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郭田勇 袁庆宏

编辑部:北京市西城区平安里西大

街 41 号

邮政编码:100813

电话/传真:010-83085204 电子信箱: jryysj@126.com

The Random Walk* 随机运动

By John J. Klein 王鲁广 译

Such observations have been made for a long time. A pillar of modern finance is the 1900 Ph. D. thesis dissertation of Louis Bachelier, in Paris, and his subsequent work, especially in 1906 and 1913. To account for the apparent erratic motion of stock market prices, he proposed that price trajectories are identical to random walks.

The concept of a random walk is simple but rich for its many applications, not only in finance but also in physics and the description of natural phenomena. It is arguably one of the most important founding concepts in modern physics as well as in finance, as it underlies the theories of elementary particles, which are the building blocks of our universe, as well as those describing the complex organization of matter around us. In its most simple version, you toss a coin and walk one step up if heads and one step

很长时间以来,人们一直在进行着这样的观察和研究。现代金融学的支柱理论是路易斯·巴切莱于 1900 年在巴黎发表的博士论文及他随后于 1906 年和 1913 年的工作。为了对股票市场明显的不规则运动做出解释,他提出价格的运动轨迹其实相当于随机运动的说法。

^{*} Source: Money and the Economy, sixth edition, April 2003.

down if tails. Repeating the toss many times, where will you finally end up standing? The answer is multiple: on average, you remain at the same position since the average of one step down and one step up is equivalent to no move. However, it is clear that there are fluctuations around this zero average, which grow with the number of tosses.

This is bad news for investment targets: if the price variations are really like tossing coins at random, it seems impossible to know what the direction of the price will be between today and tomorrow, or between any two other times.

The concept that price variations are inherently unpredictable has been generalized and extended by the famous economist and Nobel prize winner Paul Samuelson. In a nutshell, Bachelier and Samuelson and an army of economists after them have observed that even the best investors on average seem to find it hard in the long run to do better than the

这对人们采取合适的投 资战略是不利的:如果价格 变动果真像随机抛硬币,那 么我们就不可能知道在今天 到明天这段时间价格将如何 变动,也就不可能知道任意 两段时间里价格将朝着什么 方向变动。

价格的波动天生难以被 人们预测这一观点已经被著 名经济学家、诺贝尔尔森一 经济学家、萨缪尔森森— 化并拓展开。简单说来,巴 切莱、萨缪尔森以及其他一 也,即使是世界上 位,即使是世界上最 太出的一些投资家也会发 comprehensive common-stock averages, such as the Standard & Poors 500, or even better than a random selection among stocks of comparable variability. It thus seems as if relative price changes (properly adjusted for expected dividends paid out) are practically indistinguishable from random numbers, drawn from a coin-tossing computer or a roulette. The belief is that this randomness is achieved through the active participation of many investors seeking greater wealth. This crowd of investors actively analyze all the information at their disposal and form investment decisions based on them. As a consequence, Bachelier and Samuelson argued that any advantageous information that may lead to a profit opportunity is quickly eliminated by the feedback that their action has on the price. Their point is that the price variations in time are not independent of the actions of the traders; on the contrary, it results from them. If such feedback action occurs instantaneously, as in an idealized world of idealized "frictionless" markets and costless trading, then prices must always fully reflect all available information and no profits can be garnered from information-based trading (because such profits have already been captured). This fundamental concept introduced by Bachelier, now called "the efficient market

现,从长期看来,他们很难做 到自己的投资行为比总和的 普通股平均指数(如标准普 尔 500 指数)更好,甚至不会 比在波动相似的股票之间随 机做出投资选择更好。从表 面上看起来,相对的价格变 化(为了得到预期的分红股 利而进行了适当的调整)实 际上与电脑抛掷硬币或者轮 盘赌得出的随机数字没有什 么分别。人们认为这种随机 数字是通过许多投资者追求 更大财富而积极参与股市投 资这一过程而得到的。这一 大群的投资者积极地分析他 们能够搜集到的所有信息, 并且在分析信息的基础上做 出自己的投资决策。结果, 巴切莱和萨缪尔森提出了自 己的分析观点,他们认为市 场上的任何可能带来赢利的 有利消息都会被迅速排除, 投资者在那个价位上做出积 极的反应,他们的积极行为 对市场产生了反馈作用从而 抵消原来存在的赢利机会, 使得市场重新处于新的平衡 状态。他们提出的观点之重 点在于及时的价格变动与交 易商的行为不是独立的,相 反,前者是后者的结果。如 果这样的反馈行为在一瞬间

hypothesis," has a strong counterintuitive and seemingly contradictory flavor to it: the more active and efficient the market, the more intelligent and hard working the investors; as a consequence the more random is the sequence of price changes generated by such a market. The most efficient market of all is one in which price changes are completely random and unpredictable.

