### EXTROVERTED FINANCIALISATION

*Extroverted Financialisation* offers a new account of the Americanisation of global finance through the concept of 'extroverted financialisation'. The study presents German banks as active participants of financialisation, demonstrating how deeply entangled they were with global markets since post-WWII reconstruction. *Extroverted Financialisation* locates the transformation of global banking within the revolution of funding practices in 1960s New York and shows how this empowered US banks to systematically outcompete their European counterparts. This uneven competition drove German banks to partially uproot themselves from their own home markets and transform their own banking models into US financial models. This transformation not only led to the German banks' speculative investments during the 2000s sub-prime mortgage bubble but more importantly to rising USD dependency and their contemporary decline.

Mareike Beck is an assistant professor of international political economy at the University of Warwick. Her research focuses on the global and everyday politics of finance, including transformations of global banking, real estate and asset-based inequalities.

### STUDIES IN MACROECONOMIC HISTORY

Series Editor: Michael D. Bordo, Rutgers University

### Editors:

Owen F. Humpage, Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland Christopher M. Meissner, University of California, Davis Kris James Mitchener, Santa Clara University David C. Wheelock, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis

The titles in this series investigate themes of interest to economists and economic historians in the rapidly developing field of macroeconomic history. The four areas covered include the application of monetary and finance theory, international economics, and quantitative methods to historical problems; the historical application of growth and development theory and theories of business fluctuations; the history of domestic and international monetary, financial, and other macroeconomic institutions; and the history of international monetary and financial systems. The series amalgamates the former Cambridge University Press series Studies in Monetary and Financial History and Studies in Quantitative Economic History.

#### Other Books in the Series:

Jon Moen and Mary Tone Rodgers, *Before the Fed, J.P. Morgan, America's Lender of Last Resort* (2025)

Mareike Beck, Extroverted Financialization, Banking on US Dollar Debt (2025)

Per H. Hansen, There Will Be the Devil to Pay: Central Bankers, Uncertainty and Sensemaking in the European Financial Crisis of 1931 (2024)

Simon Amrein, *Capital in Banking: The Role of Capital in Banking in the 19th and 20th Century: The United Kingdom, the United States and Switzerland* (2024)

Stephen Quinn and William Roberds, *How a Ledger Became a Central Bank: A Monetary History of the Bank of Amsterdam* (2023)

Simon Hinrichsen, When Nations Can't Default: A History of War Reparations and Sovereign Debt (2023)

Barry Eichengreen and Andreas Kakridis, *The Emergence of the Modern Central Bank and Global Cooperation: 1919-1939* (2023)

Alain Naef, An Exchange Rate History of the United Kingdom: 1945–1992 (2021)

Barrie A. Wigmore, *The Financial Crisis of 2008: A History of US Financial Markets 2000–2012* (2021)

Max Harris, Monetary War and Peace: London, Washington, Paris, and the Tripartite Agreement of 1936 (2021)

Kenneth D. Garbade, *After the Accord: A History of Federal Reserve Open Market Operations, the US Government Securities Market, and Treasury Debt Management from 1951 to 1979* (2020)

Harold James, Making a Modern Central Bank: The Bank of England 1979-2003 (2020)

Claudio Borio, Stijn Claessens, Piet Clement, Robert N. McCauley, and Hyun Song Shin, Editors, *Promoting Global Monetary and Financial Stability: The Bank for International Settlements after Bretton Woods*, 1973–2020 (2020)

Patrick Honohan, Currency, Credit and Crisis: Central Banking in Ireland and Europe (2019)

William A. Allen, *The Bank of England and the Government Debt: Operations in the Gilt-Edged Market*, 1928–1972 (2019)

Eric Monnet, Controlling Credit: Central Banking and the Planned Economy in Postwar France, 1948–1973 (2018)

Laurence M. Ball, The Fed and Lehman Brothers: Setting the Record Straight on a Financial Disaster (2018)

Rodney Edvinsson, Tor Jacobson, and Daniel Waldenström, Editors, Sveriges Riksbank and the History of Central Banking (2018)

Peter L. Rousseau and Paul Wachtel, Editors, *Financial Systems and Economic Growth: Credit, Crises, and the Regulation from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century to the Present* (2017)

Ernst Baltensperger and Peter Kugler, Swiss Monetary History since the Early 19th Century (2017)

Øyvind Eitrheim, Jan Tore Klovland, and Lars Fredrik Øksendal, A Monetary History of Norway, 1816–2016 (2016)

Jan Fredrik Qvigstad, On Central Banking (2016)

Michael D. Bordo, Øyvind Eitrheim, Marc Flandreau, and Jan F. Qvigstad, Editors, *Central Banks at a Crossroads: What Can We Learn from History?* (2016)

Michael D. Bordo and Mark A. Wynne, Editors, *The Federal Reserve's Role in the Global Economy: A Historical Perspective* (2016)

Owen F. Humpage, Editor, Current Federal Reserve Policy Under the Lens of Economic History: Essays to Commemorate the Federal Reserve System's Centennial (2015)

Michael D. Bordo and William Roberds, Editors, *The Origins, History, and Future of the Federal Reserve: A Return to Jekyll Island* (2013)

