v. Americans United for Separation of Church and State, Inc., 454 U.S. 464, 487 (1982)). "In particular, the standing requirement means that the federal courts decide some contested legal

questions later rather than sooner, thereby allowing issues to percolate and potentially be resolved by the political branches in the democratic process," and that "the federal courts may never need to decide some contested legal questions." Id. at 380. Indeed, "[o]ur system of government leaves many crucial decisions to the political processes,' where democratic debate can occur and a wide variety of interests and views can be weighed.'" Id. (quoting Schlesinger v. Reservists Comm. to Stop the War, 418 U.S. 208, 227 (1974)).

Here, the Public Officials argue that the APHA and UAW lack associational standing. Defs.' Opp'n 21-22. The Public Officials do not contest that Ibis has standing, and this Court rules that it does.

In order to establish standing, the APHA and UAW must show that they each have suffered an "injury in fact" that is "concrete and particularized," and, if based on future action, "actual or imminent" rather than "conjectural" or "hypothetical"; (2) "fairly traceable" to the alleged conduct of the defendant; and (3) "likely" redressable by a favorable decision." Lujan v. Defenders of Wildlife, 504 U.S. 555, 560-61 (1992) (cleaned up). "The plaintiff 'bears the burden of establishing standing as of the time [s]he brought th[e] lawsuit and maintaining it thereafter,'" and "must support each element of standing 'with the manner and degree of evidence required at

the successive stages of the litigation.'" Murthy v. Missouri, 603 U.S. 43, 57 (2024) (alterations in original) (first quoting Carney v. Adams, 592 U.S. 53, 59 (2020); and then quoting Lujan, 504 U.S. at 561). "'[P]laintiffs must demonstrate standing for each claim that they press' against each defendant, 'and for each form of relief that they seek.'" Id. at 61 (quoting TransUnion LLC, 594 U.S. at 431). "At the pleading stage, [the Court] 'appl[ies] [to questions of standing] the same plausibility standard used to evaluate a motion under Rule 12(b)(6)"; the Plaintiffs, therefore, "'need not definitively prove [their] injury or disprove ... defenses' but need only 'plausibly plead on the face of [their] complaint' facts supporting standing." In re Fin. Oversight & Mgmt. Bd. for P.R., 110 F.4th 295, 307-08 (1st Cir. 2024) (first quoting Gustavsen v. Alcon Lab'ys, Inc., 903 F.3d 1, 7 (1st Cir. 2018); and then quoting Tyler v. Hennepin Cnty., 598 U.S. 631, 637 (2023)).

Associational standing allows an organization to sue on behalf of its members when "(a) its members would otherwise have standing to sue in their own right; (b) the interests it seeks to protect are germane to the organization's purpose; and (c) neither the claim asserted nor the relief requested requires the participation of individual members in the lawsuit." Hunt v. Washington State Apple Advert. Comm'n, 432 U.S. 333, 343 (1977);

see also In re Fin. Oversight, 110 F. 4th at 308. The Public Officials challenge the second and third elements.

The Public Officials argue that “nothing in Plaintiffs’ Complaint . . . or in their PI motion establish that the interests that organizational Plaintiffs seeks to protect are germane to their purpose” and that this is so “particularly with respect to the UAW, a labor union aimed at improving working conditions for its members.” Defs.’ Opp’n. 22 & n. 13. Not so. As APHA argues, the mission of APHA is to “[b]uild public health capacity and promote effective policy and practice.” Decl. Georges C. Benjamin, M.D. ¶ 2, ECF No. 38-23; see also Compl. ¶ 19 (describing APHA as, among other things, “act[ing] to build capacity in the public health community and champion[ing] optimal, equitable health and well-being for all.”). The Public Officials’ alleged actions directly interfere with the APHA’s stated mission and core purpose as supported by the allegations in the Complaint. This element is therefore easily met.

The UAW argument is more nuanced. The Public Officials suggest a distinction between the UAW’s core advocacy for improved working conditions and the circumstances here, where, as alleged, UAW members have lost grant funding, had previously approved grants moved into administrative limbo, or had grant programs they were prepared to apply for abruptly change, requiring them to leave their current postdoctoral positions or

otherwise significantly alter their career paths. Compl. ¶¶ 167-178. The UAW briefed this issue for this Court in response to questioning at the hearing, and argued that the UAW “**exist[s]** to represent [its] members’ interests in relation to their terms and conditions of employment,” pointing to cases where unions have been held to have associational standing based on their members’ threatened jobs, benefits, or other conditions of employment. Suppl. Br. Regarding Standing Pl. UAW, ECF No. 79 2-3.

This Court is persuaded by these arguments, and by the reasoning of these prior decisions. See, e.g., New York v. McMahon, No. 25-10601, 2025 WL 1463009, at *18 (D. Mass. May 22, 2025) (Joun, J.) (ruling that labor union plaintiffs have standing to sue on behalf of their members regarding actions taken to shut down the Department of Education where members “rely on federal student aid to afford their education and on positions created through federal work study, without which Union Plaintiffs’ members would be forced to forgo higher education, default on existing loans, or potentially opt out of careers in public service”). Although some of the cases cited by UAW relate to issues with which the plaintiff unions were more directly involved, see International Union, United Auto., Aerospace & Agric. Implement Workers of Am. v. Brock, 477 U.S. 274, 286 (1986) (“paus[ing] only briefly” to find germaneness

requirement satisfied where UAW had lobbied for the precise benefits at issue in the suit), this Court is reminded that the purpose of the Hunt germaneness test is not to nitpick subtle gradations of harm, but rather to "raise[] an assurance that the association's litigators will themselves have a stake in the resolution of the dispute, and thus be in a position to serve as the defendant's natural adversary," ensuring "adversarial vigor," United Food & Com. Workers Union Local 751 v. Brown Grp., Inc., 517 U.S. 544, 555-56 (1996). The UAW's submissions regarding its purpose and the impact of the challenged actions on its members, and its representations in court, reassure this Court that its plaintiff members will not be prejudiced by a lack of vigor here. See Decl. Neal Sweeney on Behalf of UAW, ECF No. 38-25.

The Public Officials' argument that the organizations' individual members must participate in this lawsuit fares no better. The Public Officials argue that the "sheer number of declarations submitted by the organizational Plaintiffs' members in an attempt to show irreparable harm" demonstrates that those "members must participate to show entitlement to injunctive relief -- particularly if this Court follows the proper practice of limiting any injunction to those that have shown that the Directives will cause them irreparable harm." Defs.' Opp'n 21. The Plaintiffs argue in response that the referenced

declarations were submitted not to show standing but "to demonstrate the breadth of devastation that [the Public Officials'] actions are causing the medical community and public health," and the "boilerplate" nature of the Public Officials' reasoning with respect to the challenged terminations. Pls.' Reply 7-8. This Court agrees that the Plaintiffs here have challenged sweeping agency actions with, as alleged, virtually indistinguishable reasoning as regards the individual grants affected, and thus that the participation of individual members in this suit is not required.

For these reasons, this Court rules that both the APHA and UAW have associational standing to sue on their members' behalf.

C. The Motion to Dismiss on the Merits

1. The Administrative Procedure Act and Fifth Amendment Void for Vagueness Claims, Counts I - VI

The Administrative Procedure Act ("APA"), 5 U.S.C. § 701 et seq., provides that any "person suffering legal wrong because of agency action, or adversely affected or aggrieved by agency action within the meaning of a relevant statute, is entitled to judicial review thereof." 5 U.S.C. § 702. The codified scope of judicial review under this statutory right of judicial review acts as a guardrail against unlawful agency actions under

Section 706.² The APA was enacted by Congress in 1946 "as a check upon administrators whose zeal might otherwise have carried them to excesses not contemplated in legislation creating their offices," Loper Bright Enters. v. Raimondo, 603 U.S. 369, 391 (2024) (quoting United States v. Morton Salt Co., 338 U.S. 632, 644 (1950)), and "sets forth the procedures by

² Section 706 provides in pertinent part:

To the extent necessary to decision and when presented, the reviewing court shall decide all relevant questions of law, interpret constitutional and statutory provisions, and determine the meaning or applicability of the terms of an agency action. The reviewing court shall—

- (1) compel agency action unlawfully withheld or unreasonably delayed; and
- (2) hold unlawful and set aside agency action, findings, and conclusions found to be—
 - (A) arbitrary, capricious, an abuse of discretion, or otherwise not in accordance with law;
 - (B) contrary to constitutional right, power, privilege, or immunity;
 - (C) in excess of statutory jurisdiction, authority, or limitations, or short of statutory right;

.

In making the foregoing determinations, the court shall review the whole record or those parts of it cited by a party, and due account shall be taken of the rule of prejudicial error.