There is an interesting analogy with the information coded in DNA, the molecular building block of our chromosomes. Here, our genetic information is encoded by the order in which the four constituent bases of DNA are positioned along a DNA strand, similarly to words using a four-letter alphabet. DNA is usually organized in so-called coding sections and noncoding sections. The coding sections contain the information on how to synthetize proteins and how to work all our biological machinery. Recent detailed analyses of the sequence of

内发,那么这种情况就像是 人们处于"无摩擦"、无成本 的理想交易世界一样,价格 必然会完全反应出所有的有 效信息,人们将不能从信息 交易中获得任何利润(因为 这样的赢利机会已经迅速被 人们捕捉到)。巴切莱首先 提出了这一基本观点,现在 人们把这个观点称为"有效 市场假说",这个假说有着强 烈违背直觉的、看起来似乎 相互矛盾的特点:市场越活 跃越有效,投资者就越聪明 越勤奋,结果这样的市场中 的价格变动也就越随机。最 有效的市场就是价格变动是 完全随机的,不可预测的。

 these letters have shown that the noncoding parts of DNA seem to have longrange correlations while, in contrast, the coding regions seem to have short-range or no correlations. Notice the wonderful paradox: information leads to randomness, while lack of information leads to regularities. The reason for this is that a coding region must appear random since all bases contain useful, that is, different information. If there were some correlation, it would mean that it is possible to encode the information in fewer bases and the coding regions would not be optimal. In contrast, noncoding regions contain few or no information and can thus be highly correlated. Indeed, there is almost no information in a sequence like 11111111... but there may be a lot in 429976545782 ... This paradox, that a message with a lot of information should be uncorrelated while a message with no information is highly correlated, is at the basis of the notion of random sequences. A truly random sequence of numbers or of symbols is one that contains the maximum possible information; in other words, it is not possible to define a shorter algorithm that contains the same information. The condition for this is that the sequence be completely uncorrelated so that each new term carries new information.

构不停运转的信息。最近人 们仔细地研究了这些组成部 分的排列顺序,研究结果显 示 DNA 的非代码区似乎存 在长期的关联关系,与此形 成鲜明对比的是,代码区似 乎存在短期关联关系或者没 有关联。请注意,下面这个 观点是一个精彩的自相矛盾 观点:信息引起随机性,缺乏 信息则导致规律性。原因在 于代码区必须表现出随机 性,因为所有的组成部分都 包含了不同的有用信息。如 果这些组成部分之间相互关 联的话,基因可能会根据更 少的组成基础来复制代码信 息,这样一来代码区就不再 是最理想最完美的遗传基地 了。相反,非代码区包含了 很少甚至没有信息,因此是 可以紧密相联的。确实,在 如 11111111 ……这样的序列 中,几乎不包含信息,但是在 429976545782……这样的序 列中信息可能包含了很多。 也就是说,拥有大量信息的 消息之间是没有关联的,而 没有信息的消息应该高度相 关,这个自相矛盾的难题是 随机运动观点的基础。如果 数字或者符号间真正随机, 那么结果应该最大限度地包

It is worthwhile to stop and consider in more detail this extraordinary concept, that the more intelligent and hard working the investors, the more random is the sequence of price changes generated by such a market. In particular, it embodies the fundamental difference between financial markets and the natural world. The latter is open to the scrutiny of the observer and the scientist has the possibility to construct explanations and theories that are independent of his or her actions. In contrast, in social and financial systems, the actors are both the observers and the observed, which thus create so-called feedback loops.

含了可能的信息;换句话说, 我们不可能定义一个包含同 样信息量但更短的规则系统。发生这种情况的原因在 于这个序列是完全不相关 的,每增加一个新的条件都 会带来新信息。

分析到这一步以后,我 们有必要停下来仔细理解一 下这个格外重要的概念,考 虑考虑为什么投资者越聪 明、越努力工作,这些投资者 所处的市场所引起的价格变 化就越随机。特别值得注意 的是,它具体地表现了金融 市场和自然世界之间的根本 不同之处。在自然界里,观 察家们可以尽情地观察整个 自然世界,科学家们也可以 创建出独立于其自身行为的 一套解释和理论。与此形成 鲜明对比的是,在社会和金 融系统里,行动者们既是观 察者又是被观察者.这就是 人们平常提到的反馈圈。

Behavioral Economics* 行为经济学

by Didier Sornette 王倩芳 译

In debates and research on the social sciences, the sciences dealing with human societies, it is customary to oppose two approaches, the first striving for objectivism, the second being more interpretative.

