

PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE US ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHINA-GOVERNORS

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Minzhi Report

Since 2017, China-US relations have undergone major changes. In terms of strategic positioning, the US National Security Strategy Report and other authoritative documents clearly define China as the main “strategic opponent” and “competitor”.

In actual policies, especially since Trump took office, the United States has exerted full pressure on China in terms of the economy, trade, science and technology, and actively seek to decouple from China in the economic, humanities, education and other areas.

It can be said that China-US relations have undergone qualitative changes. In Washington, it seems that a strong voice against China has become mainstream, and there is a growing momentum.

In the face of this reality, in addition to being prepared, we need to deepen our understanding and understanding of the United States. During this special period of dramatic changes in Sino-US relations, we should prevent misjudgments and the continued deterioration of relations between the two countries.

In American politics, in addition to the White House and Congress, there is a class of important actors-the governors of the 50 states. Because of the federal system in the United States, the governor can ignore the White House's orders, and the state implements a single system for its local governments.

Although the US Constitution stipulates that the federal government externally represents national sovereignty. However, each federal member also enjoys a certain degree of diplomatic independence within the scope allowed by the federal constitution, and can sign some agreements with other diplomatic subjects, and some federal member units can also participate in various international organizations as federal members.

Therefore, with Washington's attitude toward China as a whole becoming tougher, the attitudes of the states are crucial. In order to discuss this issue, Minzhi International Research Institute and Tsinghua University Globalization Research Center launched the “Panorama of American Attitudes to China” study. This article is a series - the first part of the report-the governor's article.

美国对华态度全景 - 州长篇

专注全球化、中美经贸、乡村振兴的独立智库 2019-06-22 16:29

民智报告

自 2017 年以来，中美关系发生了重大变化。在战略定位上，美国《国家安全战略报告》等权威文件明确把中国界定为主要 “战略对手” 和 “竞争者”。

在实际政策中，尤其是特朗普上台以来，美国在经贸、科技等领域对中国进行了全面施压，并积极寻求与中国在经济、人文、教育等领域的脱钩。

可以说，中美关系已经发生了质变。在华盛顿，主张对华强硬的声音似乎已经成为主流，且有不断扩大的势头。

面对这样的现实，我们除了要做好准备之外，更需要加深对美国的认识和理解，在中美关系剧烈变动这一特殊时期，防止误判和两国关系继续恶化。

而在美国政治中，除了白宫与国会，还有一类举足轻重的行为体——美国 50 州州长们。由于美国的联邦体制，州长可以不听白宫的调令，且州对自身的地方政府都实行单一制，州政府可以改变甚至取消城市、县、学区等地方政府。

虽然美国宪法规定，联邦政府对外代表国家主权。但各联邦成员也在联邦宪法允许的范围内享有一定的外交独立性，可以与其他外交主体签订一些协议，部分联邦成员单位也可以以联邦成员身份参与各个国际组织。

因此，在华盛顿对华态度总体趋向强硬的情况下，各州的态度至关重要。为探讨这一问题，民智国际研究院同清华大学全球化研究中心启动了 “美国对华态度全景” 研究，此篇为系列 报告的第一篇——州长篇。

By combing the basic information of the governors of the 50 states and the economic structure of the state (including gender, age, employment experience, party faction, attitude towards China, as well as state GDP, total trade value, trade structure with China, etc.), and analyze the above factors and their relations with China relevance of attitudes, we reached the following conclusions:

(* The data in this section comes from the official websites of various US governments, and the data on official attitudes toward China comes from major mainstream media.)

1. On the whole, the governors of the US states do not have a unified attitude towards China, and their attitude towards China has not shown a tendency to be tough. Of the 50 governors, 17 governors are friendly to China, 14 governors have ambiguous attitudes toward China, and 6 governors are tough on China.

Among the 50 governors, 17 governors are friendly to China, 14 governors have an ambiguous attitude towards China, 6 governors are tough on China, and 14 governors have no obvious and open stance on China. Moreover, the issues of concern to the six governors who hold a tough attitude toward China are mainly human rights issues, and few issues related to economic and trade issues.

2. The attitudes of the governors of the US states toward China are not clearly influenced by the parties. For example, among the 17 governors who are friendly to China, there are 11 Republicans and 6 Democrats.

Among the 27 Republican governors, 11 are friendly to China, accounting for 40.7%, 5 are tough to China, accounting for 18.5%, 8 people are vague in China, accounting for 29.6%, and 3 people cannot be judged, accounting for 11.1%.