5 U.S.C. § 706.

which federal agencies are accountable to the public and their actions subject to review by the courts," Department of Homeland Sec. v. Regents of the Univ. of Cal., 591 U.S. 1, 16 (2020) (quoting Franklin v. Massachusetts, 505 U.S. 788, 796 (1992)). Broadly, the APA establishes a rebuttable "presumption of judicial review [for] one 'suffering legal wrong because of agency action.'" Id. (alteration in original) (quoting Abbott Lab'ys v. Gardner, 387 U.S. 136, 140 (1967)). The rebuttal of this presumption is made "by a showing that the relevant statute 'preclude[s]' review, § 701(a)(1), or that the 'agency action is committed to agency discretion by law,' § 701(a)(2)."³ Id. at 17. The first exception is self-explanatory, and the Supreme Court has read the second exception "quite narrowly," applying "it to those rare 'administrative decision[s] traditionally left to agency discretion.'" Id. (alteration in original) (first quoting Weyerhaeuser Co. v. United Staes Fish & Wildlife Serv., 586 U.S. 9, 23 (2018); and then quoting Lincoln v. Vigil, 508 U.S. 182, 191 (1993)); Department of Com. v. New York, 588 U.S.

³ Section 701 provides in pertinent part:

(a) This chapter applies, according to the provisions thereof, except to the extent that--

- (1) statutes preclude judicial review; or
- (2) agency action is committed to agency discretion by law.

5 U.S.C. § 701(a).

752, 772 (2019) (“[W]e have read the § 701(a)(2) exception for action committed to agency discretion ‘quite narrowly, restricting it to “those rare circumstances where the relevant statute is drawn so that a court would have no meaningful standard against which to judge the agency’s exercise of discretion.”’” (quoting Weyerhaeuser Co., 586 U.S. at 23)). Examples of decisions traditionally left to agency discretion include “a decision not to institute enforcement proceedings, or a decision by an intelligence agency to terminate an employee in the interest of national security.” New York, 588 U.S. at 772 (citations omitted). The Court’s review depends upon the type of claim made.

As to actions brought pursuant Section 706(2)(A), here Count I of the Complaint, the APA “instructs reviewing courts to set aside agency action that is ‘arbitrary, capricious, an abuse of discretion, or otherwise not in accordance with law.’” Id. at 771 (quoting 5 U.S.C. § 706(2)(A)). “An agency action qualifies as ‘arbitrary’ or ‘capricious’ if it is not ‘reasonable and reasonably explained.’” Ohio v. Environmental Prot. Agency, 603 U.S. 279, 292 (2024) (quoting Federal Commc’ns Comm’n v. Prometheus Radio Project, 592 U.S. 414, 423 (2021)).

Review by the Court under the arbitrary or capricious standard of Section 706(2)(A) is narrow, because all that is “required [is for] agencies to engage in ‘reasoned

decisionmaking.'" Regents of the Univ. of Cal., 591 U.S. at 16 (quoting Michigan v. Environmental Prot. Agency, 576 U.S. 743, 750 (2015)). To be sure, this Court may not "substitute its judgment for that of the agency," but rather "must ensure, among other things, that the agency has offered 'a satisfactory explanation for its action[,]' including a rational connection between the facts found and the choice made.'" Ohio, 603 U.S. at 292 (alteration in original) (first quoting Federal Commc'ns Com. v. Fox Television Stations, Inc., 556 U.S. 502, 513 (2009); and then quoting Motor Vehicle Mfrs. Ass'n of United States, Inc. v. State Farm Mut. Auto. Ins. Co., 463 U.S. 29, 43 (1983)). Said another way, this Court's review "simply ensures that the agency has acted within a zone of reasonableness and, in particular, has reasonably considered the relevant issues and reasonably explained the decision." Prometheus Radio Project, 592 U.S. at 423.

This Court, as a general proposition, is "ordinarily limited to evaluating the agency's contemporaneous explanation in light of the existing administrative record." New York, 588 U.S. at 780. In the usual course, this is because "further judicial inquiry into 'executive motivation' represents 'a substantial intrusion' into the workings of another branch of Government and should normally be avoided." Id. at 781 (quoting Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Hous. Dev. Corp., 429 U.S.

252, 268 n.18 (1977)). Indeed, this Court may neither "reject an agency's stated reasons for acting simply because the agency might also have had other unstated reasons" nor "set aside an agency's policymaking decision solely because it might have been influenced by political considerations or prompted by an Administration's priorities." Id. This general rule recognizes the reality that "[a]gency policymaking is not a 'rarified technocratic process, unaffected by political considerations or the presence of Presidential power.'" Id. (quoting Sierra Club v. Costle, 657 F.2d 298, 408 (D.C. Cir. 1981)). In fact, every Administration enjoys the benefit of the bully pulpit, and agency "decisions are routinely informed by unstated considerations of politics, the legislative process, public relations, interest group relations, foreign relations, and national security concerns (among others)." Id. Such routine decisions are not within the purview of this Court, but rather appropriately within the exclusive realm of the Executive Branch. The general rule presumes rational actors that are proceeding lawfully, as opposed to using lawful explanations as a means to unlawful ends.

Nevertheless, the Supreme Court has "recognized a narrow exception to the general rule against inquiring into the mental processes of administrative decisionmakers" upon a "strong showing of bad faith or improper behavior" -- such as a pretext

-- "where such an inquiry may be warranted" and, in appropriate circumstances, "may justify extra-record discovery." Id. (citations omitted). In particular, "unlike a typical case in which an agency may have both stated and unstated reasons for a decision," when "an explanation for agency action . . . is incongruent with what the record reveals about the agency's priorities and decisionmaking process," the Court is not required to "ignore the disconnect between the decision made and the explanation given." Id. at 784-85. While typically "review is deferential," it does not require the Court to blind itself to reality; it is "not required to exhibit a naiveté from which ordinary citizens are free." Id. at 785 (quoting United States v. Stanchich, 550 F.2d 1294, 1300 (2d Cir. 1977) (Friendly, J.)). The whole point of "[t]he reasoned explanation requirement of administrative law, after all, is . . . to ensure that agencies offer genuine justifications for important decisions, reasons that can be scrutinized by courts and the interested public." Id. The explanation must be the one invoked contemporaneously at the time of the action, not created in hindsight. Regents of the Univ. of Cal., 591 U.S. at 20-23.

An APA claim that agency action is "not in accordance with law" is a subpart of Section 706(2)(A), alleged here in Count II of the Complaint. In reviewing this claim "a reviewing court must uphold an agency's decision if it is: (1) devoid of legal

errors; and (2) “supported by any rational review of the record.” New York v. Trump, No. 25-CV-39-JJM-PAS, 2025 WL 715621, at *9 (D.R.I. Mar. 6, 2025) (quoting Mahoney v. Del Toro, 99 F.4th 25, 34 (1st Cir. 2024)).

An APA action brought under Section 706(2)(C), here Count III of the Complaint, challenges agency action “in excess of statutory jurisdiction, authority, or limitations, or short of statutory right.” Id. The “[C]ourt[] must exercise [its] independent judgment in deciding whether an agency has acted within its statutory authority.” Loper Bright, 603 U.S. at 412. “[T]he [C]ourt fulfills [its] role by recognizing constitutional delegations, ‘fix[ing] the boundaries of [the] delegated authority. . .and ensuring the agency has engaged in “‘reasoned decisionmaking”’ within those boundaries.” Id. at 395 (citation omitted) (first quoting Henry P. Monaghan, Marbury and the Administrative State, 83 Colum. L. Rev. 1, 27 (1983); and then quoting Michigan, 576 U.S. at 750). In sum, “Congress expects courts to do their ordinary job of interpreting statutes, with due respect for the views of the Executive Branch. And to the extent that Congress and the Executive Branch may disagree with how the courts have performed that job in a particular case, they are of course always free to act by revising the statute.” Id. at 403.

A claim brought under Section 706(2)(B), here Count IV, seeks to contest agency action "contrary to constitutional right, power, privilege, or immunity." 5 U.S.C. § 706(2)(B). "An analysis of whether agency action violates the APA because it is contrary to constitutional right mirrors the analysis of whether the agency action violates the relevant constitutional provision." National Educ. Ass'n v. United States Dept. of Educ., --- F.Supp. 3d ----, No. 25-CV-091-LM, 2025 WL 1188160, at *27 (D.N.H. Apr. 24, 2025).

Finally, claims seeking to "compel agency action unlawfully withheld," 5 U.S.C. § 706(1), "can proceed only where a plaintiff asserts that an agency failed to take a discrete agency action that it is required to take." Norton v. Southern Utah Wilderness All., 542 U.S. 55, 64 (2004) (emphasis omitted). This is a high standard inasmuch as "[t]he central question in evaluating such a claim is whether the agency's delay 'is so egregious that mandamus is warranted.'" Rezaii v. Kennedy, No. 1:24-CV-10838-JEK, 2025 WL 750215, at *4 (D. Mass. Feb. 24, 2025) (Kobick, J.) (quoting Kokajko v. Federal Energy Regul. Comm'n, 837 F.2d 524, 526 (1st Cir. 1988)).

With this outline of the law in mind, the Court proceeds to the parties' arguments.

The Public Officials first argue that the Section 706(2) claims (Counts I, II, III, IV) fail as matter of law because the

terminations complied with the terms of the agreements. Defs.' Opp'n 22. The Public Officials argue that 2 C.F.R. § 200.340 is incorporated into each Notice of Award, and that this regulation permits the Public Officials to terminate an award "if an award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities." Id. (citing 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(4)). The Public Officials omit the complete sentence, which provides significant context. Under the cited regulation, an agency can terminate an award "pursuant to the terms and conditions of the Federal award, including, **to the extent authorized by law**, if an award no longer effectuates the program goals or agency priorities." 2 C.F.R. § 200.340 (emphasis added). This is a distinction with a difference, because "this regulation only allows agencies to terminate . . . agreements 'to the extent authorized by law,'" and "this regulation cannot authorize actions that contravene statutory requirements, nor does it relieve [the Public Officials] of [their] duty to follow the law." Pacito v. Trump, No. 2:25-CV-255-JNW, 2025 WL 893530, at *9 (W.D. Wash. Mar. 24, 2025) (quoting 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(4)).

