

FRED SCHWED'S
WHERE
ARE THE
CUSTOMERS'
YACHTS?



A MODERN-DAY INTERPRETATION
OF AN INVESTMENT CLASSIC
BY LEO GOUGH

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First published in 2010 by

Infinite Ideas Limited

36 St Giles

Oxford, OX1 3LD

United Kingdom

www.infideas.com

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A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-906821-33-3

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Designed and typeset by Cylinder

Printed and bound in Great Britain

BRILLIANT IDEAS

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INTRODUCTION

In 1940 Fred Schwed, a stockbroker whose father had lost everything as a short seller on Wall Street during the Roaring Twenties published this timeless classic on how the stock market really works. Schwed, a pleasure-loving, cultured man who had been expelled from Princeton University in his final year for entertaining a lady in his room after 6pm, had a deep understanding and few illusions about the world of investment. He had seen the ups of the 1920s boom and the downs of the 1930s Depression, and his insight into the psychology of investment professionals and their customers is as relevant today, in the current financial crisis, as it was in 1940.

The title of his book, *Where are the Customers' Yachts?*, refers to an old joke: a tourist is being shown all the fancy boats in the harbour, and is told, 'These are the bankers' yachts, and these are the stockbrokers' yachts.' When he asks, innocently, 'Where are the customers' yachts?' he is told that there aren't any (in other words, the customers have not got rich from the stock market).

Schwed is very far from being a cynic, however. He is not saying that investment is pointless, or that private investors never make any money. Rather, he is casting doubt on the ability of the financial services industry to provide any really valuable advice to its customers.

In recent decades great strides have been made in the theoretical understanding of financial markets but Schwed's wisdom, developed long before the days of hedge funds and exotic derivatives, still holds true. There's a humorous gem on almost every page that strikes a very familiar chord, from the story of the highly paid economist who lugs huge briefcases full of documents to conferences (but never opens them), to the gentle dig at the tendency of analysts to 'develop a prose style which would make a nineteenth century German metaphysician envious'.

Fred Schwed had 'a sneaking fondness for that wretched old hag, the capitalistic system'; in his view it's much better than the alternatives. His central point is that markets are unpredictable. That doesn't matter if you're investing for the long haul, because all the major stock markets perform well in the long term – it's trying to do better than average, says Schwed, that causes all the trouble.

The follies, the frauds, the fads and the scandals of today are remarkably similar to the ones in Fred Schwed's day. That shouldn't come as a huge surprise, when you read the way that this charmingly sophisticated writer deals with the issues of the 1930s and 40s, the truth of the axiom that people never seem to change really hits home. As Michael Lewis says in his foreword to the 1995 edition,

like to think that when I first stumbled across this delightful little book the ghost of its author stumbled right along with me, with a gin and tonic in his hand.' Reading Schwed's book is like meeting a friend, and it's a great feeling to realise that not everyone in the markets, then or now, is a money-obsessed barbarian.



1 INCREASING YOUR SAVINGS INCOME – THE WRONG WAY

‘Suppose that a family has \$100,000 invested in conservative bonds yielding \$3,000 a year: ... perhaps the time comes when the family feels they can no longer hold their heads up ... unless little Paula goes to a fashionable finishing school. For that it will be necessary to jack up their income yield to \$5,500 ... Their investment man ... can arrange the larger yield in a jiffy ... He simply sells out the conservative bonds and substitutes riskier securities.’

Fred Schwed goes on to point out that what Paula learns at finishing school may turn out to be all she has to face life with, if the family’s capital is lost in the riskier securities.

DEFINING IDEA...

*Distrust and caution are
the parents of security.*

~ BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

These days, the people who try to live on their investment income are generally already retired. Anyone who can work is usually advised to reinvest their investment income, and not to spend it. This is sensible advice, and it applies to able-bodied retired people too. If you don’t have to spend your investment income, don’t do it! By adding it to your capital, you will help it to grow, which will potentially give you a larger investment income in the future.

What is really fatal is to try to increase your income by putting your nest egg in riskier investments. British government bonds, for instance, are less risky than, say, Indonesian government bonds. Even before the current financial crisis, it was clear that the high street banks in Britain were likely to be a safer place to deposit money than, say, Icelandic banks, because Britain is a larger and stronger economy than Iceland. The market is aware of these differences in risk. That’s why Indonesian bonds offer a better return than UK government bonds, and why Icelandic banks were offering a better interest rate to depositors than British banks did before the crisis of 2008.