Among the 22 Democrat Governors, 6 are friendly to China, accounting for 27.2%, and 1 is tough to China, accounting for 4.5%, 6 people were vague to China, accounting for 27.2%, and 9 people could not be judged, accounting for 40.9%.

3. There is a certain correlation between the attitudes of the governors of the US states to China and the length of their tenure. For example, the 11 governors who are about to expire and the five governors facing election pressure have no clear anti-China attitude, and are mainly vague or non-committal. However, perhaps because of considerations for their next political career, these governors have not shown a clear friendly attitude towards China. Of these 16 governors, only 5 are friendly to China.
4. There is a certain relationship between the attitudes of the governors of the US states to China and trade with China. The 17 governors who are friendly to China have their GDP rankings, total trade rankings, and total trade rankings with China concentrated in the middle and the bottom rankings. The six governors with strong attitudes toward China rank top in the GDP ranking, total trade ranking, and total trade ranking with China, outside of Wyoming. The 14 governors

通过梳理美国 50 州州长的基本信息及所在州经济结构（包括性别、年龄、任职经历、党派、对华态度，以及州 GDP、贸易总值、对华贸易结构等），并分析上述因素与其对华态度的相关性，我们得出了如下结论：

(*本部分数据来源于美国各政府官网，官员对华态度数据来源于各大主流媒体。)

整体而言，美国各州州长并不存在统一的对华态度，其态度也没有表现出转为强硬的趋势。

在 50 位州长中，有 17 位州长对华友好，14 位州长对华态度模糊，6 位州长对华强硬，另

有 14 位州长未有明显的、公开的对华表态。而且，6 位持对华强硬态度的州长关心的议

题也主要是人权等议题，较少涉及经贸等问题。

美国各州州长对华态度不受党派明显的影响。例如，在 17 位持对华友好态度的州长中，共和党人有 11 人，民主党人有 6 人。

在 27 位共和党人州长中，对华友好的有 11 人，占比 40.7%，对华强硬的有 5 人，占比 18.5%，对华模糊的有 8 人，占比 29.6%，无法判断的有 3 人，占比 11.1%。

在 22 位民主党人州长中，对华友好的有 6 人，占比 27.2%，对华强硬的有 1 人，占比 4.5%，对华模糊的有 6 人，占比 27.2%，无法判断的有 9 人，占比 40.9%。

美国各州州长对华态度与其任期间长短存在一定的相关性。例如，即将任满的 11 位州长及 5 位面临竞选压力的州长，都未有明确的反华态度，并以模糊或者不表态为主。但是，可能是出于下一步政治生涯的考虑，这些州长也未表现出明确的对华友好态度。在这 16 位州长中，仅有 5 位对华表示友好。

美国各州州长对华态度同对华贸易之间存在一定的联系。对华态度友好的 17 位州长，其所在州 GDP 排名、贸易总值排名、对华贸易总值排名集中分布于中等及末等。对华态度强硬的 6 位州长，其所在州 GDP 排名、贸易总值排名、对华

with ambiguous attitudes toward China have no obvious rules to follow in their states.

5. From the perspective of regional distribution, the attitudes of the governors of the US states to China show certain rules, which should be related to the economic structure and industrial development policies of their states. The 17 governors friendly to China, are states that are concentrated in the New England region, the central and southern United States, and the mountainous region of the United States. The six governors who are tough on China, except for New York and Wyoming, are in the southeastern United States. The 14 governors who are vague to China have no geographical concentration.

Full Study

1. US Federal System

The United States is a federalist nation state. In addition to the federal government, there are 50 states, 1 District of Columbia, and 3042 counties in the country. There are 81,900 cities, towns and school districts. Federalism is the basic national system of the United States. The core is the parallel relationship between the federal and state governments. The two are basically independent of each other and are not affiliated with each other.

(* Chu Shulong, Dong Jiansen: "Theory and Practice of the US Federal System", "Journal of the Institute of International Relations", 2012 volume 2.)

The Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution stipulates that all powers not explicitly granted to the federal government are "reserved by states", and the powers of the president and state governors are clearly divided. Therefore, there is no subordinate relationship between the US president and the governor. The constitution prohibits the president from interfering in the affairs of the governors of each state. The governor does not need to worry about the affairs of the federal government. Their responsibilities are to their voters.

