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CONSTRUCTION OF
CHINA-GCC FTA

中海（合会）自贸区 构建问题研究

王 瑛◎著



中国社会科学出版社

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摘 要

经济全球化与区域经济一体化是当今全球经济发展的两大主要趋势,正广泛而深刻地影响着世界经济发展的各个方面。自由贸易区 (Free Trade Area, 以下简称 FTA), 尤其是双边 FTA 是目前区域经济合作的主要方式之一。

改革开放 30 多年来, 我国综合国力和国际竞争力大大增强, 并一直以积极的态度参与和推进区域经济合作, 稳步发展 FTA, 取得了一系列实质性进展。现阶段, 中国正在绘制一份面向全球的 FTA 战略地图, 立足周边、辐射“一带一路”, 并最终走向全球, 从而构筑起我国 FTA 战略的基本骨架。

中海 FTA 中的“海”指海湾阿拉伯国家合作委员会 (Gulf Cooperation Council, GCC, 以下简称“海合会”)。中国与海合会六国的直接贸易往来由来已久, 自 20 世纪 80 年代开始进入较快发展阶段。2004 年 7 月, 海合会秘书长和六国财长联合访华, 中海签订了“经济、贸易、投资和技术合作框架协议”, 并宣布启动建立 FTA 的谈判, 但 FTA 谈判至今未果。2013 年 9 月 23 日, 中国外交部部长王毅在纽约联合国总部集体会见海合会轮值主席国巴林外交大臣哈立德、下任轮值主席国科威特副首相兼外交大臣萨巴赫和秘书长扎耶尼时表示, 中国新一届政府高度重视发展同海合会的关系, 愿与海方共同努力, 促进中海合作关系长期稳定、可持续发展, 推动早日重启中海 FTA 谈判。此后, 加快推进中海 FTA 谈判成为中海双边合作努力推动的重点工作之一。2014 年 1 月 17 日, 中海第三轮战略对话在北京举行。习近平总书记会见了与会的海合会代表。习近平指出, 中方始终重视与海合会国家的双边关系, 中海 FTA 谈判历时已有 10 年之久, 做了大量基础性工作, 应加快双边磋商步伐, 早日签署协定。会后发表的新闻公报中, 亦突出强调了要加快中海 FTA 的谈判进程。尽管

近年来双方领导人均纷纷表示要加快中海 FTA 谈判进程，但新一轮的磋商至今仍未开始，相比犹如井喷般爆发的中海经贸发展形势，中海 FTA 的谈判历程显得过于漫长。随着近年来中海贸易额的迅速提升，以及中阿合作论坛和中阿经贸论坛（现已更名为中阿博览会）的成功举办，重启中海 FTA 谈判的时机已经成熟。中海 FTA 的建立对双方具有重要的意义，不仅能够扩大双边贸易总额、提高双边经贸水平，还能密切双边政治、文化、社会等领域的交流，有利于保障我国的石油安全，增进和巩固我国在中东地区的战略地位，回避在中东地区经济和政治领域被“边缘化”的风险，使我国获得更加广阔的发展空间，也将为我国同其他发展中国家的区域经济合作起到良好的示范效应。此外，中海 FTA 的建立对提升彼此在全球政治与经济的地位，扩大各国在世界经济中的话语权也具有重要的促进作用。在此背景下，中海 FTA 的建立不仅具有重要的经济意义，更具有重大的战略意义。

2014 年 6 月 5 日，中阿合作论坛第六届部长级会议在北京召开。习近平总书记作了题为《弘扬丝路精神，深化中阿合作》的重要讲话。习总书记指出，中阿是共建“一带一路”的天然合作伙伴，弘扬丝路精神，就是要坚持合作共赢，不断深化全面合作、共同发展的中阿战略合作关系。上述讲话精神是新一届中央政府对我国与阿拉伯国家重要关系的首次政策宣示，是我国全方位外交政策的重要组成部分，指出了中阿共建“一带一路”、进一步扩大双边合作的重点领域，为中阿关系未来发展带来了新的活力。“应加快消除中国与海合会自贸区建设中的阻碍，为建立中国与阿拉伯国家自由贸易区做准备”亦被纳入《中国—阿拉伯国家合作论坛 2014 年至 2016 年行动执行计划》。中海 FTA 作为“一带一路”建设的重点有望加快推进。

