Linda McMahon, Secretary Department of Education 400 Maryland Avenue SW Washington, D.C. 20202

## VIA ELECTRONIC SUBMISSION

Re: William D. Ford Federal Direct Loan (Direct Loan) Program Proposed Rule, 34 C.F.R. Part 685 Docket ID ED-2025-OPE-0016

## Dear Secretary McMahon:

We all benefit from the Public Service Loan Forgiveness Program ("PSLF"). The relief afforded to borrowers PSLF is critical to the continuing effectiveness of myriad organizations, governmental and private nonprofit, that serve the needs of broad and diverse communities across the country. Entities that participate in PSLF provide education, health care, government services, and other essential benefits. Members of the diverse population of PSLF-eligible entities have in common a commitment to the public good and a need for public support. Canceling the debts of student loan borrowers who work in these public service jobs benefits eligible employers because they can attract workers who otherwise could not afford both to work for them and to manage their debts. Canceling student debts benefits borrowers who are committed to public service by enabling them to embark upon careers that they otherwise could not afford to pursue. could earn in the private sector. And canceling student debts benefits the public, whose interests are served by PSLF-eligible employers and the student borrowers who work for them.

Statistics alone cannot capture fully the good achieved by PSLF, enabling student borrowers to pursue diverse careers and enabling their employers to recruit them and put them to work for the public good – but the statistics are impressive. Over the past four years, more than one million student loan borrowers have had their loans canceled through PSLF.¹ According to the Department of Education (the "Department"), 43 percent of the employers that that these borrowers worked for were in the education sector, most in K-12 education systems.² Nonprofit entities accounted for 17 percent of the total; healthcare employers, 12 percent; then state and local governments, with 9 percent each.³ The military accounted for another 3 percent of employers.⁴ The proposed changes to the rules governing PSLF would undermine these benefits by selectively limiting employer eligibility to participate in the program.

The proposed regulations lack justification. There are no indications that employers participating in PSLF are engaging in illegal activities. There is no support for, and consequently nothing cited

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Julia Turner, Kathryn Blanchard, and Rajeev Darolia, Where Do Borrowers Who Benefit from Public Service Loan Forgiveness Work?, Department of Education, Jan. 2025, <a href="https://www.nea.org/sites/default/files/2025-03/where-do-borrowers-who-benefit-from-pslf-work.pdf">https://www.nea.org/sites/default/files/2025-03/where-do-borrowers-who-benefit-from-pslf-work.pdf</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Id.

to support, the Department's assertion that "[o]ne of the most significant challenges faced by the PSLF program has been the inclusion of employers whose activities are at odds with the program's core mission of supporting public service."<sup>5</sup>

The Department lacks the authority to implement these regulations: Congress has not granted to the Secretary of Education (the "Secretary") the authority to make the proposed changes to PSLF eligibility. Rather, Congress has defined eligibility for PSLF in a statute, and the Department is bound by that legislation.

The proposed regulations are unclear on what activities might result in ineligibility to participate in PSLF, and for that reason are unconstitutionally vague, in violation of due process guaranteed by the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments.

The proposed regulatory amendments would also violate employers' expressive rights, enshrined in the federal Constitution, because they effect viewpoint discrimination in violation of the right to free expression protected by the First Amendment.

Finally, implementation of the rules would constitute arbitrary and capricious action in violation of the Administrative Procedure Act.<sup>6</sup>

In reaching these conclusions, I apply my experience and research as a scholar who has studied the federal role in higher education finance specifically and the accessibility of education generally for more than fifteen years. I now teach courses on education law and policy at the University of California, Berkeley, School of Law, and I am a co-founder of the Student Loan Law Initiative, which studies and supports studies of student debt and its effects. I have also written several law review articles that address higher education finance and access.

The paragraphs that follow explain my conclusions. For the reasons given, the Department should refrain from adoption of the proposed rules, to be codified as 34 C.F.R. §685.219 (the "Proposed Regulations"). The Proposed Regulations would make eligibility for PSLF relief into a far-too-powerful weapon to be wielded against organizations whose work the executive opposes.