Most of the time, if there are two similar investments and one offers a better return than the other, it is because it is a riskier investment. No one really knows exactly how much riskier it is, of course, but if you are trying to keep your capital as safe as possible so that it can go on paying out an income for many years into the future, don’t increase your risk, and DON’T move your capital into riskier investments!



HERE'S AN IDEA FOR YOU...

At the time of writing, interest rates are lower than they have been for generations. The pundits keep telling us that this is good news for borrowers and bad news for savers. If you are living on your investment income, though, you will have been enduring low fixed income rates for many years already. Yes, they are even lower now, but don't succumb to the temptation of investing in riskier things in order to increase your income. Look for other ways of coping, such as tightening your belt, getting a part-time job, or selling a few things you have in the house. Interest rates will go up eventually – your objective must be to preserve your capital, and the best way to do that is to keep it in the safest assets you can find, even though they don't pay the best rates.



2 SPECULATION

‘Speculation is an effort, probably unsuccessful, to turn a little money into a lot.’

DEFINING IDEA...

There are two times in a man's life when he should not speculate: when he can't afford it, and when he can.

~ MARK TWAIN

Much is made of the difference between investment (a ‘sensible’ activity) and speculation (a ‘risky’ activity) but, as Schwed points out, it is not always easy to tell the difference between the two. Plenty of cautious investors have lost money in what they thought were safe investments, sometimes through skulduggery but more often because the investments turned out not to be quite as safe as all the experts thought they were. So you might say that investments that were generally thought to be safe but actually resulted in losses should be classed in the speculative category. This doesn't help us much though, because as investors we need a definition that can help us make decisions about the future; just saying that all past loss-makers were speculative doesn't tell us anything useful.

To understand speculation, you need to understand human nature. It is very natural and human to get excited and confident when you have made some money easily and it looks as if you are going to make a lot more even more easily – that's how the psychology of booms works, where even normally cautious people start plunging into riskier and riskier investments. But real speculators, the people who are just naturally inclined to take large risks, are different: they will speculate whatever the market is doing, whether it is going up, down or sideways.

Beginners at stock market investment often try their hands at speculation. This is unwise, because they don't understand the market very well. Typically, beginners think, ‘If I can pick a few winning shares, I can sell out when the price goes up and make a quick profit.’ The odds are against them, for two main reasons. First, there is very good evidence that no one, even the experts, is much good at picking winning shares consistently. The famous exceptions to this rule, such as Warren Buffett, are discussed in chapter 37 (basically, they improve their odds using methods that are not available to the ordinary investor). Second, most beginner investors have no idea how to evaluate a particular company or to assess the risks of a given investment.

Is speculation always foolish, and will it always end in tears? Not necessarily. For example, if you have better knowledge than others about a particular investment or situation, you may judge that it is less risky than other people realise. As a speculator, you look for opportunities where there is a high reward to risk ratio; if you can find them, you'll make money. In the major stock

markets, however, such opportunities are rare – to find them, you’ll have to go further afield, ~~developing countries or outside the stock market altogether.~~



HERE’S AN IDEA FOR YOU...

The stock market is a game that is designed to foil speculation. If you really want to take large risks and be able to influence the outcome of your investment, you would be wiser to try your hand at a real business; if you choose the right business and run it well, your chances of making large profits are generally better than if you speculate in the stock market.



3 SHARE PRICES DON'T ALWAYS GO UP

‘[The SEC] not only want an orderly market, but a market that shall forever gently rise. Of course, that conception is just plain silly, like Voltaire’s suggestion that a community ought to be able to support itself by everybody taking in everybody else’s washing.’

To someone new to the stock market, it might seem quite a good idea for the government to make sure that share prices always go up. It could pass laws to that effect. Then it could make the regulatory body – in the US, this is the SEC (Securities and Exchange Commission) and in the UK, it is the FSA (Financial Services Authority) – force the market to nudge up share prices by a small fraction, say once a month. After all, wouldn’t most investors be happy with a small profit every month?

DEFINING IDEA...

*It is difference of opinion
that makes horse races.*

~ MARK TWAIN

The idea is completely unworkable, of course, and the regulators know it. What Schwed is complaining about here is that regulators are pressurised, especially in times of crisis, to make pious and reassuring statements about the market to the public. Today the public is more knowledgeable about investment than it was in Schwed’s day, but not by much; it is still extremely poorly informed about the stock market and economics in general, and it wants to be told that the government will make everything all right. But that’s not how markets work.