Michael D. Bordo and Ronald MacDonald, Editors, *Credibility and the International Monetary Regime: A Historical Perspective* (2012)

Robert L. Hetzel, The Great Recession: Market Failure or Policy Failure? (2012)

Tobias Straumann, *Fixed Ideas of Money: Small States and Exchange Rate Regimes in Twentieth-Century Europe* (2010)

Forrest Capie, The Bank of England: 1950s to 1979 (2010)

Aldo Musacchio, *Experiments in Financial Democracy: Corporate Governance and Financial Development in Brazil, 1882–1950 (2009)* 

Claudio Borio, Gianni Toniolo, and Piet Clement, Editors, *The Past and Future of Central Bank Cooperation* (2008)

Robert L. Hetzel, The Monetary Policy of the Federal Reserve: A History (2008)

Caroline Fohlin, Finance Capitalism and Germany's Rise to Industrial Power (2007)

John H. Wood, A History of Central Banking in Great Britain and the United States (2005)

Gianni Toniolo (with the assistance of Piet Clement), *Central Bank Cooperation at the Bank for International Settlements*, 1930–1973 (2005)

Richard Burdekin and Pierre Siklos, Editors, Deflation: Current and Historical Perspectives (2004)

Pierre Siklos, The Changing Face of Central Banking: Evolutionary Trends since World War II (2002)

Michael D. Bordo and Roberto Cortés-Conde, Editors, *Transferring Wealth and Power from the Old to the New World: Monetary and Fiscal Institutions in the 17th through the 19th Centuries* (2001)

Howard Bodenhorn, A History of Banking in Antebellum America: Financial Markets and Economic Development in an Era of Nation-Building (2000)

Mark Harrison, Editor, The Economics of World War II: Six Great Powers in International Comparison (2000)

Angela Redish, Bimetallism: An Economic and Historical Analysis (2000)

Elmus Wicker, Banking Panics of the Gilded Age (2000)

Michael D. Bordo, The Gold Standard and Related Regimes: Collected Essays (1999)

Michele Fratianni and Franco Spinelli, A Monetary History of Italy (1997)

Mark Toma, Competition and Monopoly in the Federal Reserve System, 1914–1951 (1997)

Barry Eichengreen, Editor, Europe's Postwar Recovery (1996)

Lawrence H. Officer, Between the Dollar-Sterling Gold Points: Exchange Rates, Parity and Market Behavior (1996)

Elmus Wicker, The Banking Panics of the Great Depression (1996)

Norio Tamaki, Japanese Banking: A History, 1859–1959 (1995)

Barry Eichengreen, *Elusive Stability: Essays in the History of International Finance*, 1919–1939 (1993)

Michael D. Bordo and Forrest Capie, Editors, Monetary Regimes in Transition (1993)

Larry Neal, *The Rise of Financial Capitalism: International Capital Markets in the Age of Reason* (1993)

S. N. Broadberry and N. F. R. Crafts, Editors, *Britain in the International Economy*, 1870–1939 (1992)

Aurel Schubert, The Credit-Anstalt Crisis of 1931 (1992)

Trevor J. O. Dick and John E. Floyd, *Canada and the Gold Standard: Balance of Payments Adjustment under Fixed Exchange Rates*, 1871–1913 (1992)

Kenneth Mouré, Managing the Franc Poincaré: Economic Understanding and Political Constraint in French Monetary Policy, 1928–1936 (1991)

David C. Wheelock, The Strategy and Consistency of Federal Reserve Monetary Policy, 1924–1933 (1991)

# Extroverted Financialisation

Banking on US Dollar Debt

## MAREIKE BECK

University of Warwick





Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009411813

DOI: 10.1017/9781009411790

© Mareike Beck 2025

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

When citing this work, please include a reference to the DOI 10.1017/9781009411790

First published 2025

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

A Cataloging-in-Publication data record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 978-1-009-41181-3 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Meinen Eltern

Bankraub ist eine Unternehmung von Dilettanten. Wahre Profis gründen eine Bank.

(Bank robbery is an undertaking of amateurs. True professionals start a bank.)

Berthold Brecht

### Contents

List of Figures		page xv
Acknowledgements		xvii
1	Introduction: The Puzzle of Contemporary Banking	1
	The US Americanisation of Global Finance	6
	Extroverted Financialisation	12
	Synopsis	17
2	Extroverted Financialisation: A Political Economy of	
	Global Finance	24
	Introduction	24
	The Marketisation of Finance Hypothesis	26
	Markets, Social Institutions and Ideal Types:	
	Divergence or Convergence?	28
	The Marketisation of Social Institutions:	
	Capitalist Convergence	31
	The Marketisation of Corporate Control	33
	The Marketisation of Corporate Loans	36
	The Marketisation of Banking	39
	Beyond Market-Based Banking: The Rise of	
	Liability Management	41
	The Concept of Extroverted Financialisation:	
	Financialisation Outside the US	45
	(Euro-) Dollars	46
	Money Markets	48
	Problems and Contradictions	50
	Conclusion	51

