April 20, 2021

The Honorable Nancy Pelosi Speaker of the House U.S. House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Chuck Schumer Majority Leader United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510 The Honorable Mitch McConnell Minority Leader United States Senate Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Kevin McCarthy Minority Leader U.S. House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

Re: Support CRA challenge to OCC "fake lender" predatory lending rule

Dear Speaker Pelosi, Majority Leader Schumer, Minority Leader McCarthy and Minority Leader McConnell:

The undersigned 375 civil rights, community, consumer, disability rights, faith, housing, labor, legal services, senior rights, small business, and veterans organizations representing all 50 states and the District of Columbia write to urge you to support the Congressional Review Act challenge to the OCC's final rule, "National Banks and Federal Savings Associations as Lenders," which will unleash predatory lending in all fifty states.

The final rule, enacted by the OCC in <u>October 2020</u>, overturns 200 years of caselaw endorsed by the Supreme Court that allows courts to look beyond contrivances to prevent usury evasions. The rule replaces the longstanding "true lender" anti-evasion doctrine with a "fake lender" rule that allows lenders charging rates of 179% or higher to evade state and voter-approved interest rate caps merely by putting a bank's name on the paperwork – just as payday lenders were doing in the early 2000s. The rule has already been <u>challenged</u> by eight Attorneys General.

Interest rates caps are the simplest and most effective way to protect consumers from predatory lenders. States have had the power to enact these caps since the American Revolution. At least 45 states and the District of Columbia (DC) have rate caps on at least some installment loans, depending on the size of the loan. While many states permit short-term payday loans, 17¹ states and DC—representing about a third of the U.S. population—enforce interest rates of 36% or less that keep all high-cost loans out of their state.

American voters strongly support state rate caps on a bipartisan basis. In November 2020, 83% of voters in Nebraska enacted a rate cap ballot initiative to place a 36% interest rate cap on payday loans. Nebraska thus joins states like Arizona, Colorado, Montana, and South Dakota where strong bipartisan votes in recent years illustrate the public's overwhelming support for

¹ Following submission of this letter, the Predatory Loan Prevention Act in Illinois was signed into law, making it the 18th state to cap loans at 36% or lower interest rates.

these usury laws. According to recent polling, <u>70% of voters</u> across party lines support a 36% rate cap, and during the coronavirus pandemic, <u>81% of Americans</u> support prohibiting high-interest loans.

However, non-bank predatory lenders have sought to evade state usury laws by entering into "rent-a-bank" schemes with a few, rogue banks. Banks are largely exempt from state rate caps, and through these schemes, the non-bank predatory lender launders loans through the bank in order to claim that state interest rate limits do not apply. These lenders charge triple-digit interest rates, target the financially vulnerable and communities of color, and trap consumers in devastating cycles of debt.

Payday lenders first tried using rent-a-bank schemes in the early 2000s, putting a bank's name on the paperwork, just as the OCC rule now allows, claiming the payday lender was just a "servicer" for a bank loan. State attorneys general, courts, and federal bank regulators shut down these early payday loan rent-a-bank schemes. Relying on a centuries-old anti-evasion doctrine, courts "followed the money" to find that the payday lender, not the bank, was the "true lender."² But rent-a-bank lending is back, now being used to make longer-term installment loans at rates that exceed voter- and legislature-approved rate caps.

High-cost installment loans are an even bigger and deeper debt trap than short-term payday loans. The amounts are bigger, the interest charges are higher, they go on for a longer period of time, and they are harder to escape with help from friends or family.

OCC-regulated banks are already helping to make some of the most predatory installment loans on the market with interest rates of 100% and higher. For example, after California adopted an interest rate cap on loans above \$2,500, CURO – which operates the SpeedyCash and RapidCash brand of payday loans and high-cost installment loans – brazenly announced that "bank partnerships are great" and would allow CURO to ignore the new law.³ OCC-regulated Stride Bank is now piloting loans up to 179.99% for CURO's Verge Credit in a plan to expand to states that do not permit those rates for non-banks.⁴

Another OCC-regulated bank, Axos Bank, launders loans for the predatory, subprime small business lender World Business Lenders. WBL loans – in the tens and even hundreds of thousands of dollars – carry rates of 139% APR or higher, and are often secured by the small business owner's home, putting many into foreclosure.