To be attractive to investors, a stock market depends upon its ability to allow investors to buy and sell shares at any time when the market is open. On large stock exchanges, like London and New York, millions of shares exchange hands every day, and the share prices are always changing (usually by only a tiny fraction). But in order to sell your shares, there has to be a buyer, and if the government stepped in to force prices up artificially, there would come a point when there would be no buyers: the price would be too high. People would start looking for other ways to invest and billions would drain out of the market and go overseas to other stock exchanges.

To function properly, a stock market has to allow prices to fall as well as rise. That’s what investors really want. If Megaboom Plc loses billions and comes near to bankruptcy, you would want to see those losses reflected in its share price, wouldn’t you? If you wouldn’t, then don’t become a stock market investor!

But why would anyone sensible buy Megaboom’s shares if they dropped? Simple: it’s because

they think that the shares have gone down too far, and that Megaboom's business will recover.
~~That's a matter of opinion – and that's what drives the market.~~



HERE'S AN IDEA FOR YOU...

In the long term, on average, share prices in the world's stock markets do rise, and at a better rate than other kinds of financial assets, such as bonds or cash deposits. To take advantage of this, most experienced investors put a lot of their money into carefully selected unit trusts and investment trusts. If you decide to do this, make yourself this promise: you won't touch the money for a minimum of five years. This will increase your odds of a satisfactory outcome.



4 THE FUTURE OF INVESTMENT

‘Investment is an effort, which should be successful, to prevent a lot of money from becoming a little.’

Usually we think of investment as a way of making our money grow. So what does Schwed mean by saying it’s really a way of protecting our money from shrinking?

DEFINING IDEA...

*Castles made of sand slip
into the sea eventually*

~ JIMI HENDRIX, MUSICIAN

To understand this, think about a very long period of time – say 2,000 years. Do you think it would be possible to grow your wealth consistently and pass it on to your descendants for such a long period of time? It has probably never been done, although some people, like the Norman nobles, did try to preserve their wealth by passing it on to the first son in each generation. It doesn’t work. First, your direct line may die out. If your direct line of descendants doesn’t die out, you would probably have so many descendants that the wealth would get diluted (this happened to the wealthy Vanderbilt family in less than 150 years). Furthermore, the structures that allow safe investment – like nation states, property laws, banking systems and so on – don’t last that long. Over the last 2,000 years there have been many times when violent political change has caused the wealthy to lose everything – think of Genghis Khan’s invasions, or the Russian Revolution.

If that doesn’t convince you that wealth cannot be kept indefinitely, consider this: if you had been able to deposit, say, £10,000 in a bank at 5% interest in the year 1 ad (which you couldn’t have because there weren’t any banks), compound interest would have built your deposit up so that it would now be worth more than all the money in the world.

All this may sound ridiculous, but there is a serious point: investment, as we think of it today, has only really existed since the nineteenth century. In our own time we have seen a great democratisation of investment, as more and more people have gained access to the money economy, bank accounts, the stock market, and so on. Our investment survival depends upon the financial system remaining stable in the future. Yes, the system may well outlive us, but can we really be sure it will be there in 300 years’ time, say?

This insight should inform our strategy. Knowing that we cannot build up wealth that will last for centuries, we should focus on building up enough to keep ourselves in our old age and a sum that we can pass on to our children to give them a start in life. If we are lucky enough to have attained that much wealth early in life, it will be a full time job to preserve it. That’s because society has

way of chipping away at large fortunes until there is nothing left. Remember all those Edwardian gentlemen of leisure, who didn't have to work for a living? Most of their descendants have had to get regular jobs.



HERE'S AN IDEA FOR YOU...

You may not be able to pass your wealth on to your descendants in 4010, but you can pass it on to your children. Make a will – and appoint trusted friends, not lawyers or bankers, as executor. That way, you'll keep expensive professional fees to a minimum.



5 BOOMS GO 'BOOM'!

'In our moment of sober thought we all realize that booms are bad things, not good. But nearly all of us have a secret hankering for another one.'

Fred Schwed lived through the Roaring Twenties, when middle class people in America had a whale of a time, dancing the Charleston, drinking illegal booze, and making easy money as the stock market soared. Then he had to endure the grim days of the Great Crash of 1929 and the years of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

DEFINING IDEA...

We will never return to the old boom and bust.