As an initial matter, it is undisputed that this regulation has not yet been adopted by HHS, and will not be adopted until October 2025; accordingly, the regulation is apparently inapplicable here. The Public Officials counter that the regulation has been incorporated into the terms and conditions

of the grantees' awards. Even if the regulation applied as a contractual term (which this Court need not decide), whether the "award no longer effectuates the programs goals or agency priorities" can **still** be challenged under the APA where the Plaintiffs allege a failure to provide a reasonable explanation. See American Ass'n of Colls. for Tchr. Educ. v. McMahon, No. 1:25-CV-00702-JRR, 2025 WL 833917, at *21 (D. Md. Mar. 17, 2025) (ruling that even if termination letters invoked a valid reason to terminate under 2 C.F.R. § 200.340, APA claims survived because the letters "fail[ed] to provide [the plaintiffs] any workable, sensible, or meaningful reason or basis for the termination of their awards"). The Court need go no further at the motion to dismiss stage.

The Public Officials next argue that their explanations were reasoned and reasonable under the circumstances. Defs.' Opp'n 26. At the motion to dismiss stage, the Complaint has plausibly alleged otherwise -- that the explanations are conclusory and vague. The first examples cite to undefined gender identity issues untethered to the specific terminated grants, with what looks more like a political statement than reasoning about the grants, and without any explanation as to why no corrective action is possible:

38-20

This award no longer effectuates agency priorities. Research programs based on gender identity are often unscientific, have little identifiable return on investment, and do nothing to enhance the health of many Americans. Many such studies ignore, rather than seriously examine, biological realities. It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize these research programs.

Although "NIH generally will suspend (rather than immediately terminate) a grant and allow the recipient an opportunity to take appropriate corrective action before NIH makes a termination decision,"⁽⁶⁾ no corrective action is possible here. The premise of this award is incompatible with agency priorities, and no modification of the project could align the project with agency priorities.

ECF No. 38-20 50; and again,

This award no longer effectuates agency priorities. Research programs based on gender identity are often unscientific, have little identifiable return on investment, and do nothing to enhance the health of many Americans. Many such studies ignore, rather than seriously examine, biological realities. It is the policy of NIH not to prioritize these research programs. Although "NIH generally will suspend (rather than immediately terminate) a grant and allow the recipient an opportunity to take appropriate corrective action before NIH makes a termination decision,"⁶ no corrective action is possible here. The premise of this award is incompatible with agency priorities, and no modification of the project could align the project with agency priorities.

ECF No. 38-24 37; and again, this time with so-called "DEI" language,

This award no longer effectuates agency priorities. NIH is obligated to carefully steward grant awards to ensure taxpayer dollars are used in ways that benefit the American people and improve their quality of life. Your project does not satisfy these criteria.

DEI: Research programs based primarily on artificial and non-scientific categories, including amorphous equity objectives, are antithetical to the scientific inquiry, do nothing to expand our knowledge of living systems, provide low returns on investment, and ultimately do not enhance health, lengthen life, or reduce illness. Worse, so-called diversity, equity, and inclusion ("DEI") studies are often used to support unlawful discrimination on the basis of race and other protected characteristics, which harms the

health of Americans. Therefore, it is the policy of NIH not to prioritize such research programs.

Although "NIH generally will suspend (rather than immediately terminate) a grant and allow the recipient an opportunity to take appropriate corrective action before NIH makes a termination decision,"⁶ no corrective action is possible here. The premise of Project Number [REDACTED] is incompatible with agency priorities, and no modification of the project could align the project with agency priorities.

ECF No. 38-28 146-47, and again,

This award no longer effectuates agency priorities. Research programs based primarily on artificial and non-scientific categories, including amorphous equity objectives, are antithetical to the scientific inquiry, do nothing to expand our knowledge of living systems, provide low returns on investment, and ultimately do not enhance health, lengthen life, or reduce illness. Worse, so-called diversity, equity, and inclusion (“DEI”) studies are often used to support unlawful discrimination on the basis of race and other protected characteristics, which harms the health of Americans. Therefore, it is the policy of NIH not to prioritize such research programs.

Although “NIH generally will suspend (rather than immediately terminate) a grant and allow the recipient an opportunity to take appropriate corrective action before NIH makes a termination decision,”⁶ no corrective action is possible here. The premise of this award is incompatible with agency priorities, and no modification of the project could align the project with agency priorities.

ECF No. 38-32 34-35. The Public Officials argue that the Plaintiffs are merely disagreeing with actions of the agencies “designed to align with a democratically elected administration.” Defs.’ Opp’n. 25-26 & n. 15. While the Public Officials may prove this at a hearing or trial on the merits with a more fulsome record, taking all inferences in favor of the Plaintiffs, the Court cannot make this conclusion at this stage. Indeed, another session of this Court, and other courts, have recently found similar, and in some cases almost identical language in a different agency’s terminations sufficient to issue a temporary restraining order. California v. United States Dep’t of Educ., No. CV 25-10548-MJJ, 2025 WL 760825, at *3 (D. Mass. Mar. 10, 2025) (Joun, J.) (“In the absence of any

reasoning, rationale, or justification for the termination of the grants, the Department's action is arbitrary and capricious."); see also Southern Educ. Found. v. United States Dep't of Educ., No. CV 25-1079 (PLF), 2025 WL 1453047, at *17 (D.D.C. May 21, 2025) ("The Court finds that the Department's Termination Letter provides no reasoned explanation for the grant termination. In fact, the Termination Letter's list of possible bases 'is so broad and vague as to be limitless; devoid of import, even.'" (citing McMahon, 2025 WL 833917, at *21)).⁴ The Public Officials' motion to dismiss is denied on this ground.

Next, the Public Officials argue that their grant terminations are consistent with the relevant statutes requiring them to support research into "minority-related topics," claiming that there are other "DEI"-related grants that are

⁴ The Court observes that neither the EOs, nor any of the policy statements to follow, nor counsel for the Public Officials, has, to date, provide a working definition of Diversity, Equity and Inclusion. The Court pressed this issue at the hearing on this motion, but no satisfactory answer was provided by the Public Officials. This is not the first court to grapple with the absence of a definition of DEI. See National Ass'n of Diversity Officers in Higher Educ. v. Trump, No. 1:25-CV-00333-ABA, 2025 WL 573764, at *26 (D. Md. Feb. 21, 2025) ("[N]either [EO 14151] nor [EO 14173] gives guidance on what the new administration considers to constitute 'illegal DEI discrimination and preferences,' or '[p]romoting "diversity,"' or 'illegal DEI and DEIA policies,' or what types of 'DEI programs or principles' the new administration considers 'illegal' and is seeking to 'deter[.]'" (citations omitted)).

proceeding.⁵ Defs. Opp'n 27-28. The Public Officials also point to continued support of certain grants for the "training and development of a diverse corp of health science researchers." Opp'n Mem. 27.⁶ The Plaintiffs attack the substance of the Public Officials' factual claims, Pls.' Reply 8-9, and at the motion to dismiss stage, even if true the maintenance of some so-called "DEI" programs or programs that promoted diversity in research, does not necessarily mean agency action with respect to other programs was neither arbitrary nor capricious.

⁵ The Court observes that Public Officials appear to fold "minority-related topics" into DEI. Defs.' Opp'n 27. The Plaintiffs also pick up on this definitional disparity. Pls.' Reply 8 ("Defendants fail to define 'DEI grants' or how, for example, a grant that addresses specific challenges related to kidney health faced by racial minorities constitutes 'DEI.'").

⁶ Amici Curiae describe the importance of fostering a diverse corp of health professionals, describing the disadvantages of a homogenous research community, and explaining advantages such as illuminating blind spots and fostering innovation that a diverse research community brings. See Br. Amici Curiae Biological and Biomedical Research Societies 6-8, ECF No. 81. As Amici posits:

Science is about solving complex problems, and progress in scientific endeavors demands creativity, curiosity, and drive. Maintaining a rich and vibrant collaboration in science, and bringing different perspectives and skillsets to the forefront of discovery, is paramount to maintaining America's competitive edge in our evolving world. As Congress—and NIH itself—have long understood, "[d]iversity enhances excellence and innovation." It does not stifle them.

Id.

The Public Officials also argue that they have complied with the NIH's statutory requirement to develop a six year strategic plan under 42 U.S.C. § 282(m)(1). The point of the six-year plan, is "to provide direction to the biomedical research investments made by the National Institutes of Health, to facilitate collaboration across the institutes and centers, to leverage scientific opportunity, and to advance biomedicine." Id. The Public Officials are correct that, on the one-hand it is not a "six-year straight jacket," but at the same time the Plaintiffs persuasively argue that under a separate subsection of that statute the as the Plaintiffs' argue that the NIH is required to "ensure that the resources of the National Institutes of Health are sufficiently allocated for research projects identified in strategic plans." 42 U.S.C. § 282(b)(6). While it is apparently undisputed that the NIH complied with preparation of a six year plan, whether the Public Officials have thwarted the operations of the statute is at least plausibly pleaded. The Court is persuaded, in part, by Amici's description of the complex, statutorily imposed stability in NIH funding of priorities. See Br. Amici Curiae of the Association of American Medical Colleges et al. 14, ECF 76. At the motion to dismiss stage, the Court credits the allegations of the Complaint, and the motion to dismiss is denied as to this ground.