I. The Department lacks statutory authority to implement the proposed regulations

Executive agencies of the federal government may not exercise authority that the federal legislature has not given them. "Agencies have only those powers given to them by Congress." Whether Congress has granted such authority presents a question of statutory interpretation: "Where the statute at issue is one that confers authority upon an administrative agency, that inquiry must be 'shaped, at least in some measure, by the nature of the question presented'—whether Congress in fact meant to confer the power the agency has asserted."

Canons of statutory construction may consequently shed light on the proper understanding of agency authority. In this case, most relevant is the maxim, *generalia specialibus non derogant.*<sup>9</sup> This is generally understood to mean that when there is a conflict between a general provision of law and a specific provision of equal stature, the specific provision prevails.<sup>10</sup> Apt in the case of

<sup>7</sup> W. Virginia v. Env't Prot. Agency, 597 U.S. 697, 723 (2022).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 90 Fed. Reg. 40166 (Aug. 18, 2025). No support was provided for the statement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> 5 U.S.C. §706(2)(A).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Id. at 721 (internal citation omitted).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Antonin Scalia and Bryan A. Garner, READING LAW: THE INTERPRETATION OF LEGAL TEXTS 183-188 (2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Nitro-Lift Technologies, L.L.C. v. Howard, 568 U.S. 17, 21-22 (2012).

the proposed regulations is a more literal reading, that general terms may not limit specific terms, as will be discussed in more detail below.

The Department asserts that provisions of the Higher Education Act of 1965, Pub. L. 89-329 (the "Act"), authorize the proposed regulations. Specifically, the Department points to codification of the Act at 20 U.S.C. §1221e-3, which empowers the Secretary, "in order to carry out functions otherwise vested in the Secretary by law or by delegation of authority pursuant to law, and subject to limitations as may be otherwise imposed by law... to make, promulgate, issue, rescind, and amend rules and regulations governing the manner of operation of, and governing the applicable programs administered by, the Department." The Department cites four more broad and general grants of regulatory authority, but not one authorizes the Proposed Regulations:

- 20 U.S.C. §1082, which authorizes the Secretary to "prescribe such regulations as may be
  necessary to carry out the purposes of" the Federal Family Education Loan Program, a
  now-defunct program that previously provided federal guarantees of education loans
  made by private lenders;
- 20 U.S.C. §3441, which generally transferred to the Secretary authority previously granted by the Act to the former Department of Health, Education and Welfare;
- 20 U.S.C. §3474, which conveys to the Secretary broad authority to "prescribe such rules and regulations as the Secretary determines necessary or appropriate to administer and manage the functions of the Secretary or the Department"; and
- 20 U.S.C. §3471, which, like §3441, provided for the transfer of functions from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to the Department.

These general descriptions of the authority of the Secretary cannot and do not authorize the wholesale overhaul of the specific program characteristics established by federal legislation. The problem for the Department's claim to the power to determine employer eligibility to participate in PSLF is that Congress has spoken, definitively, specifically, and comprehensively, on precisely the question of what a qualifying public service job is:

The term "public service job" means-

(i) a full-time job in emergency management, government (excluding time served as a member of Congress), military service, public safety, law enforcement, public health (including nurses, nurse practitioners, nurses in a clinical setting, and full-time professionals engaged in health care practitioner occupations and health care support occupations, as such terms are defined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics), public education, social work in a public child or family service agency, public interest law services (including prosecution or public defense or legal advocacy on behalf of low-income communities at a nonprofit organization), early childhood education (including licensed or regulated childcare, Head Start, and State funded prekindergarten), public service for individuals with disabilities, public service for the elderly, public library sciences, school-based library sciences and other school-based services, or at an organization that is described in section 501(c)(3) of title 26 and exempt from taxation under section 501(a) of such title; or

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> 20 U.S.C. §1221e-3.