中国与海合会国家有着广泛的经济、政治与地区安全上的共同利益，中海建立 FTA 是大势所趋。新制度经济学与新经济增长理论认为，制度是经济增长的关键因素，是新经济增长模型中的内生变量。中海经贸关系的快速发展和双方政治外交关系的日益改善，为进行双边经贸关系的制度创新奠定了良好基础，中海 FTA 构想正是基于共同的战略利益而提出的。目前，这一制度创新还停留在构想层面，要把它变为现实，还需排除经济、政治及历史等多方面的制约因素，因此有必要对中海 FTA 建设的相关问题进行全面深入的研究。

本书的研究意义在于：分析如何在中海经贸关系快速稳定发展的形势下，充分利用中海间经济结构互补及牢固的政治基础等各方有利因素，建立中海 FTA 的可行性、预期效应、障碍及推进战略，从而为实现中海经贸关系的战略性升级，推动中海 FTA 建立提供一些借鉴和参考。从另一层面看，目前，发达国家相互之间（如欧盟）、发达国家和发展中国家之间的经济一体化合作相对较为成功，相形之下，发展中国家间的经济一体化进程则略显缓慢。因此，本书对于发展中国家之间进行区域经济合作进行的拓展性研究，亦具有重要的理论意义，有助于推动区域经济一体化相关研究的进一步发展。

本书共分 8 章内容。

第一章为前言。系统介绍了本书的研究背景和意义，基本研究内容、思路与方法，重点难点及预期创新，以及研究中存在的不足，并对相关概念进行了界定。

第二章为理论基础与文献述评。在理论基础部分，系统梳理了古典贸易理论、新古典贸易理论、当代贸易理论（包括：新贸易理论、战略性贸易政策理论、新新贸易理论）、区域经济一体化相关理论，以及 FTA 收益的相关理论。文献述评部分则对既有文献中有关区域经济一体化的研究、有关 FTA 的研究、有关中国建立 FTA 的研究、中海经贸关系发展及建立中海 FTA 方面的研究进行了整理和分析。分析认为，在中海 FTA 建设被提上日程的今天，国内外文献在该领域的研究现状和局限性一方面制约了理论研究对中海 FTA 建设实践的有力支撑与指导；另一方面也为本书的研究指明了方向——本书的选题既具有一定的理论意义和实践价值，也具有一定的前沿性和紧迫性。

第三章为中海 FTA 的谈判进程与国际间的竞争。第一，介绍了全球双边 FTA 的发展进程；第二，分别分析了中国和海合会六国参与 FTA 的历程、现状及战略意图，并分别探讨了中国和海合会各自在自贸区合作对象选择方面的现实思考，认为我国将以 FTA 战略为突破口，寻求相互的利益合作，以周边为基础逐步建设覆盖全球的高标准 FTA 网络，海合会 FTA 谈判对象的选择则会以自身国家安全及经贸发展为考量，更加注重与不同经济政治力量的平衡化发展，欧盟与海合会国家 FTA 谈判的不断搁浅，以及美国近年来的中东政策不仅没有稳定该地区的地区形势，反而助推了该地区的战争形势，而这一切都将有利于中国与海合会国家的 FTA

谈判；第三，基于轮轴—辐条（H&S）结构理论分析了建立中海 FTA 的可行性；第四，分析了中国与海合会建立 FTA 的背景与谈判进程，认为中海 FTA 的谈判将步入快车道，但在这一进程中，还将面临来自发达国家和印度等新兴国家的强劲竞争；因此，在本章的最后，针对海合会与美国、欧盟、印度、日本等其主要贸易伙伴的经贸关系和 FTA 谈判进行了具体分析，认为现阶段加快中海 FTA 的谈判步伐尤为重要。

第四章为中国与海合会六国双边经贸关系的发展。一方面，系统分析了中国及海合会六国的经贸发展现状，并着重分析了中国与海合会六国在货物贸易、服务贸易、外商直接投资等方面的双边经贸发展情况；另一方面，从双边关税水平、货物贸易关系、服务贸易关系、投资关系、能源合作等方面分析了中海 FTA 建立的经济基础。