~ GORDON BROWN IN 2007,
JUST BEFORE THE 2008 BUST

At the time of writing, we are in the midst of a global financial crisis that has followed a long boom in easy consumer credit. A lot of people are hoping that the boom days will come back soon. It's easy to understand why: when it was easy to borrow large sums, house prices soared in the UK. The higher the house price, the easier it was to release large chunks of spending money by remortgaging. And money was cheap, by historical standards (at the time of writing money was still very cheap in the UK, but this is unlikely to last for long and in any case it is hard to borrow). There are many people who are young enough to have first entered the house market during the boom, and whose only experience, until the present crisis, was of easy money and rising prices. They don't remember the long, miserable periods in the past – like the times when inflation was over 20%, or when almost nobody could get a mortgage, or when young people couldn't get any kind of a job. And even if you are old enough to remember those bad times, you would probably prefer not to.

The fact is, there are good times and bad times in economic life. They are often called cycles, but they are not very regular or predictable cycles. One of the main secrets of economic survival is not to behave as if a boom is going to last forever – they never do. When the crash comes, it's the people who have borrowed too much who get hit the hardest.

Money will probably be tight for a long time. Wages probably won't rise much, and jobs will be hard to find. You won't be getting 15 invitations to get a new credit card dropping through your door every week. The word 'shopaholic' will begin to seem quaint and old-fashioned.

Never mind. It's not the end of the world. Focus on the productive aspects of your life, like building your career, saving, and paying your mortgage, and muddle through; one fine day you'll

start to notice another boom beginning. You'll probably make a fool of yourself in that boom too, but just try to make sure you keep it within sensible limits.



HERE'S AN IDEA FOR YOU...

If you borrow, try to borrow for constructive purposes, like buying somewhere to live, or a car to get you to work, or good clothes that will help you get a good job. That's 'good' debt. 'Bad' debt is when you borrow money at high rates of interest (for example by using store cards or credit cards) and spend it on things you don't need. Pay off those cards!



6 PROFESSIONAL STOCK-PICKING

‘Thus far in our history there has been little evidence that there exists a demonstrable skill in managing security portfolios.’

DEFINING IDEA...

I have no confidence in professional stock-picking.

~ PROFESSOR ALFRED STEINHERR,
EMINENT BANKER

In spite of all the hype, the grand offices, the PhDs in finance, the serried ranks of bright young professionals and the genuine advances in the theoretical understanding of finance and investment during the last half century, it is still as true today as it was in Fred Schwed’s time that professional managers, as a group, have not demonstrated that they can consistently perform better than the average over an extended period of time (for an explanation of what ‘average’ may mean see [chapter 13](#)).

It should be said though, that professional fund managers in general are probably better at managing security portfolios than you are, at least when dealing with technical matters. They are less likely than the average person to make a silly mistake, like buying the wrong shares, which is easy to do when a company has more than one kind of share in issue, or like invalidating a share application form by filling it in incorrectly. We can reasonably expect them to act ‘professionally’ in the sense of performing their duties to a good standard. But this is not at all the same as having a special skill in knowing which shares to buy, or when to buy and sell them. No one has the ability to always pick shares whose prices will go up.

This insight has been confirmed by numerous studies of the performance of professionally managed funds. In general, the majority of funds perform worse than the market as a whole, and even the funds that do outperform the market generally are unable to keep it up for many years. There are a few exceptions, of course, but statistically we would expect there to be a few exceptions as the result of chance.

In recent years Americans, who are generally a bit more clued-in about the stock market than we are in Britain, have become rather fed up with this state of affairs. Why should a private investor they ask, pay for expertise in stock-picking when it is not clear that such an ability really exists? Some market professionals respond vigorously by arguing that some talented people do seem to be very good at stock-picking, at least on the face of it. But there aren’t very many of them, and often their funds are rather large and overpriced, so they won’t necessarily perform particularly well in the future.

This is the great problem of investment. The really big gains are generally made by a stock picker who is not very well-known. Once the stock-picker becomes famous everyone watches him or her like a hawk, and the returns tend to go down as competitors start to copy the method. To be successful, a stock-picking method must be both inherently sound and unpopular.



HERE'S AN IDEA FOR YOU...

Tired of less than exciting fund performance? Why not pick a tracker fund, which simply mimics the performance of a stock market index. It will probably slightly under perform the index, but not by much, and you'll probably do a lot better than most fund managers! You can find tracker funds quoted in the financial press.



7 SPEND YOUR INCOME, NOT YOUR CAPITAL.

‘A man’s true wealth is his income, not his bank balance. There are times and places when it is better to have a hundred thousand dollars than it was to have had two hundred thousand at another time and place.’

DEFINING IDEA...