(ii) teaching as a full-time faculty member at a Tribal College or University as defined in section 1059c(b) of this title and other faculty teaching in high-needs subject areas or areas of shortage (including nurse faculty, foreign language faculty, and part-time faculty at community colleges), as determined by the Secretary.<sup>12</sup>

By defining precisely what public service jobs are for purposes of PSLF, *Congress specified which employers are eligible to participate in the program*. The specific legislative instruction prevails, consistent with the established canon. That should be the end of the matter; an executive agency may not legislate, let alone re-legislate, without violating the separation of powers. As the Supreme Court opined in disposing of a prior regulatory initiative affecting federal student loan programs administered by the Department, "what the Secretary here has actually done is draft a new section of the [Higher] Education Act." The principle of separation of powers enshrined in the constitution bars such an exercise of executive power.<sup>14</sup>

The Proposed Regulations would be arbitrary and capricious. "Normally, an agency rule would be 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." The statutory language quoted above makes clear that Congress did not intend that the Department consider factors other than those specified to determine which employers are eligible to participate in PSLF.

II. The proposed regulations are unconstitutionally vague and provide employers inadequate notice of the circumstances that could result in ineligibility for PSLF

Laws and regulations that provide insufficient notice of prohibited conduct or too much discretion to agents of enforcement run afoul of the constitutional protection of due process; such enactments are "void for vagueness." In the terms used by the Supreme Court, the proposed regulations both "fail to provide the kind of notice that will enable ordinary people to understand what conduct it prohibits" and "authorize and even encourage arbitrary and discriminatory enforcement." Either defect would be sufficient to support a finding that the regulations violate the constitution.

As a practical consequence of these defects in the Proposed Regulations, potentially affected public service employers would not be able to discern what activities might result in exclusion from PSLF, and the Department would enjoy unconstitutional leeway to determine how wield its asserted authority to determine program eligibility, as developed more fully below.

The Proposed Regulations include a definition of "[s]ubstantial illegal purpose," but in the context of other actions by the Department in particular and the Administration in general, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> 20 U.S.C. §1087e(m)(3)(B).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Biden v. Nebraska, 600 U.S. 477, 498 (2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Id. at 505

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Ass'n of the United States, Inc. v. State Farm Mut. Auto. Ins. Co., 463 U.S. 29, 43 (1983).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Papachristou v. City of Jacksonville, 405 U.S. 156, 161 (1972).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> City of Chicago v. Morales, 527 U.S. 41, 56 (1999).

scope of the term is frighteningly murky. Consider three activities included in the text of the rules:

- In §685.219(b)(30)(iii), "engaging in the chemical and surgical castration or mutilation of children in violation of Federal or State law" is identified as a substantial illegal purpose. Included in the definition of "chemical and surgical castration" is the "use of puberty blockers, including GnRH agonists and other interventions, to delay the onset or progression of normally timed puberty." The prohibited conduct encompasses care endorsed by "multiple professional societies... for youth with gender dysphoria." The conduct is also not universally prohibited, though it may be or may become illegal in some states, and this raises difficult questions that go unanswered in the regulations about whether an employer operating in multiple states may be cut off from PSLF for its activities in one jurisdiction. The Proposed Regulations state that "in the event an employer is operating under a shared identification number or other unique identifier, consider the organization to be separate if the employer is operating separately and distinctly,"<sup>20</sup> but what it means to be "operating separately and distinctly" is not explained. Because the definition in the proposed regulations is overbroad and may enable exclusion from PSLF of organizations engaged in gender-related health care that is well established and not everywhere unlawful, the Proposed Regulations are unconstitutionally vague.
- Similarly, §685.219(b)(30)(i) defines "aiding or abetting violations of 8 U.S.C. 1325 or other Federal immigration laws" as a "substantial illegal purpose." Under §1325(a), a person who "(1) enters or attempts to enter the United States at any time or place other than as designated by immigration officers, or (2) eludes examination or inspection by immigration officers, or (3) attempts to enter or obtains entry to the United States by a willfully false or misleading representation or the willful concealment of a material fact" is subject to a fine and/or imprisonment.<sup>21</sup> "Aiding and abetting," which the Department defines by reference to federal criminal law,<sup>22</sup> is a broad and flexible notion, capturing any "provision of assistance to a wrongdoer with the intent to further an offense's commission." One may aid and abet, the Supreme Court has explained, "by providing 'assistance rendered by words, acts, encouragement, support or presence." In combination with the broad definitions of illegal activities in the Proposed Regulations, aiding and abetting liability confers yet greater power on the Department to exclude organizations from lawful participation in PSLF.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Proposed Regulations, §685.219(b)(3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Carly Guss and Catherine M. Gordon, *Pubertal Blockade and Subsequent Gender Affirming Therapy: True, True, and Unrelated?*, JAMA Netw Open, 5(11):e2239763. doi: <u>10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2022.39763</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Proposed Regulations at §685.219(i)(2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> 8 U.S.C. §1325(a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> 18 U.S.C. §2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> United States v. Hansen, 599 U.S. 762, 771 (2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> United States v. Hansen, 599 U.S. 762, 771 (2023) (internal quotations omitted).