In June 2020, the District of Columbia Attorney General filed <u>suit</u> against yet another rent-abank lender, Elevate Credit, Inc.. The DC Attorney General argued that Elevate is the true lender of loans made in DC, well in excess of the District's rate cap. Elevate sold two short term loan

² National Consumer Law Center, Consumer Credit Regulation § 3.9.1 (3d ed. 2020), updated at

<u>https://library.nclc.org.</u> Includes a few of the hundreds of cases that illustrate that the substance-over-form doctrine remains the universal rule today and that emphasize the importance of looking to the truth in preventing evasion of usury laws.

³ National Consumer Law Center, Payday Lenders Plan to Evade California's New Interest Rate Cap Law Through Rent-A-Bank Schemes (October 2019), <u>https://www.nclc.org/issues/ib-rent-a-bank.html</u>.

⁴ Verge Credit, *Rates and Terms*, 2020, <u>https://www.vergecredit.com/rates-and-terms/</u>, (last visited September 2, 2020).

products to District residents that carried interest rates between 99 and 251%, up to 42 times the legal limit in DC. In two years, Elevate made 2,551 loans to residents well above the maximum interest rate of 24% for lenders that disclose their rate in contracts and 6% for those that do not.

Currently, there are only a few of these rogue, predatory lenders, but they will spread to all 50 states if the OCC rule is not overturned. Lenders' use of online platforms allows them to inundate markets across the United States. By gutting the long-standing anti-evasion doctrine, the OCC's rule will eviscerate the power of state governments to independently regulate interest rate limits and will have horrible consequences for consumers, small businesses, and especially, communities of color.

The OCC's "fake lender" rule protects rent-a-bank schemes by making them exempt from state interest rate caps as long as a bank is "named as the lender in the loan agreement" ⁵ – that's it! The non-bank lender could control all interaction with the borrower, take on virtually all of the risk, reap the vast majority of the profits, but could ignore state laws that apply to non-bank lenders. The OCC final rule will leave states with no ability to protect their interest rate caps, leaving usury laws – in the words of Chief Justice Marshall – a "dead letter."⁶

States must be able to protect their residents from the harms of predatory lending, especially amidst a global pandemic that has hit low- and moderate-income families and communities of color, especially Black, Latinx, and Native American communities, particularly hard due to underlying health and socioeconomic disparities. These high-cost loans do not promote financial inclusion. Instead, they exacerbate financial exclusion. They cannot be justified as providing "access to credit." Instead, they trap borrowers in destructive debt cycles, leaving borrowers with ruined credit and unable to borrow at lower interest rates in the future.

Therefore, we urge you to support the Congressional Review Act challenge to the OCC's true lender rule, which will eviscerate the power of state interest rate caps and rid state regulators of the single most effective tool to protect consumers from predatory lending.

Sincerely,

National

Accountable.US American Association for Justice AFCPE (Association for Financial Counseling and Planning Education) American Atheists American Civil Liberties Union

⁵ 12 C.F.R. § 7.1031(b)(1) (effective Dec. 29, 2020).

⁶ Scott v. Lloyd, 34 U.S. (9 Pet.) 418, 446-47 (1835) (Marshall, C.J.) ("The ingenuity of lenders has devised many contrivances by which, under forms sanctioned by law, the [usury] statute may be evaded. . . . [I]f giving this form to the contract will afford a cover which conceals it from judicial investigation, the [usury] statute would become a dead letter. Courts, therefore, perceived the necessity of disregarding the form, and examining into the real nature of the transaction.").