The Public Officials then challenge the Plaintiffs' Due Process, void-for vagueness claim, Counts IV and VI, arguing that the void-for-vagueness doctrine applies only to statutes or regulations forbidding or requiring primary conduct, that the Plaintiff's facial challenge fails as matter of law, that the Plaintiffs have alleged no protected liberty or property interest, and that vagueness standards are relaxed in the government funding context. Defs.' Opp'n 29-31. This Court agrees with the Public Officials' first argument. The Plaintiffs point to cases applying the void-for-vagueness doctrine to facially similar but factually distinguishable cases, all of which involve threatened penalties for violating vague standards. See National Educ. Ass'n v. United States Dep't of Educ., No. 25-cv-091, 2025 WL 1188160, at *18 (D.N.H. Apr. 24, 2025) (evaluating letter threatening Title VI enforcement based on vague, DEI-based standard); National Ass'n for Advancement of Colored People v. United States Dep't of Educ., No. 25-cv-1120, 2025 WL 1196212, at *6 (evaluating certification requirement "threaten[ing] serious consequences for schools' failure to comply with vaguely-defined prohibitions on DEI initiatives"). That is not what the Plaintiffs have alleged here. Accordingly, for the reasons stated above, the motion to dismiss is ALLOWED as to Count VI, and as to Count IV, which incorporates the same void-for-vagueness argument.

The Public Officials also argue that the Plaintiffs' claim of unlawfully withheld or unreasonably delayed agency action fails as matter of law, because the Plaintiffs have not identified any discrete and mandatory agency action the agency has failed to take, the agency has discretion to defer deciding on grant applications and to hold meetings at its own pace, and any delays that might have occurred have ceased, because, after a brief pause, the agency has resumed meetings and processing applications at a rapid pace. Defs.' Opp'n 31-34.

As stated above, "a claim under §706(1) can proceed only where a plaintiff asserts that an agency failed to take **discrete** agency action that it is **required to take**," and "broad programmatic attack[s]" will not be entertained. Norton v. Southern Utah Wilderness All., 542 U.S. 55, 64 (2004). There is some force to the Public Officials' argument that, as the Supreme Court has put it, "pervasive oversight" over the "manner and pace" of agency action "is not contemplated by the APA," id. at 67, but they do not deal with the entirety of what the Plaintiffs have alleged. Specifically, the Plaintiffs allege that NIH has not only withheld decisions on pending applications, but also removed submitted applications from study sections and withheld Notices of Award from previously approved submissions. See Pls.' Mem. 10-11.

As alleged, the Public Officials have failed, and given some indication that they will continue to fail, to complete their required task of evaluating all grant applications properly submitted and either approving, deferring, or disapproving them. 42 C.F.R. § 52.5 (providing that properly filed applications “**shall** be evaluated” and subject to one of these three dispositions). This raises a fact issue -- whether NIH is processing affected applications at all, as opposed to something else -- that would be improper for this Court to decide at this stage. Accordingly, the Public Officials’ motion to dismiss is DENIED as to Count V.

2. Separation of Powers, Count VII

Repose of power in three separate branches of government -- the separation of powers -- is a check and balance system “designed to preserve the liberty of all the people.” Collins v. Yellen, 594 U.S. 220, 245 (2021). The doctrine finds its roots right here in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts’ Constitution, as recounted by Justice Scalia:

It is the proud boast of our democracy that we have “a government of laws and not of men.” Many Americans are familiar with that phrase; not many know its derivation. It comes from Part the First, Article XXX, of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, which reads in full as follows:

“In the government of this Commonwealth, the legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judicial powers, or either of them: The

executive shall never exercise the legislative and judicial powers, or either of them: The judicial shall never exercise the legislative and executive powers, or either of them: to the end it may be a government of laws and not of men."

The Framers of the Federal Constitution similarly viewed the principle of separation of powers as the absolutely central guarantee of a just Government . . . Without a secure structure of separated powers, our Bill of Rights would be worthless, as are the bills of rights of many nations of the world that have adopted, or even improved upon, the mere words of ours.

Morrison v. Olson, 487 U.S. 654, 697 (1988) (Scalia, J., dissenting). "So whenever a separation-of-powers violation occurs, any aggrieved party with standing may file a constitutional challenge." Collins, 594 U.S. at 245. "If the constitutional structure of our Government that protects individual liberty is compromised, individuals who suffer otherwise justiciable injury may object." Bond v. United States, 564 U.S. 211, 223 (2011). The Public Officials argue that there is no separation-of-powers issue here because Congress provides the Executive with broad discretion over grant termination. Defs.' Opp'n 34-36. The Plaintiffs argue that the NIH's general discretionary authority is limited by the agency's statutory mandate, which requires research into certain topics the agency now labels "DEI." Pls.' Reply 15. The Plaintiffs' argument in their reply is limited largely to reference to their APA argument, id., which addresses the many ways they believe

the Public Officials have “flouted congressional mandates,” id. at 8.

The Plaintiffs’ reference to their APA claims on this count is indicative of why this Court declines to analyze exhaustively the potential separation-of-powers issues here. As another court has observed in a similar context, “plaintiffs’ concerns are better addressed by [l]other count[s] of their complaint,” that is, their APA claims, and “if a case can be decided on either of two grounds, one involving a constitutional question, the other a question of statutory construction or general law, the Court will decide only the latter.” Jafarzadeh v. Nielsen, 321 F. Supp. 3d 19, 40 (D.D.C. 2018) (quoting Ashwander v. Tennessee Valley Auth., 297 U.S. 288, 347 (Brandeis, J., concurring)). “[T]his is a classic APA claim,” and, because “judging the constitutionality of action taken by a coequal branch of government is ‘the gravest and most delicate duty that this Court is called on to perform,’” this Court “must take care not to transform every claim that an agency action conflicts with a statute into a freestanding separation of powers claim.” Id. (quoting Northwest Austin Mun. Util. Dist. No. One v. Holder, 557 U.S. 193, 204 (2009)). This Court declines to do so here.

The essence of the Plaintiffs’ claims, broadly, is that the Public Officials have acted contrary to their statutory mandate

and in conflict with statutory and regulatory requirements, not that they have seized some general power never before permitted to the Executive Branch. This is the stuff of APA litigation, which appears to provide an avenue for complete relief in this matter. See id. at 40 ("As plaintiffs allege in their substantive APA claim the same infirmities that underlie their separation of powers claim, the Court will be able to consider the allegations fully in that context.").

The First Circuit has suggested, in a very different context, that a separation of powers claim might be viable were an agency "by its actions to repeal an act of Congress or displace a long standing power of the United States." United States v. Lahey Clinic Hosp., Inc., 399 F.3d 1, 14 (1st Cir. 2005), but that is not what the Plaintiffs have alleged here. Instead, they have alleged several ways in which the agency's actions may be "not in accordance with law" or "in excess of statutory jurisdiction, authority, or limitations, or short of statutory right." 5 U.S.C. §§ 706(2)(A), (C).

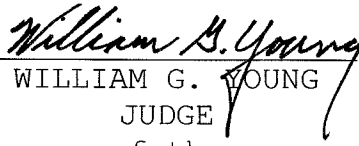
For these reasons, the motion to dismiss is ALLOWED as to Count VII.

III. CONCLUSION

For the reasons stated above, the Motion to Dismiss, ECF No. 66, is ALLOWED in part as to Counts IV, VI, and VII, which

are dismissed without prejudice, and DENIED in part as to the remaining Counts.

SO ORDERED.