- * The first approach attempts to view "social facts" as "material things," looking for examples where human groups appear to behave as much as possible as inanimate matter, such as in crowds, queues, traffic jams, competition, attraction, perturbations, and markets.
- * In contrast, the second approach attempts as much as possible to distinguish the behavior of social agents from that of inanimate matter. In this framework, it is believed that human endowments such as conscience, reflection, intention, morality, and history forbid the

社会科学是研究人类社会的科学,在其辩论和研究之中,人们习惯于把两种研究方法对立起来,第一种力求达到客观主义,第二种力求解释得更清楚。

- * 第一种研究方法试图把"社会行为"看作"物质事物",寻找那些看起来差的多类似于没有生命的事物的人类群体行为的例子,比时人们在人群中、在非长队时、在交通拥堵时、在竞赛时、在有吸引力的场合中、在混乱中和在市场中发生的行为。
- * 与此相对,第二种研究方法试图把社会行为人的 行为和那些没有生命的事物 分离开来。在这一研究框架 下,我们相信人类拥有一些 天资诸如良心、反思、行为意 图、道德这些天资,历史禁止

^{*} Source: Why stock Markets Crash, Princeton University Press.

use and transfer of quantitative methods developed in the physical, material, and more generally natural sciences to the humanities. 把物理学、物质学和更普遍 的自然科学的定量研究方法 应用并转移于人类。

In recent economic and finance research, there is a growing interest in marrying the two viewpoints, that is, in incorporating ideas from social sciences to account for the fact that markets reflect the thoughts, emotions, and actions of real people as opposed to the idealized economic investor who underlies the efficient market and random walk hypotheses. This was captured by the now-famous pronouncement of Keynes that most investors decisions "can only be taken as a result of animal spirits—of a spontaneous urge to action rather than inaction, and not the outcome of a weighed average of benefits multiplied by the quantitative probabilities". A real investor may intend to be rational and may try to optimize his or her actions, but that rationality tends to be hampered by cognitive biases, emotional quirks, and social influences. "Behavioral finance" is a growing research field that uses psychology, sociology, and other behavioral theories to explain the behavior of investors and money managers. The behavior of financial markets is thought to result from varying attitudes toward

在最近的经济和金融研 究中,人们越来越乐于把这 两种观点结合在一起,即把 社会科学的观点结合在一 起,用于解释这样一个事实: 市场反应的是真实人们的思 想、感情和行为,而不是那些 作为有效市场和随机运动假 说的奠基者的理想化经济投 资者的思想、感情和行为。 **这一点被当今著名的凯恩斯** 理论所利用,这个理论认为 大部分投资者的决定"只能 是动物本性引发的结果—— 人们自发产生的迫切要求逼 迫人们积极行动起来而不是 抱有怠惰的态度,而且投资 者的决定不是根据人们加权 计算平均利益乘以数量概率 后得出的结果而作出的"。 一位真正的投资者可能会试 图保持理性,努力最优化自 己的决定,但是这种理性总 是会被认知偏见、情感波折 和社会影响所阻碍。"行为 金融"是一门正在成长中的 研究学科,它应用心理学、社 会学和其他行为理论来解释 risk, the heterogeneity in the framing of information, cognitive errors, self-control and lack thereof, regret in financial decision making, and the influence of mass psychology. Assumptions about the frailty of human rationality and the acceptance of such drives as fear and greed are underlying the recipes developed over decades by so-called technical analysts.

Prof. Thaler, now at the University of Chicago, was one of the earliest and strongest proponents of behavioral economics and has made a career developing a taxonomy of anomalies that embarrass the standard view from neoclassical economics that markets are efficient and people are rational. According to accepted economic theory, for instance, a person is always better off with more rather than fewer choices. One day, Thaler noticed that a few of his supposedly rational colleagues who were over at his house were unable to stop themselves from gorging on some cashew nuts he had put out. Why, then, did Thaler's colleagues thank him for removing the tempting cashews from his living room? Another