- Given the potential reach of aiding and abetting liability, anyone working with or advocating on behalf of an undocumented person could be (or reasonably fear being) subject to the Department's imposition of exclusion from PSLF. For example, what would keep the Department from asserting that making constitutionally protected public statements critical of federal immigration policy and warning migrants to avoid places known to be monitored by agents of Immigration and Customs Enforcement, constitutes acting with a substantial illegal purpose? This degree of vagueness, lack of precision, and wide degree of discretion are hallmarks of government action inconsistent with the demands of due process.
- Perhaps the broad and undefined prohibition against "illegal discrimination" in the proposed regulations provides the clearest example of the lack of clarity. The proposed regulations define this as a "engaging in a pattern of aiding and abetting illegal discrimination,"25 defined as a violation of any Federal discrimination law including, but not limited to, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Americans with Disabilities Act, and the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967."<sup>26</sup> The Department has already attempted to stretch the reach of these decades-old antidiscrimination laws in, among other ways, the "dear colleague" letter sent earlier this year to the higher education community, warning colleges and universities against activities that the Department classified as promoting diversity, equity, and inclusion. Citing a recent Supreme Court decision, the Department offers as examples of "illegal activities" practices that the Court did not actually state were illegal.<sup>27</sup> In light of the Department's overbroad interpretation of statutes with otherwise well-established meanings determined by many courts, the language of the Proposed Regulations is woefully unclear. Regulations that are so vague, providing so little clarity and enabling arbitrary or discriminatory government conduct are, again, inconsistent with the demands of due process.

The Proposed Regulations consequently both provide insufficient guidance to affected entities on the conditions of PSLF eligibility and confer excessive discretion on the agency to reach determinations on that question.

III. The proposed regulations constitute and enable unconstitutional viewpoint discrimination and would chill protected speech

"At the heart of the First Amendment's Free Speech Clause is the recognition that viewpoint discrimination is uniquely harmful to a free and democratic society." Consequently, the Clause prohibits a federal agency from "relying on the 'threat of invoking legal sanctions and other means of coercion ... to achieve the suppression' of disfavored speech." This is well-established doctrine applicable to the Proposed Regulations, which identify organizations in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Proposed Regulations, §685.219(b)(30)(v).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Id. at §685.219(b)(12) (internal citations omitted).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Craig Trainor, "Dear Colleague" Letter of Feb. 14, 2025, Office of Civil Rights, Department of Education.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> National Rifle Association of America v. Vullo, 602 U.S. 175, 188 (2024).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Id. at 176 (quoting Bantam Books, Inc. v. Sullivan, 372 U.S. 58, 67 (1963)).

particular forms of public service work – immigration, transgender rights, and civil rights, for example – for potential exclusion from PSLF.

As discussed above, the proposed regulations single out particular activities: activities related to gender identity<sup>30</sup>; activities related to race<sup>31</sup>; and activities related to immigrant status.<sup>32</sup> These choices dovetail with the Administration's efforts more broadly to end federal support of programs and benefits for transgender people<sup>33</sup>; people who are members of marginalized racial communities<sup>34</sup>; and immigrants.<sup>35</sup> Organizations and governmental units whose employees hold jobs that actually satisfy the definition of "public service jobs" provided by Congress, but which pursue and defend the interests of transgender people, of racial minority groups, and of immigrants confront the prospect of exclusion from PSLF for their public service work.