American Family Voices American Friends Service Committee American Sustainable Business Council Americans for Financial Reform **Appleseed Foundation Better Markets** Blue Star Families **Bob Barker Company Foundation** CAARMA Capital Good Fund Center for Economic Justice Center for LGBTQ Economic Advancement & Research (CLEAR) Center for Responsible Lending Center for Survivor Agency and Justice Change Machine Children's Advocacy Institute Coalition on Human Needs Color of Change Congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd, U.S. Provinces Consumer Action **Consumer Federation of America Consumer Reports** Consumers for Auto Reliability and Safety CornerSquare Community Capital, Inc. Credit Builders Alliance Demos Fahe Hispanic Federation Jesuit Social Research Institute Justice in Aging League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) Main Street Alliance Minority Veterans of America NAACP National Action Network (NAN) National Advocacy Center of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd National Association for Latino Community Asset Builders National Association of Consumer Advocates National Association of Consumer Bankruptcy Attorneys (NACBA) National Association of Social Workers National Center for Law and Economic Justice National Coalition for the Homeless National Community Reinvestment Coalition National Consumer Law Center (on behalf of its low income clients) National Consumers League

National Disability Institute National Disability Rights Network (NDRN) National Fair Housing Alliance National Housing Resource Center National Partnership for Women & Families National Resource Center on Domestic Violence National Rural Social Work Caucus National Urban League Partnership for America's Children Prosperity Now Public Advocacy for Kids (PAK) Public Citizen Public Counsel Public Good Law Center Public Justice **Reinvestment Partners** RESULTS **Revolving Door Project Small Business Majority** Student Borrower Protection Center Tax March The Forum for Youth Investment The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights Union for Reform Judaism Upsolve U.S. PIRG UnidosUS United Church of Christ, Justice and Witness Ministries Woodstock Institute

Alabama

Alabama Appleseed Center for Law & Justice Alabama Arise Black Belt Community Foundation Building Alabama Reinvestment Community Foundation of Greater Birmingham The Alabama Asset Building Coalition The Women's Fund of Greater Birmingham YWCA Central Alabama

Alaska

Alaska PIRG Alaska Poor People's Campaign Northern Justice Project, LLC

Arizona

Arizona PIRG Center for Economic Integrity Community Action Human Resources Agency Community Renewal Gila County Community Services Mesa Community Action Network NACOG Primavera Foundation Society of St. Vincent de Paul, Tucson Diocesan Council Southeastern Arizona Community Action Program, Inc. Southeastern Arizona Community Action Program, Inc. Southwest Fair Housing Council United Food & Commercial Workers Local 99 Wildfire: Igniting Community Action to End Poverty in Arizona William E. Morris Institute for Justice (Arizona)

Arkansas

Arkansans Against Abusive Payday Lending Arkansas Community Organizations

California

California Community College CalWORKs Association California Low-Income Consumer Coalition California Reinvestment Coalition CALPIRG Center for Public Interest Law CHC Consumer Federation of California Eastern Sierra Legal Assistance Program Housing and Economic Rights Advocates KGACLC Mission Asset Fund (MAF) New Economics for Women Public Law Center Western Center on Law and Poverty

Colorado

Arapahoe Young Dems Bell Policy Center CoPIRG Office of Financial Empowerment and Protection

Towards Justice

Connecticut

CCAG Connecticut Legal Services, Inc. ConnPIRG

Delaware

Delaware Community Reinvestment Action Council, Inc. Housing Alliance Delaware

District of Columbia

Legal Aid Society of the District of Columbia Tzedek DC

Florida

Florida Consumer Action Network Florida Legal Services, Inc. Florida PIRG Florida Prosperity Partnership Florida Silver Haired Legislature Inc Jacksonville Area Legal Aid, Inc. Legal Aid Service of Broward County, Inc. Mid-Pinellas (Florida) Coalition of Neighborhood Associations The Legal Aid Society of Palm Beach County