WILLIAM G. YOUNG
JUDGE
of the
UNITED STATES⁷

⁷ This is how my predecessor, Peleg Sprague (D. Mass 1841-1865), would sign official documents. Now that I'm a Senior District Judge I adopt this format in honor of all the judicial colleagues, state and federal, with whom I have had the privilege to serve over the past 47 years.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS;
STATE OF CALIFORNIA; STATE OF
MARYLAND; STATE OF WASHINGTON;
STATE OF ARIZONA; STATE OF
COLORADO; STATE OF DELAWARE;
STATE OF HAWAI'I; STATE OF
MINNESOTA; STATE OF NEVADA;
STATE OF NEW JERSEY; STATE OF
NEW MEXICO; STATE OF NEW YORK;
STATE OF OREGON; STATE OF RHODE
ISLAND; and STATE OF WISCONSIN,

Plaintiffs,

v.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY, JR., in his
official capacity as Secretary of
Health and Human Services;
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES;
JAYANTA BHATTACHARYA, in his
official capacity as Director of
the National Institutes of Health;
NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH;
NATIONAL CANCER INSTITUTE;
NATIONAL EYE INSTITUTE;
NATIONAL HEART, LUNG, AND BLOOD
INSTITUTE; NATIONAL HUMAN GENOME
RESEARCH INSTITUTE; NATIONAL
INSTITUTE ON AGING; NATIONAL
INSTITUTE ON ALCOHOL ABUSE AND
ALCOHOLISM; NATIONAL INSTITUTE
OF ALLERGY AND INFECTIOUS
DISEASES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
ARTHRITIS AND MUSCULOSKELETAL AND
SKIN DISEASES; NATIONAL
INSTITUTE OF BIOMEDICAL IMAGING
AND BIOENGINEERING; EUNICE KENNEDY
SHRIVER NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
CHILD HEALTH AND HUMAN

CIVIL ACTION NO.
25-10814-WGY

DEVELOPMENT; NATIONAL INSTITUTE)
ON DEAFNESS AND OTHER)
COMMUNICATION DISORDERS;)
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DENTAL)
AND CRANIOFACIAL RESEARCH;)
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DIABETES)
AND DIGESTIVE AND KIDNEY)
DISEASES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE)
ON DRUG ABUSE; NATIONAL)
INSTITUTE OF ENVIRONMENTAL)
HEALTH SCIENCES; NATIONAL)
INSTITUTE OF GENERAL MEDICAL)
SCIENCES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF)
MENTAL HEALTH; NATIONAL INSTITUTE)
ON MINORITY HEALTH AND HEALTH)
DISPARITIES; NATIONAL INSTITUTE)
OF NEUROLOGICAL DISORDERS AND)
STROKE; NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF)
NURSING RESEARCH; NATIONAL LIBRARY)
OF MEDICINE; NATIONAL CENTER FOR)
ADVANCING TRANSLATIONAL SCIENCES;)
JOHN E. FOGARTY INTERNATIONAL)
CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY)
IN THE HEALTH SCIENCES; NATIONAL)
CENTER FOR COMPLEMENTARY AND)
INTEGRATIVE HEALTH; and CENTER)
FOR SCIENTIFIC REVIEW,)
)
Defendants.)
_____)

YOUNG, D.J.

May 12, 2025

**MEMORANDUM AND ORDER
ON SUBJECT MATTER JURISDICTION**

For the reasons stated below, after a full hearing and carefully considering the parties' submissions and arguments, the Court rules that it has subject matter jurisdiction over this action and, as is its duty, exercises that jurisdiction.

A case management conference is set for **Tuesday, May 13, 2025 at 2:00 p.m.**

I. BACKGROUND

A. Factual Allegations and Relief Sought in the Amended Complaint

In this civil action, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts along with 15 other States¹ (referred to collectively as "the States", sue the Secretary of Health & Human Services, the Director of the National Institutes of Health ("NIH"), and several of those federal institutes and centers² (referred to

¹ In addition to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the State of California, the State of Maryland, the State of Washington, the State of Arizona, the State of Colorado, the State of Delaware, the State of Hawai'i, the State of Minnesota, the State of Nevada, the State of New Jersey, the State of New Mexico; the State of New York, the State of Oregon, the State of Rhode Island; and the State of Wisconsin join as plaintiffs.

² Those institutes and centers are: the National Cancer Institute, the National Eye Institute, the National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute, the National Human Genome Research Institute, the National Institute on Aging, the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, the National Institute of Arthritis and Musculoskeletal and Skin Diseases, the National Institute of Biomedical Imaging and Bioengineering, the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, the National Institute on Deafness and Other Communication Disorders, the National Institute of Dental and Craniofacial Research, the National Institute of Diabetes and Digestive and Kidney Diseases, the National Institute on Drug Abuse; the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences, the National Institute of General Medical Sciences, the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities, the National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke, the National Institute of Nursing Research, the National Library of Medicine, the National Center for Advancing Translational Sciences, the

collectively as "the Public Officials") because all act through those persons in their official capacities. Broadly, the States claim that "[s]ince his inauguration, . . . the President has issued a barrage of executive orders prohibiting federal agencies from supporting any initiatives with a perceived nexus to certain subjects he opposes, such as 'DEI' and 'gender ideology'." Am. Compl. ¶ 4, ECF No. 75. The States allege that the Public Officials "have adopted a series of directives [("the Challenged Directives")] that curtail NIH's support for previously advertised funding opportunities and previously awarded grants relating to these and other blacklisted topics." Id.

The States claim that the Public Officials Challenged Directives and actions, including grant terminations ("Terminated Grants"), violate various sections of the Administrative Procedure Act (Counts 1 - 3, 7), violate the separation of powers of the three co-equal branches of government under the Constitution (Count 4), violate the Constitution's Spending Clause (Count 5), and constitute ultra vires Executive Branch action in excess of Constitutional and statutory authority (Count 6).

John E. Fogarty International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences, the National Center for Complementary and Integrative Health, and the Center for Scientific Review.

The States seek the following relief:³

1. an order under the APA "holding unlawful and setting aside the Challenged Directives, and any action taken to enforce or implement the Challenged Directives, on the ground that they are (a) in excess of statutory jurisdiction, authority, or limitations, or short of statutory right, and/or otherwise not in accordance with governing statutes; (b) not in accordance with governing regulations; and (c) arbitrary and capricious;"

2. a declaration "that the Challenged Directives, and any action taken to enforce or implement the Challenged Directives, are unconstitutional because they violate (a) the separation of powers and (b) the Spending Clause;"

3. issuance of "a preliminary and permanent injunction barring defendants from carrying out the Challenged Directives and any actions to enforce or implement the Challenged Directives, including, without limitation, by directing defendants to: (a) reissue Notices of Funding Opportunities (NOFOs) withdrawn based on the Challenged Directives and to refrain from withdrawing NOFOs based on the Challenged Directives; (b) refrain from denying grant applications or renewal applications based on the Challenged Directives; (c) release reimbursements and other funding for awards that defendants have refused to pay based on the Challenged Directives; (d) rescind the termination of the Terminated Grants and refrain from eliminating funding for awards based on the Challenged Directives; and (e) promptly reschedule and conduct all necessary steps in the review and disposition of plaintiffs' grant applications, including the Delayed Applications and Delayed Renewals;"

4. "an order pursuant to under the APA compelling defendants to undertake: (a) the required unreasonably delayed and unlawfully withheld activities of NIH's advisory councils and study sections, and (b) the required unreasonably delayed and unlawfully withheld prompt review and issuance of a final decision on the Delayed Applications and Delayed Renewals;" and

5. a declaration "that 2 C.F.R. §200.340(a)(2) (2020) and

³ As a sixth request for relief the States seek catch-all, unspecified "additional relief as interests of justice may require"

C.F.R. §200.340(a)(4) (2024) do not independently permit or authorize termination of awarded grants based on agency priorities identified after the time of the Federal award."

Am. Compl. 88-89.

B. Procedural History

On April 14, 2025, the States filed their Amended Complaint, Am. Compl., and Motion for Preliminary Injunction, supported by a memorandum of law. Pls.' Mot. Prelim. Inj., ECF No. 76; Mem. Law. Supp. Pls.' Mot. Prelim. Inj. ("Pls.' Mem."), ECF No. 78. The motion is fully briefed. Defs.' Opp'n Pls.' Mot. Prelim. Inj. ("Opp'n"), ECF No. 95; Pls.' Reply Supp. Pls.' Mot. Prelim. Inj. ("Reply"), ECF No. 101.⁴

This action was randomly reassigned to this Session of the Court on May 1, 2025. Elec. Notice Reassignment, ECF No. 99. The Court rescheduled the hearing on the preliminary injunction from May 9, 2025 to May 8, 2025. Elec. Notice Hrg., ECF No. 100.

At the hearing, the Public Officials claimed that most of the case must properly be brought before the Court of Federal

⁴ The Court also received a submission, ECF No. 86, from amici: the Association of American Medical Colleges, the American Association of State Colleges And Universities, the American Council on Education, the Association of American Universities, The Association Of Governing Boards of Universities And Colleges, the Association of Public and Land-Grant Universities, COGR, and the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities. The Court is grateful for this helpful submission.

Claims and the remainder was no longer amenable to adjudication. The Court heard argument on the matter and took it under advisement. This opinion sets forth this Court's reasoning.

II. ANALYSIS

A. Standard of Review

"Federal courts . . . are courts of limited jurisdiction." Royal Canin U. S. A., Inc. v. Wullschleger, 604 U.S. 22, 26 (2025) (quoting Kokkonen v. Guardian Life Ins. Co. of America, 511 U.S. 375, 377 (1994)). This Court's jurisdiction is "[l]imited first by the Constitution," and also "by statute." Id. Through statute, "Congress determines, through its grants of jurisdiction, which suits those courts can resolve." Id. This Court must therefore satisfy itself as to its subject matter jurisdiction over an action. Calamar Constr. Services, Inc. v. Mashpee Wampanoag Village LP, 749 F. Supp. 3d 241, 242-43 (D. Mass. 2024) (citing McCulloch v. Velez, 364 F.3d 1, 5 (1st Cir. 2004) ("It is black-letter law that a federal court has an obligation to inquire sua sponte into its own subject matter jurisdiction.")); see Fed. R. Civ. P. 12(h)(3) ("If the court determines at any time that it lacks subject-matter jurisdiction, the court must dismiss the action."). Of course, "the party invoking the jurisdiction of a federal court carries the burden of proving its existence." Murphy v. United States, 45 F.3d 520, 522 (1st Cir. 1995) (quoting Taber Partners, I v.