第五章为中海 FTA 建立的预期效应分析。第一，对中海 FTA 建立的预期效应进行了理论分析，具体分析了中海 FTA 贸易效应的形成机理、中海 FTA 的静态效应和动态效应；第二，基于贸易比重指数分析了中海 FTA 的贸易创造效应；第三，基于贸易引力模型对中海 FTA 的贸易创造效应进行了预测；第四，基于 GTAP 模型对中海 FTA 的相关经济效应进行了事前分析；第五，以新区域主义理论为依据，分析了中海 FTA 建立之后可能获得的非传统收益；第六，探讨了中海 FTA 建立所带来的调整成本和协调成本。

第六章为中海建立 FTA 的障碍因素分析。本章首先从中海双边优先合作对象的差异、中海经济发展水平存在的差异、中海双边的市场壁垒、中海贸易结构的非平衡性等几个方面分析了经济方面存在的障碍因素；其次，分析了政治方面存在的障碍因素，包括：双边政治体制的差异、缺乏核心利益以及地区事务的相互支持、大国因素的影响等几个方面；最后，分析了其他障碍因素，包括：中海合作的根基较浅、海合会周边地区局势不稳、我国货物贸易产品及劳务输出的困境等几个方面。整体来看，中海 FTA 的建设仍面临很多方面的障碍。

第七章为推进中海 FTA 建设的战略思考。首先分析了建立中海 FTA 的必要性与优势条件；其次，提出了中海 FTA 制度安排应遵循的原则；最后，针对如何推进中海 FTA 建设提出了八点对策建议。

第八章为结论与展望。系统总结了本书对中海 FTA 构建问题进行的研究，提炼了主要的研究结论，即：中海双边存在着构建 FTA 较好的经

济基础，中海 FTA 能够产生预期的效应，但中海双边 FTA 发展也同时存在着一些障碍因素，中海 FTA 建设必将成为我国“一带一路”战略中的重要内容。

Abstract

Nowadays, Economic Globalization and Regional Economic Integration are the two major trends of global economic development, which are widely and deeply influencing all the aspects of the world economic development. Free Trade Area (hereafter referred to as FTA), especially bilateral FTA is one of the main methods of current regional economic cooperation.

With over more than thirty years of reform and opening up, the comprehensive national power and international competitiveness of China have been greatly strengthened. With positive attitude to join and advance regional economic cooperation, China has steadily promoted FTA development and achieved substantive progress. At this stage, China is drawing a FTA strategic map globally oriented to build the basic framework of FTA strategy, which is based on the countries around, extending the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st – Century Maritime Silk Road, or “the Belt and Road” for short, and eventually to all over the world.

The GCC appearing in China-GCC FTA refers to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). The direct trading relation between China and GCC has been longstanding, and ever since the 1980s it has been developing with a very fast pace. In July 2004, the General Secretary of GCC and six countries' financial ministers jointly visited China, signed the *Cooperation Framework Agreement on Economy, Trade, Investment and Technology*, and announced to start FTA negotiation, but unresolved. On September 23 2013, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi at the United Nations headquarter in New York collectively met Khalid (the foreign minister of Bahrain), Sabah (the Vice Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Kuwait as the next rotating presidency of GCC) and Zayani (the