Georgia

Georgia Advancing Communities Together, Inc. Georgia PIRG Georgia Watch Step Up Savannah, Inc. New Georgia Project

Hawaii

Hawaii Appleseed Center for Law and Economic Justice

Idaho

United Vision for Idaho

Illinois

Chicago Consumer Coalition Chicago Urban League Housing Action Illinois Housing Choice Partners Illinois Asset Building Group, a project of Heartland Alliance Illinois Conference of Churches Illinois People's Action Illinois PIRG Legal Action Chicago Metropolitan Family Services Preservation of Affordable Housing Unitarian Universalist Advocacy Network of Illinois

Indiana

Brightpoint Fair Housing Center of Central Indiana GCC Foundation Habitat for Humanity of Indiana, Inc. HomesteadCS Indiana Assets & Opportunity Network Indiana Association of Area Agencies on Aging Indiana Catholic Conference Indiana Coalition Against Domestic Violence Indiana Community Action Association Indiana Friends Committee on Legislation Indiana Institute for Working Families Indiana PIRG Indiana United Ways LifeStream Services LifeTime Resources, Inc. MCCOY (Marion County Commission on Youth) Prosperity Indiana Sisters of Notre Dane de Nsmur Thrive Alliance Unite Indy

Iowa

Iowa Citizens for Community Improvement Iowa PIRG

Kansas

Kansas Appleseed Center for Law and Justice, Inc.

Kentucky

Kentucky Equal Justice Center

Louisiana

Greater New Orleans Housing Alliance Louisiana Budget Project THE MIDDLEBURG INSTITUE

Maine

CA\$H Maine Coastal Enterprises, Inc. Maine Center for Economic Policy Maine Equal Justice Maine Small Business Coalition New Ventures Maine

Maryland

CASH Campaign of Maryland Maryland Consumer Rights Coalition Maryland PIRG Public Justice Center RESULTS DC/MD

Massachusetts

CNAHS Massachusetts Affordable Housing Alliance MASSPIRG

Michigan

Community Economic Development Association of Michigan (CEDAM) Michigan Poverty Law Program Michigan State University College of Law - Housing Law Clinic PIRG in Michigan (PIRGIM)

Minnesota

Exodus Lending Legal Services Advocacy Project Minneapolis Area Synod, ELCA Minnesota Main Street Alliance

Mississippi

Hope Policy Institute Mississippi Center for Justice Mississippi Community Financial Access Coalition

Missouri

Heartland Center for Jobs and Freedom Missouri Faith Voices MoPIRG

Montana

Montana Housing Coalition MontPIRG Rural Dynamics, Inc.

Nebraska

CUES Fund Heart Ministry Center Lending Link Lozier Foundation Nebraska Appleseed Center for Law in the Public Interest Nebraska Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers NeighborWorks Lincoln RISE Voices for Children in Nebraska Women's Fund of Omaha

Nevada

Legal Aid Center of Southern Nevada

New Hampshire

AHEAD Inc. New Hampshire Legal Assistance NHPIRG

New Jersey

Consumers League of New Jersey

Legal Services of New Jersey New Jersey Appleseed Public Interest Law Center New Jersey Citizen Action New Jersey Coalition for Financial Education New Jersey Main Street Alliance New Jersey Peace Action NJPIRG

New Mexico

Adelante Progressive Caucus of the Democratic Party of New Mexico Credit Union Association of New Mexico Democratic Party of New Mexico Veterans and Military Families Caucus Indivisible of Santa Fe Lutheran Advocacy Ministry - New Mexico New Energy Economy New Mexico Appleseed New Mexico Center on Law & Poverty NMPIRG New Mexico Conference of Churches New Mexico Voices for Children Ocamora Retreat Center **Prosperity Works** Retake Our Democracy Rio Grande Valley Broadband, Great Old Broads for Wilderness Santa Fe Lodge, Independent Order of Odd Fellows Silver City Indivisibles Southern New Mexico New Progressives Think New Mexico

New York

Chinese-American Planning Council (CPC) Empire Justice Center Genesee Co-op Federal Credit Union Long Island Housing Services, Inc. New Economy Project New York Legal Assistance Group (NYLAG) New York Public Interest Research Group (NYPIRG) NYC Network of Worker Cooperatives Public Utility Law Project of New York Safe Horizon STEPS to End Family Violence We All Rise WESPAC Foundation, Inc.