According to US law, states are sovereign entities. Although they have no right to leave the Federation and no diplomatic power, members of the Federation also enjoy certain diplomatic independence within the scope allowed by the Federal Constitution. They can sign some agreements with other diplomatic subjects. Some federal members units can also participate in various international organizations as federal members. Moreover, the dominance of intrastate affairs is entirely in the hands of the state governments, including business, finance, etc., which are closely related to the trade war areas.

2. Economic overview of the states

The United States governs 50 states, five autonomous territories and outer islands, and one Washington, DC. This survey targets 50 states with "state status", and Washington, DC is actually a federal

贸易总值排名，出怀俄明州以外，皆排名靠前。对华态度模糊的 14 位州长，其所在州暂无明显规律可循。

从地区分布来看，美国各州州长对华态度呈现出一定的规律，这应与其州的经济结构和产业发展政策有关。对华友好的 17 位州长，其所在州集中于美国新英格兰地区、中南部、以美国山地地区。对华强硬的 6 位州长，其所在州除纽约州和怀俄明州意外，其余 4 州皆位于美国东南部。对华模糊的 14 位州长，其所在州长地理位置无集中。

一、美国联邦体制

美国是联邦制国家，除联邦政府外，全国有 50 个州，1 个哥伦比亚特区，3042 个县，约 81900 个市、镇和学区。联邦制是美国的基本国家制度，核心是联邦和州之间的平行关系，是在一个国家内部法律上的相互基本独立，互不隶属。

(*楚树龙、董建森：《美国联邦制度的理论与实践》，《国际关系学院学报》，2012 年第 2 期。)

美国宪法第十修正案规定，所有没有明确授予联邦政府的权力，都“由各州保留”，对总统和各州州长的权力进行了明确的划分。因此，美国总统和州长之间并不存在上下级关系，宪法禁止总统干涉各州州长的事务，州长也不需要为联邦政府的事情操心，他们的职责都是对自己的选民负责。

根据美国法律，各州是主权实体，虽然无权脱离联邦也无外交权，但是各联邦成员也在联邦宪法允许的范围内享有一定的外交独立性，可以与其他外交主体签订一些协议，部分联邦成员单位也可以以联邦成员身份参与各个国际组织。而且，州内事务的主导权完全在各州政府手中，其中就包括商业、金融等与贸易战息息相关的领域。

二、各州经济概况

本调查针对的是拥有“州地位”的 50 个州，而华盛顿哥伦比亚特区实际上是由美国国会直接管辖的联邦地区，因此不属于美国的任何州，也不在此次调查范围内。

district directly under jurisdiction of the United States Congress. Therefore, it does not belong to any state in the United States and is outside the scope of this investigation. All economic data related to the states in this section is derived from the U.S. Official Bureau of Statistics and the U.S. Department of Labor’s Bureau of Labor Statistics. Except for special indications, the data is all for 2018. The data units in the charts are in millions of present value in US dollars. The data retrieval time is: June 10, 2019.

State GDP

The GDP of the 50 US states ranges from USD 33.7 billion (Vermont) to USD 2.97 trillion (California). The average GDP is 404.9 billion US dollars, the median is 234.5 billion US dollars, and the total GDP of each state varies greatly. California, ranked # 1, has a total GDP 3.4 times that of Illinois # 5 and 5.2 times that of North Carolina # 11. The top 5 states by total GDP are: California, Texas, New York, Florida, and Illinois.

本部分所有涉及州的经济数据，皆来源于美国官方人口统计局及美国劳工部劳工统计局，数据时间除特殊标明以外，皆为2018 年全年数据，图表数据单位除特殊标明外，皆为百万现值美元。数据检索时间为：2019 年 6 月 10 日。

各州 GDP

美国 50 州 GDP 数值区间为 337 亿美元（佛蒙特州）至 2.97 万亿美元（加州）。GDP 平均值为 4049 亿美元，中位数为 2345 亿美元，各州 GDP 总量差异较大。排名第 1 的加州，其 GDP 总量是排名第 5 的伊利诺伊州的 3.4 倍，是排名第 11 的北卡罗来纳州的 5.2 倍。GDP 总量排名前 5 的州分别是：加利福尼亚州，得克萨斯州，纽约州，佛罗里达州，以及伊利诺伊州。

Top 10 States with the Highest GDP		
State	GDP (million)	
	Total GDP	GDP Ranking
California	\$2,968,117.6	1
Texas	\$1,775,796.5	2
New York	\$1,676,350.2	3
Florida	\$1,036,323.2	4
Illinois	\$864,587.3	5
Pennsylvania	\$788,537.8	6
Ohio	\$676,192.5	7
New Jersey	\$624,851.9	8
Georgia	\$588,171.7	9
Massachusetts	\$567,254.8	10

The last states in the total GDP ranking are: Vermont, Wyoming, Montana, South Dakota, and Alaska.