Merit Builders, Inc., 987 F.2d 57, 60 (1st Cir. 1993)). Once jurisdiction is established, however, this Court has a “‘virtually unflagging obligation’ to exercise federal jurisdiction.” AUI Partners LLC v. State Energy Partners LLC, 742 F. Supp. 3d 28, 41 (D. Mass. 2024) (quoting Colorado River Water Conservation Dist. v. U.S., 424 U.S. 800, 817 (1976)).

B. This Court Has Subject Matter Jurisdiction

1. The Tucker Act

Speaking of the Supreme Court, Justice Robert Jackson famously said, “We are not final because we are infallible, but we are infallible only because we are final.” Brown v. Allen, 344 U.S. 443, 540 (1953) (Jackson, J., concurring). As always, the determinations of the Supreme Court matter, only here the most relevant Supreme Court determination is not final (at least not yet) -- and therein lies the problem. Because the Supreme Court, on a 5-4 vote, has seen fit to enter an emergency interlocutory order in a somewhat similar case, its language provides guidance in other cases but without full precedential force.

So it is that this Court, after careful reflection, finds itself in the somewhat awkward position of agreeing with the Supreme Court dissenters and considering itself bound by the still authoritative decision of the Court of Appeals of the

First Circuit (which decision the Supreme Court modified but did not vacate). Here is this Court's analysis:

"The Court of Claims was established, and the Tucker Act enacted, to open a judicial avenue for certain monetary claims against the United States." United States v. Bormes, 568 U.S. 6, 11 (2012). Prior to its enactment, "it was not uncommon for statutes to impose monetary obligations on the United States without specifying a means of judicial enforcement." Id. Thus, "Congress enacted the Tucker Act to 'suppl[y] the missing ingredient for an action against the United States for the breach of monetary obligations not otherwise judicially enforceable.'" Maine Community Health Options v. United States, 590 U.S. 296, 323 (2020) (citing Bormes, 568 U.S. at 12).

Under the Tucker Act, "the United States Court of Federal Claims . . . [has] . . . jurisdiction to render judgment upon any claim against the United States founded either upon the Constitution, or any Act of Congress or any regulation of an executive department, or upon any express or implied contract with the United States, or for liquidated or unliquidated damages in cases not sounding in tort." 28 U.S.C. § 1491(a)(1); Department of Education v. California, 145 S. Ct. 966, 968 (2025) (per curiam) (California II). "In suits seeking more than \$10,000 in damages, the Court of Federal Claims' jurisdiction is exclusive of the federal district courts."

Massachusetts v. Natl. Institutes of Health, --- F. Supp. 3d ---
-, No. 25-CV-10338, 2025 WL 702163, at *4 (D. Mass. Mar. 5,
2025) (Kelley, J.) (citing Burgos v. Milton, 709 F.2d 1, 3 (1st
Cir. 1983)).

"The Supreme Court has made clear that 'not every claim
invoking the Constitution, a federal statute, or a regulation is
cognizable under the Tucker Act.'" Massachusetts 2025 WL
702163, at *5 (quoting United States v. Mitchell, 463 U.S. 206,
216) (cleaned up). "The fact that a judicial remedy may require
one party to pay money to another is not a sufficient reason to
characterize the relief as 'money damages.'" Bowen v.
Massachusetts, 487 U.S. 879, 893, (1988). Also, "the mere fact
that a court may have to rule on a contract issue does not, by
triggering some mystical metamorphosis, automatically transform
an action ... into one on the contract and deprive the court of
jurisdiction it might otherwise have." California v. United
States Dept. of Educ., 132 F.4th 92, 96 (1st Cir. 2025)
("California I") (quoting Megapulse, Inc. v. Lewis, 672 F.2d
959, 968 (D.C. Cir. 1982)). "The Claims Court does not have the
general equitable powers of a district court to grant
prospective relief." Bowen, 487 U.S. at 905.

Whether a claim is contractual in nature under the Tucker
Act is based upon a determination of the essence of the action.
"While the First Circuit has not formally adopted the 'rights

and remedies' test that is used by several other circuits, [] courts in this Circuit have adopted the test to determine if the 'essence' of an action is truly contractual in nature," Massachusetts, 2025 WL 702163, at *6 (D. Mass. Mar. 5, 2025) (collecting cases); however, it appears the First Circuit is open to such analysis, see California II, 132 F.4th at 96-97. "The 'essence' of an action encompasses two distinct aspects -- the source of the rights upon which the plaintiff bases its claim and the type of relief sought (or appropriate)." Massachusetts, 2025 WL 702163, at *5. (citations and quotations omitted). This Court adopts this test to determine whether the Tucker Act applies here and concludes that it does not.

The States argue that the essence of the claims here do not sound in contract because the claims attack the broad policies and actions of the Public Officials. Pls.' Mem. 18; Reply 2-4. The Public Officials counter that the Public Officials merely "disguise their claims as APA claims. Opp'n. 9.

The Public Officials rely on the recent Supreme Court determination in California II, which granted an emergency stay of a district court injunction. In that case, Judge Joun, of this District, issued a temporary restraining order, enjoining the Department of Education from terminating certain grants, and further ordered "the Government to pay out past-due grant obligations and to continue paying obligations as they

accrue[d].” Id.; see California v. U.S. Dept. of Educ., No. CV 25-10548-MJJ, 2025 WL 760825 (D. Mass. Mar. 10, 2025) (Joun, J.).

The government appealed to the First Circuit to stay the injunction pending appeal. California I. The First Circuit ruled the Tucker Act did not apply, that the actions were reviewable under the APA, and that on the merits the Department of Education had not met its burden to overturn the grant of the injunction, and therefore a stay pending appeal was not warranted. Id. at 96.

The Supreme Court accepted the government’s application for an immediate administrative stay of the injunction, which was allowed per curiam. California II, 145 S.Ct. at 969. Construing the ruling as an “appealable preliminary injunction,” the Court reasoned that the government was “likely to succeed in showing the District Court lacked jurisdiction to order the payment of money under the” Administrative Procedure Act, because “the APA’s limited waiver of immunity does not extend to orders ‘to enforce a contractual obligation to pay money’ along the lines of what the District Court ordered” there. Id. at 968 (quoting Great-West Life & Annuity Ins. Co. v. Knudson, 534 U.S. 204, 212 (2002)). Further, according to the Supreme Court, the Tucker Act likely applied. Id. The Court granted the stay

pending resolution of the appeal by the First Circuit. Id. at 969.

Justice Kagan dissented, asserting that it was a "mistake" to grant the emergency relief, noting among other things that:

The remaining issue is whether this suit, brought under the Administrative Procedure Act (APA), belongs in an ordinary district court or the Court of Federal Claims. As the Court acknowledges, the general rule is that APA actions go to district courts, even when a remedial order "may result in the disbursement of funds." Ante, at 968 (citing Bowen v. Massachusetts, 487 U.S. 879, 910 (1988)). To support a different result here, the Court relies exclusively on Great-West Life & Annuity Ins. Co. v. Knudson, 534 U.S. 204, 122 S.Ct. 708, 151 L.Ed.2d 635 (2002). But Great-West was not brought under the APA, as the Court took care to note. See id., at 212, 122 S.Ct. 708 (distinguishing Bowen for that reason). So the Court's reasoning is at the least under-developed, and very possibly wrong.

California II, 145 S. Ct. at 969 (Kagan, J. dissenting).

Justice Jackson (with whom Justice Sotomayor joined), also dissented asserting, among other things, that presuming the Court could reach the merits, Judge Joun's assessment that "the Department's mass grant terminations were probably unlawful is not unreasonable." Id. 145 S. Ct. 975 (Jackson, J., dissenting). Indeed, the Department of Education's conduct could be viewed as arbitrary and capricious under the APA where:

[A] mere two days after the Acting Secretary instructed agency officials to review the TQP and SEED grants, the Department started issuing summary grant-termination letters that provide a general and disjunctive list of potential grounds for

cancellation, without specifying which ground led to the termination of any particular grant. Nor did the letters detail the Department's decisionmaking with respect to any individual termination decision. It also appears that the grant recipients did not receive any pretermination notice or any opportunity to be heard, much less a chance to cure, which the regulations seem to require. See, e.g., 2 C.F.R. §§ 200.339, 200.208(c) (permitting grant termination only after an agency "determines that noncompliance cannot be remedied by imposing additional conditions," such as by "[r]equiring additional project monitoring," by requiring that the recipient obtain technical or management assistance, or by "[e]stablishing additional prior approvals").

The Department's robotic rollout of its new mass grant-termination policy means that grant recipients and reviewing courts are "compelled to guess at the theory underlying the agency's action." SEC v. Chenery Corp., 332 U.S. 194, 196-197 (1947). Moreover, the agency's abruptness leaves one wondering whether any reasoned decisionmaking has occurred with respect to these terminations at all. These are precisely the kinds of concerns that the APA's bar on arbitrary-and-capricious agency decisionmaking was meant to address. See Prometheus Radio Project, 592 U.S. at 423, 141 S.Ct. 1150 (explaining that the APA requires a reviewing court to ensure that "the agency ... has reasonably considered the relevant issues and reasonably explained the decision").