现于芝加哥大学工作的 泰勒教授是行为经济学的最 早、最强有力的支持者之一, 他以此作为终生的事业,发 展出了一套不规则分类学, 这一分类学与古典经济学的 标准观点很不同。后者认为 市场是有效的,人们是理性 的。例如,据人们接受的经 济理论,一个人在拥有更多 选择而不是更少选择的时候 会更富裕。但是有一天,泰 勒注意到有几个他认为很理 性的同事在经过他的屋子的 时候,情不自禁地要吃他放 在外面的一些腰果。那么, 为什么泰勒的同事会感谢他 从起居室里移出诱人的腰果

case-in-point was when a friend admitted to Thaler that, although he mowed his own lawn to save \$10, he would never agree to cut the lawn next door in return for the same \$10 or even more. According to the concept of "opportunity cost," foregoing a gain of \$10 to mow a neighbor's lawn "costs" just as much as paying somebody else to mow your own. According to theory, you prefer either the extra time or the extra money—it cannot be both. Still another example reported is when Thaler and another friend decided to skip a basketball game in Rochester because of a swirling snowstorm. His friend remarked that if they had bought the tickets already, they would have gone. The problem refers to "sunk costs." Similarly, there is no sense going to the health club just because you have paid your dues. After all, the money is already paid: sunk. And yet, Thaler observed that we do, in general. People, in short, do not behave like rational economics would like them to. Even economics professors are not as rational as the people in their models. For instance, a bottle of wine that sells for \$50 might seem far too expensive to buy for a casual dinner at home. But if you already owned that bottle of wine, having purchased it earlier for far less, you would be more likely to uncork it for

呢? 另外一个与之有关的例 子是,一个朋友向泰勒承认, 虽然他会为自家草坪割草以 便节省10美元,但是他决不 会同意为隔壁的邻居割草以 获得同样多的 10 美元甚至 更多钱。根据"机会成本"理 论,上述例子中为邻居的草 坪割草以获得10美元的"成 本"与请人为自家草坪割草 的所需付出的钱是一样的。 根据这一理论,你或者愿意 拥有更多的闲暇时间或者愿 意得到更多的钱——你不可 能兼得两者。另外还报道了 另外一个例子,当时泰勒和 他的一个朋友决定放弃观看 一场在洛切斯特举行的篮球 赛,因为室外刮起了暴风雪。 他的朋友说,如果他们已经 买了票的话,他们可能就已 经出发去看篮球赛了。这个 问题就是"沉没成本"。与此 类似,如果仅仅是因为你已 经付了费而去健康俱乐部的 话,就没有什么意义了。毕 竟.钱已经支付出去了:已经 沉没了。然而,泰勒注意到, 一般来说在付了费后,我们 都会去的。简而言之,人们 不会像理性经济学家所期望 的那样做出自己的决定。即 使是经济学教授也不是像理

the same meal. To an economist, this makes no sense, but Thaler culled that anecdote from Richard Rosett, a prominent neoclassicist. The British economist K. Binmore once proclaimed at a seminar that people evolve toward rationality by learning from mistakes. Thaler retorted that people may learn how to shop for groceries sensibly because they do it every week, but the big decisions-marriage, career, retirement—do not come up very often. So Binmore's highbrow theories, he concluded, were good for "buying milk". In his doctoral thesis on the economic "worth" of a human life, Thaler proposed quantifying it by measuring the difference in pay between lifethreatening jobs and safer lines of work. He came up with a figure of \$200 a year (in 1967 dollars) for each 1-in-1,000 chance of dying. When he asked friends about it, most insisted that they would not accept a 1-in-1,000 mortality risk for anything less than a million dollars. Paradoxically, the same friends said they would not be willing to forgo any income to eliminate the risks that their iobs already entailed. Thaler concluded that rather than rationally pricing mortality, people had a cognitive disconnect; they put a premium on new risks and casually discounted familiar ones. In experiments designed to test his ideas, Thaler found

论模型中的人那样理性的。 例如,一瓶标价50美元的酒 对于人们在家里的浅饮小酌 来说显然是太贵了,人们不 会为此而购买这瓶酒。但是 如果你已经拥有了这瓶酒, 已经在很早以前以更便宜的 价格购买了这样一瓶酒,你 就很可能会为同样这顿便饭 而启开这瓶酒。对一个经济 学家来说,这样的事情是没 有什么特殊意义的,但是泰 勒从杰出的新古典主义学家 理查德·罗丝特那里筛选出 了此趣闻轶事。英国经济学 家 K·宾莫曾在一个研讨会 上宣布,人们会从过去的错 误中学习经验教训,从而朝 着理性的方向进化。泰勒反 驳说,人们可能会学到如何 聪明地在食品店里买东西, 因为他们每一周都要去食品 店里,但是重大决定——如 结婚、职业、退休——并不是 经常会遇到的。所以泰勒总 结道,宾莫的格调高雅的理 论只适用于"购买牛奶"。泰 勒的博士论文是讨论人类生 活的经济"价值"的,在这篇 论文里,泰勒提出我们可以 通过测量威胁生存的工作和 更安全的工作支付给人们的 薪金之间的差别而量化人类