xii	Contents	
3	The <i>Pfandbrief</i> : Securitisation Made in Germany Introduction <i>Pfandbrief</i> : A Brief Introduction Money for the Princes: The Origins of Securitisation The Mob of the Street: Retail Finance and the Struggle for Deposits Conclusion	53 53 57 58 62 66
4	The Eurodollar Roots of the German Model Introduction Export Finance in Post-war Germany The Rise of the US Challenge Club Banking in Luxemburg The Shift to London and the Limits of Club Banking Conclusion	69 69 71 76 79 84 89
5	Grounding USDs Introduction The Eurodollar Markets' Connections to New York The Restrictions of New York The Making of an Offshore Funding Mechanism Conclusion	91 91 92 96 100 103
6	Liability Management and the Transformation of Deutsche Bank Introduction Deutsche Morgan Grenfell: LM in London DMG and the Redirection of Eurodollar Flows LM and Corporate Governance The Road to US Money Markets: Bankers Trust Securitisation and US Mortgage Finance Repo, Reverse Repo and Leverage Conclusion	105 105 108 111 113 117 118 122 125
7	Commerzbank: Attempting a Half-Transformation Introduction Troubled Eurodollars: Withdrawing from the Early Advances European Investment Banking A Short-Lived Reinvention? US Asset Management The Dresdner Debacle Conclusion	127 127 129 132 136 139 141
8	Financialised Banking and Its Discontents Controlling LM? German Bankers vs. Financialised Banking Banking on the USD Funding Gap	143 146 150

	Contents	xiii
	The Bigger the Better? The Myth of National Champions Conclusion	155 159
9	Conclusion What Is Next for Progressive Politics? What Is Next for Global Finance?	162 167 171
Re	ferences	175
Inc	dex	195

## Figures

6.1	Deutsche Bank's customer deposits as share of total liabilities	page 107
6.2	Deutsche's trading and dealing account as share of total assets	119
7.1	Deutsche and Commerzbank's asset values	128
7.2	Commerzbank's net interest income	134
7.3	Commerzbank's cost-to-income ratio	135
7.4	Commerzbank's trading and dealing account as share	
	of total assets	137

Acknowledgements

In writing this book, I have accrued more debt than I can ever repay. Neither can these acknowledgements ever get close to properly acknowledging all the brilliant people that have brought this book to life. I am hugely grateful to all.

Firstly, I must acknowledge Sam Knafo who has first seen the value of my initial thoughts and did not grow tired of nurturing them along. He has provided invaluable guidance, support, and inspiration in all those years. Thank you! Earl Gammon has taught me much about academia and kept finance in perspective. I am also grateful to Andreas Antoniades, Lara Coleman, Ben Selwyn and other colleagues at Sussex that have given me a first intellectual home for this project. The reading group that originated at the Open House has provided a hugely important space to test, chat, learn about but also discard thoughts on history, finance and neoliberalism. Besides Sam, Kate Cherry, Manu De Girolamo, Sahil Dutta, Julian German, Michaela Hamilton, Ian Lovering, Nils Peters and Stefano Sgambati have read drafts and/or provided hugely important insights and support.

The colleagues at the Department of European and International Studies at King's College London have provided useful comments and feedback on ideas that made it into the book, including Joseph Baines, Magnus Ryner and colleagues at the International Political Economy (IPE) research group. Johnna Montgomerie has taught me valuable insights into how to academia works. I joined PAIS, University of Warwick, when this book was mostly written. But Mat Watson has supported me in this book endeavour since my viva which – conducted together with Andreas Antoniades – was as challenging as it was fun, and a critical motivation to develop this book.

Revisionist history such as done in this book depends, naturally, on research that came before. Even if I am critical of concepts or assumptions,

xvii

xviii

### Acknowledgements

that work has been important to building my own theorisations about global finance. Various colleagues and friends have commented and asked questions during conferences, workshops and other events. There are too many of them to be named but you are not forgotten. Iain Hardie, Daniel Mertens and Charlotte Rommerskirchen were insightful discussants. Marina Hübner and Caroline Metz have been great colleagues to navigate academia and (male dominated) IPE. The MaxCPE seminar series organised by Björn Bremer, Arianna Tassinari and Lucia Baccaro was a useful first forum to present my concept of extroverted financialisation to a comparative political economy audience based in Germany while Mark Schwartz provided motivation to keep centring the USD world.

The Brighton Aerial Circus community provided the best distraction from writing this book. I also want to acknowledge the many osteopaths, Pilates and yoga teachers who have sustained a combination of many hours at the desk with many hours high up in the air – neither of which has been gentle on the body. Friends, housemates and comrades have been equally important to weather the years of research that went into this book. To everyone, thank you!

I thankfully acknowledge the financial support of the Leverhulme Trust that has enabled me to bring my PhD research to new conclusions. For the first three years of this project, the Foundation of German Business has allowed me to avoid personal debt and leverage whilst researching the business of global banking. I also thank Robert Dreesen and the Cambridge University Press production team for making this book possible.

A huge thank you goes to my parents and my brother who have provided unconditional support. I owe a special thanks to Edward who has often complained about the many hours going into this book but in the end supported every one of them.