It also seems clear that at least one of the items included on the Department's undifferentiated laundry list of possible reasons for terminating these grants -- that the entity may have participated in unspecified DEI practices -- would not suffice as a basis for termination under the law as it currently exists. That is because termination is only permissible for recipient conduct that is inconsistent with the terms of the grants and the statutes that authorize them. But the TQP and SEED statutes expressly contemplate that grant recipients will train educators on teaching "diverse populations" in "traditionally underserved" schools, and on improving students' "social, emotional, and physical development." 20 U.S.C. §§ 1022e(b)(4), 6672(a)(1),

1022a(d)(1)(ii).[] It would be manifestly arbitrary and capricious for the Department to terminate grants for funding diversity-related programs that the law expressly requires. Cf. Motor Vehicle Mfrs. Assn. of United States, Inc. v. State Farm Mut. Automobile Ins. Co., 463 U.S. 29, 43 (1983) (explaining that an agency acts arbitrarily and capriciously if it relies "on factors which Congress has not intended it to consider").

Id. 975-76. That appeal has since been dismissed, the underlying motion for preliminary injunction has been withdrawn, and the action is now proceeding in the ordinary course with a motion to dismiss anticipated in the near future. See Status Report, California, Civ No. 25-10548-MJJ, ECF No. 93. At a status conference on April 9, 2025, Judge Joun indicated that "the Supreme Court stay was of the TRO. . . [and] . . . the Court preliminarily weighed in on a couple of issues, but there [was] no ruling on anything other than granting a stay of the TRO." April 9, 2025 Hrg. Tr. 5-6, ECF No. 97.

The Public Officials argue that this Court ought follow the Supreme Court's analysis in California II. In fact, at oral argument they argued California II is virtually indistinguishable from the instant case.

Not so. California is somewhat different than the claims presented here. In that case, "[t]heir only claim was to sums awarded to them in previously awarded discretionary grants."

Widakuswara v. Lake, No. 25-5144, 2025 WL 1288817, at *13 (D.C. Cir. May 3, 2025) (Pillard, J. dissenting).

While the Supreme Court's determination in California II may be an indicator of how the Supreme Court might someday view the merits, it is not binding on this Court. As Chief Judge McConnell of the District of Rhode Island explained mere days ago facing a similar Tucker Act challenge by the government:

To start, California's precedential value is limited . . . [and] . . . does not displace governing law that guides the Court's approach to discerning whether the States' claims are essentially contract claims in order to direct jurisdiction to the Court of Claims.")see also Merrill v. Milligan, 142 S. Ct. 879 (2022) (Kavanaugh, J., concurring) ("The principal dissent's catchy but worn-out rhetoric about the 'shadow docket' is similarly off target. The stay will allow this Court to decide the merits in an orderly fashion—after full briefing, oral argument, and our usual extensive internal deliberations—and ensure that we do not have to decide the merits on the emergency docket. To reiterate: The Court's stay order is not a decision on the merits.").

Rhode Island v. Trump, No. 1:25-CV-128-JJM-LDA, 2025 WL 1303868, at *5 (D.R.I. May 6, 2025).

In State of New York v. Trump, 2025 WL 1098966 (D.R.I. Apr. 14, 2025), Chief Judge McConnell has earlier done an extensive analysis:

On a surface level, the facts in the California case may appear to be generally analogous to the facts here, as both cases involve states challenging federal agencies' decision-making regarding appropriated federal funds, but the similarities end there. When the Court delves deeper, however, it finds several significant and relevant differences that underscore

California's inapplicability to this case. In California, the First Circuit Court of Appeals determined that "the terms and conditions of each individual grant award" were "at issue." California, 132 F.4th 92, 96-97 (1st Cir. 2025). On appeal, the Supreme Court then granted the Department's application for a stay because it concluded that the district court issued an order "to enforce a contractual obligation to pay money" and "the Government is likely to succeed in showing the District Court lacked jurisdiction to order the payment of money under the APA." California, 2025 WL 1008354, at *1. That is not the case here. In this case, the terms and conditions of each individual grant that the States receive from the Agency Defendants are not at issue. Rather, this case deals with the Agency Defendants' implementation of a broad, categorical freeze on obligated funds pending determinations on whether it is lawful to end disbursements of such funds. The categorical funding freeze was not based on individualized assessments of any particular grant terms and conditions or agreements between the Agency Defendants and the States; it was based on the OMB Directive and the various Executive Orders that the President issued in the early days of the administration. Therefore, the Court's orders addressing the categorical funding freeze were not enforcing a contractual obligation to pay money.

Id. That Court also observed that the Court of Claims could not provide the relief requested. Id. at n.2.

Similarly, Judge Woodcock of the District of Maine recently wrote,

The Supreme Court's [California] decision to vacate and stay a district court's TRO enjoining the U.S. Department of Education from terminating various education-related grants on the ground that the Tucker Act provided exclusive jurisdiction to the United States Court of Federal Claims does not change the Court's determination that it is a proper forum for this dispute under the APA While bearing some similarities to the instant suit, the Supreme

Court issued this decision on its emergency docket, without full briefing or hearing, id. at ----, 145 S.Ct. at 969 (Kagan, J., diss.); id. at ----, 145 S.Ct. at 969-978 (Jackson, J., joined by Sotomayor, J., diss.), and its precedential value is thus limited. See Merrill v. Milligan, --- U.S. ----, 142 S. Ct. 879, 879, --- L.Ed.2d ---- (2022) (Kavanaugh, J., concurring).

Maine v. U.S. Dept. of Agric., No. 1:25-CV-00131-JAW, 2025

WL 1088946, at *19 (D. Me. Apr. 11, 2025).⁵ The district courts'

⁵ But see Massachusetts Fair Hous. Ctr. v. Dep't of Hous. & Urban Dev., No. CV 25-30041-RGS, 2025 WL 1225481 (D. Mass. Apr. 14, 2025)) (Stearns, J.):

The court begins, and ends, its analysis with plaintiffs' second argument (because, if the court likely lacks jurisdiction, there is no longer any likelihood of success on the merits -- at least, not for the purposes of this specific action in this specific forum -- which moots any inquiry into irreparable harm). Plaintiffs correctly note that, unlike the operative complaint here, the Complaint in California references "the terms of the grant agreements at issue." Id. What plaintiffs ignore, however, is that these references occur only in the context of buttressing the larger APA-based argument that the Department of Education did not terminate the grants in accordance with any statutory or regulatory authorization (the Department of Education simply cited to 2 C.F.R. § 200.340(a)(4) as authorizing the termination of the grants); the Complaint itself does not assert any independent claim based on the language of the grant agreement. The Supreme Court nonetheless found that the government was likely to succeed in showing that the plaintiffs in California sought to enforce a contractual obligation to pay money. Because plaintiffs assert essentially the same claim here -- that the agency did not terminate the grant in accordance with statutory or regulatory authority -- it follows that plaintiffs are likewise likely seeking to enforce a contractual obligation to pay money.

divergent views within the First Circuit of California's precedential value is not surprising given the unusual interventional posture taken by the Supreme Court. Indeed, Justice Jackson's dissent observed that the Supreme Court's "attempt to inject itself into the ongoing litigation by suggesting new, substantive principles for the District Court to consider in this case is unorthodox and, in [her] view, inappropriate." California II, 145 S. Ct. at 978. Whatever the Supreme Court's motivations or intentions, the California II decision is of little assistance to the district courts in charting the intersection of the APA and the Tucker Act.

The views of the dissenters in California II, as well as the fully developed reasoning of the decisions quoted above are persuasive authority for the course this Court adopts.

Even more compelling is the guidance of the First Circuit in California I.

This decision should not be read as an endorsement of the brusque and seemingly insensitive way in which the terminations were announced nor as casting doubt on the First Circuit's assessment that the plaintiffs in the California case may well likely succeed on the merits of at least some of their claims. The court is merely deferring (as it must) to the Supreme Court's unmistakable directive that, for jurisdictional purposes, the proper forum for this case is the Court of Federal Claims.

Id. That decision is currently on appeal.

First, the Department claims that the district court itself lacked jurisdiction to entertain this lawsuit, which the Department argues belongs in the Court of Federal Claims. See 28 U.S.C. § 1491(a)(1) (granting jurisdiction to the Court of Federal Claims for any action against the government "upon any express or implied contract with the United States"). The Department points to the fact that each grant award takes the form of a contract between the recipient and the government. "But the mere fact that a court may have to rule on a contract issue does not, by triggering some mystical metamorphosis, automatically transform an action ... into one on the contract and deprive the court of jurisdiction it might otherwise have." Megapulse, Inc. v. Lewis, 672 F.2d 959, 968 (D.C. Cir. 1982). Here, although the terms and conditions of each individual grant award are at issue, the "essence," id., of the claims is not contractual. Rather, the States challenge the Department's actions as insufficiently explained, insufficiently reasoned, and otherwise contrary to law -- arguments derived from the Administrative Procedure Act (APA), 5 U.S.C. § 706(2)(A). The States' claims are, at their core, assertions that the Department acted in violation of federal law -- not its contracts. Simply put, if the Department breached any contract, it did so by violating the APA. And if the Department did not violate the APA, then it breached no contract. In the words of the Tenth Circuit, "when a party asserts that the government's breach of contract is contrary to federal regulations, statutes, or the Constitution, and when the party seeks relief other than money damages, the APA's waiver of sovereign immunity applies and the Tucker Act does not preclude a federal district court from taking jurisdiction." Normandy Apts., Ltd. v. HUD, 554 F.3d 1290, 1300 (10th Cir. 2009); see also Megapulse, 672 F.2d at 968, 970 (upholding a district court's jurisdiction where "[a]ppellant's position is ultimately based, not on breach of contract, but on an alleged governmental infringement of property rights and violation of the Trade Secrets Act").