North Carolina

Charlotte Center for Legal Advocacy Children First/Communities In Schools of Buncombe County Community Empowerment Fund **Community Link** Eastern Carolina Board of Realtist Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina Financial Haven, Inc Financial Pathways of the Piedmont Financial Protection Law Center FIRST Goodwill Industries of the Southern Piedmont Haywood Habitat for Humanity Independent Financial Solutions Group Lexington Area Habitat for Humanity NC Conference of the United Methodist Church NC Rural Center **NCPIRG** North Carolina Coalition on Aging North Carolina Conference, United Methodist Church North Carolina Council of Churches The Collaborative of NC Thread Capital Youth Education for Savings Consortium

North Dakota

High Plains Fair Housing Center

Ohio

COHHIO Ohio Main Street Alliance Ohio Poverty Law Center Ohio PIRG Policy Matters Ohio

Oklahoma

Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Oklahoma City, Inc. Fellowship Congregational UCC Prospect Church VOICE-OKC

Oregon

CASA of Oregon Neighborhood Partnerships Oregon Main Street Alliance Oregon PIRG (OSPIRG) Oregon's Stop the Debt Trap Alliance Our Children Oregon

Pennsylvania

Bucks County Women's Advocacy Coalition Community Justice Project Harrisburg Center for Peace & Justice Just Harvest **Neighborhood Allies** PennPIRG Pennsylvania Council of Chapters, Military Officers Association of America (MOAA) Pennsylvania Council of Churches Pennsylvania Legal Aid Network, Inc. Pennsylvania Utility Law Project, on behalf of our low income clients Pennsylvania War Veterans Council, Inc Philadelphia Solar Energy Association Pittsburgh Community Reinvestment Group Post 9264, Department of Pennsylvania, Veterans of Foreign Wars **Commission on Economic Opportunity** Community Legal Services, Inc. of Philadelphia The One Less Foundation

Rhode Island

NeighborWorks Blackstone River Valley RIPIRG

South Carolina

Columbia Consumer Education Council South Carolina Appleseed Legal Justice Center South Carolina Association for Community Economic Development

South Dakota

Bread for the World- South Dakota chapter Disability Rights South Dakota First Peoples Fund South Dakota Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers

Tennessee

Tennessee Justice Center

Texas

BCL of Texas Brazos Valley Financial Fitness Center Helping Hands Ministry of Belton RAISE Texas Texas Appleseed TexPIRG The Women's Resource United Way of Metropolitan Dallas United Way of Southern Cameron County

Utah

Fair Credit Foundation

Vermont

Vermont Legal Aid, Inc. Vermont Main Street Alliance Vermont Public Interest Research Group

Virginia

Legal Aid Justice Center Virginia Citizens Consumer Council Virginia Organizing Virginia Poverty Law Center

Washington

Columbia Legal Services Statewide Poverty Action Network WashPIRG

West Virginia

Communications Workers of America - West Virginia Covenant House of WV Mountain State Justice National Association of Social Workers West Virginia Chapter West Virginia Association for Justice West Virginia Center on Budget and Policy West Virginia Council of Churches West Virginia Main Street Alliance WV Citizen Action

Wisconsin

Metropolitan Milwaukee Fair Housing Council Urban Economic Development Association of Wisconsin, Inc. Wisconsin Faith Voices for Justice Wisconsin Main Street Alliance WISPIRG

Wyoming

Wyoming Trial Lawyers Association

cc: Members of the U.S. House of Representatives Members of the United States Senate