General Secretary of Kuwait as the next rotating presidency of GCC) . Wang Yi said, the new session of Chinese government attaches great importance on developing relations with GCC; China would like to work together with GCC to promote the long-term, stable and sustainable development of cooperation relations, and push the early launch of China-GCC FTA negotiation. Later, accelerating the China-GCC FTA negotiation becomes one of the important works of bilateral efforts. On January 17 2014, China and GCC held the third round of strategic dialogue in Beijing. General Secretary Xi Jinping met the delegation of GCC. Xi Jinping said China is very serious about the bilateral relations with GCC, the China-GCC FTA negotiation has lasted for 10 years, which had finished much basic work. We should speed up the pace of bilateral negotiation for achieving the agreement as soon as possible. The press communique issued after the conference also highlights the importance on the acceleration of the China-GCC FTA negotiation. Although leaders of both sides agreed on speeding up the process of the China-GCC FTA negotiation, but the new round of negotiation has not started yet. Compared with the skyrocketing development of China-GCC economic and trade, the negotiation process seems to be far-flung. But with the rapid growth of China-GCC trade value, as well as the success hold of China-Arab Cooperation Forum and China-Arab Economic and Trade Forum (which has been renamed China-Arab Fair), it is the right time to restart the China-GCC FTA negotiation. The establishment of China-GCC FTA has important significance on both sides. It can not only enhance bilateral trade value, improve bilateral economic and trade level, but also bring a closer communication of bilateral politics, culture, society and other aspects. It is good for China's oil security, consolidating and enhancing our strategic position in the Middle East, avoiding the risk of being marginalized economically and politically, providing our country with wider developing space and helping China play a good leading role in the regional cooperation with other developing countries. Moreover, the establishment of the China-GCC FTA plays an important role in improving the global position of both sides and expanding the voice in global economy. In that context, the establishment of the China-GCC FTA has not only real economic significance, but also very important strategic significance.

On June 5 2014, the sixth ministerial meeting of China-Arab Cooperation Forum was opened in Beijing. General Secretary Xi Jinping delivered an important speech named *Carry Forward the Spirit of the Silk Road, Deepening China-Arab Cooperation* and pointed out that carrying forward the spirit of the silk road is leading us to the win-win cooperation; China-Arab are natural partners to co-build the Belt and Road. The spirit of the above-mentioned speech is the new central government's first policy proclamation for the relations between China and Arab countries. It is an important part of our comprehensive foreign policy, which stresses the key areas for China-Arab co - construction of the Belt and Road and further bilateral cooperation, so as to bring new energy for the future development of China-Arab relations. "Accelerate the elimination of the obstacles during the establishment of the China-GCC FTA, prepare for the establishment of China-Arab FTA" is also drawn in *the China-Arab Cooperation Forum Action Plan for 2014—2016*. We'd expect to speed up the progress of building China-GCC FTA as an important part of the Belt and Road.

China and GCC countries have extensive common interests on economy, politics and regional security. The trend of the establishment of China-GCC FTA is irreversible. Neo-institutional Economics and New Growth Theory think that system is the key factor for economic growth, and the endogenous variable in the new economic growth model. The rapid development of China-GCC relations and the improvement of political and diplomatic relations lay a good foundation on the institutional innovations of bilateral economic and trade relations, the proposal of China-GCC FTA concept is based on the common strategic interests. At present, this system innovation still stays at the level of conception, and to put it into reality needs to eliminate economic, political, historical and many other constraints. However, building China-GCC FTA is of important strategic significance, so it's necessary to comprehensively study the related issues of the China-GCC FTA establishment.

The significance of this book is to analyze how to make full use of China-GCC economic complementarities and the solid political foundations under the situation of the rapid development of the economic trade relations between China and GCC, to discuss the feasibility, modes, expected effects, obstacles and

impetus strategy of the China-GCC FTA establishment, so as to realize the strategic upgrading of China-GCC economic trade relations, offering some reference to facilitate China-GCC FTA establishment. From another perspective, the economy integrated cooperation between developed countries (such as European Union), between developed countries and developing countries are relatively successful, but the process between developing countries is comparatively slow. Therefore, the extended study of this book for regional economic cooperation between developing countries is also of theoretical significance, which is beneficial to promote the related study of regional economic integration.

The book includes eight chapters.

The first chapter is introduction. It systematically introduces research background and significances, basic research content, research idea and methods, the focuses and difficulties and expected innovation, deficiencies, and the related concepts are also defined.

Chapter two includes theoretical basis and literature review. In the theory part, systematically combs Classical Trade Theory, Modern Trade Theory (includes: New Trade Theory, Strategic Trade Policy, New-new Trade Theory), the Regional Economic Integration related theory, and the FTA revenue related theory. In the review part, collects and analyzes the existing literature about the study of regional economic integration, the study of related FTA, the study of China's establishment of FTA and the study of China-GCC economic and trade relations development and the establishment of China-GCC FTA. The book suggests that as the China-GCC FTA establishment is scheduled today, the research status and limitations of domestic and foreign literatures in this field, on one hand, constrain the support and guidance of the practice of the China-GCC FTA establishment; on the other hand, it has clearly demonstrated the direction for the research of this book, Which means that subject has theoretical and practical values, and is also an urgent subject in the frontier research area.