Nor do the States seek damages owed on a contract or compensation for past wrongs. See Megapulse, 672 F.2d at 968-70 (considering, in a Tucker Act analysis, "the type of relief sought (or appropriate)"). Rather,

they want the Department to once again make available already-appropriated federal funds for existing grant recipients. And as the Supreme Court has made clear, "[t]he fact that a judicial remedy may require one party to pay money to another is not a sufficient reason to characterize the relief as 'money damages.'" Bowen v. Massachusetts, 487 U.S. 879, 893, 108 S.Ct. 2722, 101 L.Ed.2d 749 (1988). As a result, we see no jurisdictional bar to the district court's TRO on this basis. See id. at 900-01 (holding that a district court could hear a claim for an injunction requiring the government to pay certain Medicaid reimbursements because it was "a suit seeking to enforce the statutory mandate itself, which happens to be one for the payment of money," and "not a suit seeking money in compensation for the damage sustained by the failure of the Federal Government to pay"); Megapulse, 672 F.2d at 970-71 (explaining, in a Tucker Act case, that "the mere fact that an injunction would require the same governmental restraint that specific (non)performance might require in a contract setting is an insufficient basis to deny a district court the jurisdiction otherwise available").

California I, 132 F.4th at 96-97.

In the absence of a decision on the merits from the Supreme Court, this Court takes to heart the First Circuit's admonition that its pronouncements of law bind this Court. United States v. Moore-Bush, 963 F.3d 29, 37 (1st Cir. 2020) (holding "circuit court decisions control federal district courts in their circuits" and that the district court is "absolutely bound to follow vertical precedents."), reh'g en banc granted, opinion vacated, 982 F.3d 50 (1st Cir. 2020), and on reh'g en banc, 36 F.4th 320 (1st Cir. 2022).

This Court need not gild the lily: California I presented a closer question than the one before this Court, and the First Circuit did not hesitate to rule that the Tucker Act did not apply there. The Court is not free to ignore the First Circuit's pronouncement of the law and chart new territory, even though it might not be the law for long -- either by action of the First Circuit itself or ultimately the Supreme Court. This Court follows California I.

Applied here, the "essence" of this action is not one of contract. This is not an action for monetary damages against the United States for which the Court of Claims was created. Rather, at least as alleged, and taking all inferences in the States' favor, it is an action to stop the Public Officials from violating the statutory grant-making architecture created by Congress, replacing Congress' mandate with new policies that directly contradict that mandate, and exercising authority arbitrarily and capriciously, in violation of federal law and the Constitution. See Am. Compl. ¶ 93 ("This lawsuit arises because [the Public Officials] are flouting the statutory and regulatory rules governing NIH grantmaking" by "adopting a series of directives that blacklist certain topics -- e.g., "DEI," "gender," or "vaccine hesitancy" -- that the Administration disfavors . . . [and by] . . . adopting, implementing, and enforcing those directives, defendants have

systematically disrupted the review of pending grant applications, delayed the annual renewal of already-approved multi-year awards, and terminated huge tranches of grants in the middle of the project year. Those disruptions have caused—and will continue to cause—significant harm to plaintiffs and their institutions.”). The Tucker Act does not divest this Court of jurisdiction.

Similarly, the Public Officials’ sovereign immunity claim falls flat. The Court need look no further than the First Circuit’s binding guidance again, which, borrowing from the Tenth Circuit, explains “‘when a party asserts that the government’s breach of contract is contrary to federal regulations, statutes, or the Constitution, and when the party seeks relief other than money damages, the APA’s waiver of sovereign immunity applies and the Tucker Act does not preclude a federal district court from taking jurisdiction.” California I, 132 F.4th at 97 (quoting Normandy Apts., Ltd. v. HUD, 554 F.3d 1290, 1300 (10th Cir. 2009)). So it is here. Sovereign immunity is not a bar to the APA challenges.

2. Programmatic attack

Under the APA, a claim is limited to “discrete agency action that it is required to take,” and that “limitation to discrete agency action precludes the kind of broad programmatic attack [the Supreme Court] rejected in Lujan v. National

Wildlife Federation, 497 U.S. 871 (1990).” Norton v. South Utah Wilderness All., 542 U.S. 55, 64 (2004).

The Public Officials argue that the States claims constitute a programmatic attack. Opp’n 13-14. The States persuasively counter that “[t]he fact that [the Public Officials] have enforced these directives against hundreds of projects does not make this lawsuit programmatic, even if it is large.” Reply 11. The States cite the First Circuit’s decision in New York v. Trump, 133 F.4th 51, 68 (1st Cir. 2025) (“[W]e are not aware of any supporting authority for the proposition that the APA bars a plaintiff from challenging a number of discrete final agency actions all at once.”) and this Court’s decision in American Association of University Professors v. Rubio, No. CV 25-10685-WGY, 2025 WL 1235084, at *21 (D. Mass. Apr. 29, 2025) (describing plaintiffs’ claim as neither a “constellation of independent decisions or a general drift in agency priorities.”). The States have the better of it. The APA claim here is not a prohibited programmatic challenge.

3. Jurisdiction Over Individual Actions

The Public Officials argue that two Challenged Directives are expired and two did not cause any injuries. Opp’n 15 - 16. The States concede that while “perhaps the administrative record will bear this claim out, . . . the current record shows is that [States] have experienced significant injury from a series of

overlapping and interlocking blacklisting directives that have caused unprecedented delays and disruptions. The secretive and slapdash nature of these directives, which makes it hard to know which are effective at any given time, is hardly a defense."

Reply 8. At this stage, all inferences must be taken in favor of the States, and the States' argument prevails for now.

As for the remaining Challenged Directives, the Public Officials argue that they are not final agency actions and therefore not actionable under the APA. Opp'n 17. The Public Officials characterize their actions as "merely order[ing] a review of the grants to determine whether they were consistent with the agency's priorities." Id.

The States argue that this "misstates the directives' effects." Reply. 7. As the States persuasively argue, the Public Officials' "own [alleged] conduct confirms that the directives are not 'interlocutory': if they were, defendants would not be implementing them by terminating hundreds of grants around the country." Reply 7. Furthermore, the terminations themselves are final agency action. Id.

On balance, and at this stage, the States have the better of it.

C. Agency Discretion

Finally, the Public Officials argue that the States APA "claims are unreviewable because they challenge funding

decisions that are 'committed to the agency discretion by law." Opp. 19 (citing 5 U.S.C. § 701(a)(2)). They argue that their allocation of funds is committed to their sole discretion. Opp. 19-21 (citing Lincoln v. Vigil, 508 U.S. 182 (1993); Milk Train, Inc. v. Veneman, 310 F.3d 747 (D.C. Cir. 2002)).

The States counter that they are not seeking review of a funding decision, but rather the Public Officials' "adoption of enforcement of the overarching Challenged Directives." Reply 8. The States point out that Lincoln stands for the unremarkable proposition that review is precluded so "long as the agency allocates funds from a lump-sum appropriation to meet permissible statutory objectives." Id. (quoting Lincoln, 508 U.S. at 193). Thus, there is arguably review where the Challenged Directives "conflict with authorizing statutes and applicable regulations." Reply 9.

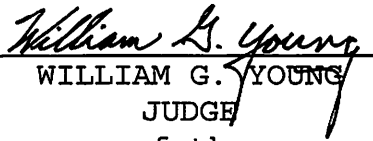
III. CONCLUSION

As alleged, and at its core, the States' Amended Complaint alleges conduct similar to what Justice Jackson describes in her dissent in California II as the "robotic rollout of [a] new mass grant-termination policy" that has left the States "and reviewing courts . . . 'to guess at the theory underlying the agency's action.'" California II, 145 S. Ct. at 975-76 (quoting SEC v. Chenery Corp., 332 U.S. 194, 196-197 (1947)) (Jackson, J. dissenting). Assuming the allegations of the Amended Complaint

as true for purposes of the jurisdictional inquiry, the Public Officials' alleged "abruptness leaves one wondering whether any reasoned decision making has occurred with respect to these terminations at all." Id. Indeed, this Court agrees in principle with Justice Jackson that "[t]hese are precisely the kinds of concerns that the APA's bar on arbitrary-and-capricious agency decision making was meant to address." Id. Whether the States can prove their case -- at summary judgment or a bench trial -- is for another day and the Court expresses no opinion on the merits. For now, the Court rules that subject matter jurisdiction exists in the United States District Court.

A case management conference is set for **Tuesday, May 13, 2025 at 2:00 p.m.**

SO ORDERED.


WILLIAM G. YOUNG
JUDGE
of the
UNITED STATES⁶

⁶ This is how my predecessor, Peleg Sprague (D. Mass 1841-1865), would sign official documents. Now that I'm a Senior District Judge I adopt this format in honor of all the judicial colleagues, state and federal, with whom I have had the privilege to serve over the past 47 years.