For example, the Department has already attempted to redefine race discrimination in a way that would outlaw efforts to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion, as described above.<sup>36</sup> The Department's effort shows that organizations (including schools, colleges, and universities) that serve or advocate on behalf of members of racial minority groups have reason to fear exclusion from PSLF. Fear of executive conduct that violates the First Amendment is unfortunately grounded in recent, judicial assessments of actions by the Department in particular and agencies of the Trump Administration more generally. In reviewing the Department's Feb. 14 "dear colleague" letter, discussed above,<sup>37</sup> a federal judge concluded that it constituted "textbook viewpoint discrimination." The dear colleague letter's content and the judge's assessment of it make plain the risk of discriminatory exclusion from PSLF based on organizational priorities and advocacy is not speculative. It is real and it is imminent.

Consider another example. By executive order, the Administration in January announced that "[i]t is the policy of the United States to recognize two sexes, male and female... [that] are not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Proposed Regulations at §685.219(b)(3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Id. at §685.219(b)(12).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Id. at §685.219(b)(17).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See, e.g., Executive Order 14168, Defending Women From Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government, 90 Fed. Reg. 8615, 8616 (Jan. 30, 2025) (ordering federal agencies to "assess grant conditions and grantee preferences and ensure grant funds do not promote gender ideology," which is defined as "replac[ing] the biological category of sex with an ever-shifting concept of self-assessed gender identity").

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g., Executive Order 14173, Ending Illegal Discrimination and Restoring Merit-Based Opportunity, 90 Fed. Reg. 8633, 8633-8634 (Jan. 21, 2025) (terminating federal efforts to promote racial diversity and equal employment opportunity).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> See, e.g., Executive Order 14159, Protecting the American People Against Invasion, 90 Fed. Reg. 8443 (Jan. 20, 2025) (calling on federal agencies to "[i]mmediately review and, if appropriate, audit all contracts, grants, or other agreements providing Federal funding to non-governmental organizations supporting or providing services, either directly or indirectly, to removable or illegal aliens" and pausing such funding pending these reviews).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> See supra note 27 and accompanying text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> American Federal of Teachers v. Department of Education, 25-cv-00628 (D.Md. 2025), Memorandum Opinion at 56 (quoting National Education Association v. Department of Education, 779 F.Supp.3d 149, 194 (D.N.H. 2025)). Similarly, a court reviewing actions by an agency other than the Department reached similar conclusions about executive conduct. In *Thakur v. Trump*, the trial court granted a preliminary injunction prohibiting federal agencies from terminating research grants after finding that the factual record supported the plaintiff researchers' allegations that the government had "identif[ied] grant proposals reflecting 'dangerous ideas,' based on keywords in their titles, and then terminated the identified projects." Thakur v. Trump, 3:25-cv-04737 (N.D. Cal. 2025), Order Granting Motion for Preliminary Injunction and Provisional Class Certification at 20.

changeable."39 The order calls on federal agencies to implement this definition "when interpreting or applying statutes, regulations, or guidance and in all other official agency business, documents, and communications."40 This was followed by an executive order that resulted in cutoff of federal funds to organizations that provided "gender affirming care." 41 While that cutoff was blocked by a preliminary injunction, 42 the fund cutoff makes clear that organizations and governments that care for and advocate on behalf of transgender people have good reason to fear and expect hostile action by the Department, including by use of the Proposed Rules to deprive them of PSLF eligibility.

And consider one more example. By executive order, the Administration in January paused funding of organizations "supporting or providing services, either directly or indirectly, to removeable or illegal aliens."43A White House "fact sheet" singled out the "immigration bar" and pledged to "[r]efer attorneys and law firms for disciplinary action when their conduct in Federal court or before any component of the Federal government appears to violate professional conduct rules."44

Exclusion of organizations engaged in these forms of advocacy would violate the affected employers' free speech rights protected by the First Amendment. In short, the Proposed Regulations would enable unconstitutional efforts at censorship by the Department under this Administration – or by another in the future – because they would enable punishment of employers that engage in advocacy with particular points of view, by improperly denying loan cancellation to their employees who are student borrowers.