Chapter three describes the negotiation process of China-GCC FTA and the international competition. Firstly, this chapter introduces the development process of global bilateral FTA. Secondly, this chapter analyzes the FTA participate process, present status and strategic intention of China and GCC countries

separately, and also explores the realistic thinking of China-GCC FTA object selection, shows that our country regards FTA strategy as a breakthrough point, seeks mutual collaboration, gradually builds up globally around-based high standard FTA network, while the GCC FTA object selection considers more about the national security and economic trade development, pays more attention to the balanced development of the different economic and political powers. With the gradually collapsed negotiation between European Union and GCC, the EU countries still discriminate GCC countries in some degree. In recent years, America's Middle East Policy boosts the regional war instead of stabling, and all of these are good for the China-GCC FTA negotiation. Thirdly, this chapter analyzes the feasibility of establishing China-GCC FTA based on the H&S structural theory. Fourthly, this chapter analyzes the background of China-GCC FTA establishment and negotiation process, concludes that the negotiation will step into a fast traffic lane. But during this process, there will still face strong competition from developed countries and emerging countries such as India. Therefore, the last part of this chapter specially analyzes the economic trade relations between GCC and its main trading partners such as America, EU, India and Japan, as well as FTA negotiation, suggests it is very important for accelerating the process of China-GCC FTA negotiation.

Chapter four is the development of China and GCC bilateral economic trade relations. On one hand, this chapter systematically analyzes the present situation of China-GCC economic trade development, and focus on the situation of goods trade, services trade, and foreign direct investment and so on. On the other hand, this chapter analyze the economic foundation of China-GCC FTA establishment based on the analysis of bilateral tariffs, goods trade relationship, service trade relations, investment relationships, energy cooperation and so on.

Chapter five is expected effects analysis for China-GCC FTA establishment. Firstly, the book theoretically analyzes the expected effect analysis for the China-GCC FTA establishment, specially analyzes the China-GCC trade effects formation mechanism, China-GCC FTA static effects and dynamic effects. Secondly, it analyzes China-GCC FTA trade creative effects based on the trade index. Thirdly, it predicts the trade creative effects of the China-GCC

trade FTA based on the Trade Gravitation Model. Fourthly, it pre-analyzes the effects of the China-GCC FTA based on the GTAP model. Fifthly, it analyzes the nontraditional gains produced by the establishment of the China-GCC FTA based on the New Regional Theory. Finally, this thesis discusses the adjustment cost and coordination cost after the establishment of the China-GCC FTA.

Chapter six tries to analyze the obstacles of the China-GCC FTA establishment. The thesis starts the analysis from the differences of China-GCC bilateral preferred partners, the bilateral differences of economic development level between both sides and the unbalanced character of China-GCC trade structure. Secondly, it analyzes the existing handicaps on politics, including the different bilateral political systems, the lack of core interests, the support in regional affairs and powerful countries' influences. Lastly, the thesis analyzes other handicaps factors, including the shallow foundation of China-GCC cooperation, GCC unsteady surrounding areas, the dilemma of our country's goods trade and labor export. As a whole, the establishment of still China-GCC FTA faces a number of obstacles.

Chapter seven is the strategic thinking of promoting the establishment of the China-GCC FTA. Firstly, analyzes the necessity and advantages of building China-GCC FTA. Secondly, it puts forward the principles of China-GCC FTA institutional arrangement that should be followed. Lastly, it offers proposals on how to enhance the establishment of China-GCC FTA.

Chapter eight is the conclusion and prospect. This Chapter systematically summarizes the research of China-GCC FTA and refines the main conclusions, namely, there is a good economic foundation for China-GCC FTA construction. China-GCC FTA can produce expected trade effects, but there are also some handicaps. The establishment of the China-GCC FTA will become an important content of the "One Belt and One Road" strategy.

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