*A large income is the best recipe
for happiness I ever heard of.*

~ JANE AUSTEN

The main point here is that it is your current income, not your total assets, and especially not your financial assets, that governs your lifestyle and how wealthy you feel. The purchasing power of your money may vary from time to time, but you should try to avoid drawing down capital and spend as if it were income.

Many of us don’t have much in the way of assets, so we fail to appreciate this important difference. To someone with no assets, all money looks like spending money. But capital - which means your valuable possessions, like houses, cars and pension funds - is hard to acquire and easy to lose, so it is very important to make the distinction between money you need to keep, and money you can spend.

To understand the difference, consider the following example:

First, let’s imagine Fred, a supermarket shelf stacker who wins 5 million quid on the lottery. The first mistake he makes is to tell all his friends and relatives. A lot of them will automatically expect a handout, which will whittle away at his lump sum. Next, he decides to be sensible and buys some houses for himself and his relatives. That’s fine, but he probably buys houses that are quite expensive to maintain. Next, he gives up his job - that would be fine if he was going to trade to get a better job, but no. He goes off on a series of world cruises with his mates, drinks a lot and gets into bad spending habits. When he finally gets home, he buys a lot of expensive sports cars. A few years down the line, he’s a bored, lazy good-for-nothing. After a while, the champagne lifestyle, the upkeep of the houses and cars, and all the loans he has to make to his fair-weather friends, start to bite. Pretty soon Fred finds that he will have to get a job in order to maintain his lifestyle, but any job he can get probably won’t generate enough money. Slowly some of the cars have to go. Then maybe the houses will have to go too. It’s an old story, but it happens quite often. It is amazingly easy to get through millions of pounds in only a few years and have little or nothing to show for it at the end.

What Fred should have done, of course, from a financial point of view, is to have said, ‘This million quid is capital, not income. I’m going to invest it and live off the income.’ At 4%, say, his capital could have given him an income of £200,000 per year for the rest of his life, far more than most people earn or need.



HERE'S AN IDEA FOR YOU...

Next time a lump sum falls into your lap, leap into action and DON'T spend it! Put it away in bank deposit, bonds or shares, and leave it to grow.



8 CAPITAL MARKETS

‘We all have a fondness for articles which can only be produced in plants costing millions of dollars. Few of these articles can be produced by a fellow and his uncle working behind the garage. The only successful method so far devised for getting millions out of the public, for enterprises good and bad, is some system similar to the devious mechanisms of Wall Street.’

DEFINING IDEA...

Capitalism is what people do when you leave them alone.

~ KENNETH MINOGUE, POLITICAL SCIENTIST

If you really want to understand the stock market, think about it from a company’s point of view. Companies need money in order to function, to make profits, and, especially, to grow bigger. They can get money in three main ways. First, they can reinvest their profits. This is a nice, safe way that is appropriate for some types of business, but its disadvantage is that it severely limits the rate at which the company can grow. If you have a new product that will potentially make a fortune over a period of, say, five years, reinvesting your profits will not enable you to grow fast enough to enable you to take full advantage of your market opportunity. In today’s cut-throat business world, you’ll be pushed aside by a better financed company and wind up with only a small share of the market. This often happens to small companies.

The second way to get money for growth is to borrow it. This isn’t a bad way, but you have to pay interest, and you’ll have to convince a bunch of glassy eyed, unimaginative bankers that your project is likely to succeed.

The third way is to raise money by selling shares in your company to investors. The new shareholders become, in effect, sleeping partners in your company, enjoying any increase in the value of the company and also receiving dividend payments that you make out of the profits. If your company is large enough, this can be done by selling shares to the general public through the stock market. It is not an easy or cheap process, but if it is properly done it can raise massive amounts of capital for your enterprise relatively quickly, so it is a great way to finance growth.

This is the basic reason for the existence of the stock markets. It is a way of matching savers, like you and me, with productive organisations, like successful companies.



.....

HERE'S AN IDEA FOR YOU...

~~The great advantage of the major stock markets is their liquidity. You can sell most shares at any time that the market is open. Compare that with the situation when some friends ask you to buy shares in their small business; you may never be able to sell the shares and get your money back. It is the liquidity, and relative stability, of most publicly traded companies that make stock market investing more attractive than small company investing to most people. In some countries, particularly in the Far East, many people keep large sums of money in the bank permanently so that it remains liquid. This is unwise - they would get a better return in the stock markets. If your savings are in cash or bonds, think about putting at least some of it in the stock market - it will still be liquid.~~

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