The proposed regulations would give the Secretary of Education the power to "determine[] by a preponderance of the evidence, and after notice and opportunity to respond, that a qualifying employer has engaged... in activities that have a substantial illegal purpose by considering the materiality of any illegal activities or actions."<sup>45</sup> The regulations go on to specify that the Secretary will "presume that... conclusive evidence" of engagement in illegal activities consists of final state or federal court judgments, a plea of guilty or nolo contendere by the employer, or a settlement that includes an admission.<sup>46</sup> However, the failure to describe the assessment methodology and to identify factors to be weighed in the determination of whether an organization has engaged in "activities that have a substantial illegal purpose" gives the Secretary frighteningly broad power to exclude entities from PSLF for engaging in constitutionally protected advocacy, for example. Organizations adversely affected by determinations of ineligibility would have no recourse but costly litigation.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Executive Order 14168, Defending Women From Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government, 90 Fed. Reg. 8615 (Jan. 30, 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Executive Order 14187, Protecting Children From Chemical and Surgical Mutilation, 90 Fed. Reg. 8771 (Feb. 3, 2025) (which has a definition very like that of "chemical castration or mutilation" in the Proposed Regulations. Proposed Regulations, §685.219(b)(3)).

<sup>42</sup> Memorandum Opinion, PFLAG, Inc. v. Trump, 8:25-cv-00337, 47-48, (D.MD. 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Executive Order 14159, Protecting the American People against Invasion, 90 Fed. Reg. 8443 (Jan. 29, 2025).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> White House Fact Sheet: President Donald J. Trump Prevents Abuses of the Legal System and the Federal Courts, Mar .21, 2025, https://www.whitehouse.gov/fact-sheets/2025/03/fact-sheet-president-donald-j-trump-preventsabuses-of-the-legal-system-and-the-federal-courts/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Proposed Regulations at §685.19(h).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Id. at §685.19(h)(1)(i)-(iii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> 5 U.S.C. § 704.

A violation of the First Amendment may not require direct government efforts to silence disfavored speech. Government action that has a chilling effect on protected speech in itself may violate constitutionally protected rights and justify judicial intervention. 48 "[C]onstitutional violations may arise from the deterrent, or 'chilling,' effect of governmental regulations that fall short of a direct prohibition against the exercise of First Amendment rights," when the government seeks to exercise "power [that] was regulatory, proscriptive, or compulsory in nature."<sup>49</sup> Here, the risk is that organizations will curtail constitutionally protected activities out of concern that they will lose eligibility for PSLF.

That the proposed regulations offer the assurance that they should not be "construed to authorize the Secretary to determine an employer has a substantial illegal purpose based upon the employer or its employees exercising their First Amendment protected rights" offers little comfort to organizations participating in PSLF. After all, the determination of what is a "substantial illegal purpose" is opaque, meaning that a PSLF participant has no way of knowing for sure *ex ante* what the Department – which, incidentally, lacks institutional authority and expertise to determine the extent and scope of the First Amendment – might or might not deem protected speech. The Department is the sole enforcer of the regulations, may well reach its own conclusion about what the First Amendment does and does not protect, and may even proceed to penalize entities engaged in public service activities that *is* constitutionally protected, because the only recourse of the affected entity is litigation. The acknowledgment by the Department of the existence of protected speech gives entities subject to the proposed regulations no actual, substantive protection against arbitrary and discriminatory enforcement.

There is a very real risk that the current or a future Secretary could engage in unconstitutional viewpoint discrimination by wielding the power provided by the proposed regulations against particular entities that are eligible to participate in PSLF. In light of the excessive scope that the Department has attempted to give to civil rights laws referenced above, the expansion of the proposed regulations to include those who "aid and abet" will certainly cause fear among advocates who would speak on behalf of those whom the Department has targeted. The potential and extreme overbreadth of the proposed regulations consequently both enable arbitrary and discriminatory application and will have a constitutionally impermissible "chilling effect." For these reasons, the regulations should not be adopted.

## IV. Conclusion

For all the reasons given above, I urge the Department to withdraw these proposed regulations, which address a problem that does not exist and do so in a way that undermines constitutionally protected values that we have for centuries regarded as prerequisites to democracy.

The views expressed in this comment do not necessarily reflect those of my employer. I provide my title and affiliation for identification purposes only.

Jonathan Glater Professor of Law Associate Dean for Teaching School of Law University of California, Berkeley

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Laird v. Tatum, 408 U.S. 1, 11 (1972).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Id.