GDP 总量排名最末的州分别是：佛蒙特州，怀俄明州，蒙大拿州，南达科他州，以及阿拉斯加州。

Top 10 States with the Lowest GDP		
State	GDP (million)	
	Total GDP	GDP Ranking
Vermont	\$33,725.2	50
Wyoming	\$39,371.1	49
Montana	\$48,970.0	48
South Dakota	\$51,581.1	47
Alaska	\$54,011.2	46
North Dakota	\$54,714.2	45
Rhode Island	\$61,020.9	44

Maine	\$64,350.7	43
Delaware	\$74,973.3	42
Idaho	\$77,004.2	41
West Virginia	\$77,477.1	40

State trade volume

In terms of trade, the 50 states' trade ranges from US \$3.6 billion to US \$ 301.6 billion, with an average of US \$ 47.3 billion, with a median of 28 billion US dollars, there are large differences between states, it is very polarized, and the overall situation is similar to the total GDP. The top 5 states by trade volume are: California, Texas, New York, Florida, and Illinois.

各州贸易量

贸易而言，50 州贸易值从 36 亿美元到 3016 亿美元不等，平均为 473 亿美元，中位数为 280 亿美元，州与州之间差异较大，分化两极，整体情况与 GDP 总量类似。贸易量排名前 5 的州分别是：加利福尼亚州，得克萨斯州，纽约州，佛罗里达州，以及伊利诺伊州。

Top 10 States with the Highest Trade Volume		
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New Jersey	\$624,851.9	8
Georgia	\$588,171.7	9
Massachusetts	\$567,254.8	10

The last five states in the trade volume ranking are: Alaska, Wyoming, Vermont, Delaware, and Montana.

贸易量排名最末的 5 个州分别是：阿拉斯加州，怀俄明州，佛蒙特州，德拉华州，以及蒙大拿州。

Top 10 States with the Lowest GDP		
State	GDP (million)	
	Total GDP	GDP Ranking
Alaska	\$3,690.20	50
Wyoming	\$3,767.30	49
Vermont	\$4,221.80	48
Delaware	\$4,884.60	47
Montana	\$6,048.00	46
Rhode Island	\$7,046.70	45
South Dakota	\$7,414.70	44
North Dakota	\$7,865.20	43
West Virginia	\$8,655.70	42
Maine	\$8,808.50	41

In other words, the trade volume of each state will have a positive correlation with its economic scale, that is, the state with a large economic scale will have a relatively large trade scale, and vice versa.

Proportion of trade volume by state

Judging from the proportion of total trade value to GDP, the range of trade GDP of the 50 US states ranges from 6.52% to 14.88%, with an average of 11.82% and a median of 12.24%. Overall, except for Delaware and Alaska, the difference in the value of trade between the US states is relatively small. However, in terms of the ratio of trade value to GDP, there are many economic continents such as New York and California among the last ten states. These states have large trade volumes, but because their own states have developed economies and diverse pillar industries, their proportion of trade value relatively low, that is, less dependent on trade. On the other hand, some states with small trade value have a relatively high proportion of trade value because their economies are small. Ranked by trade value as a percentage of GDP, the top five states and their trade value rankings are: Arkansas (33), North Dakota (43), South Dakota (44), Florida (4), Idaho (38). The five lowest-ranking states and their trade value rankings are: Delaware (47), Alaska (50), Massachusetts (13), New Mexico (39), and New York (3).

Trade with China

Based on the two import and export data, the trade volume between 50 states and China ranges from US \$ 200 million to US \$ 177.5 billion, with an average of US \$ 13.1 billion and a median of US \$ 4.8 billion. Ranked 41st in terms of trade volume with China, Rhode Island, its trade volume with China is only 6.7% of the 10th-ranked Ohio. But it is undeniable that the total trade value with China is closely related to the size of each state's economy. The last ten states in the ranking have lower trade volume, and their GDP rankings are relatively low, and vice versa. The five states with the highest trade volume with China are: California, Texas, Illinois, Washington, and Texas.

换言之，各州贸易量与其经济规模将存在正相关，即经济规模大的州，其贸易规模也比较大，反之亦然。

各州贸易量占比

以贸易总值占 GDP 比重来看，美国 50 个州的贸易 GDP 占比区间从 6.52%至 14.88%不等，平均占比 11.82%，中位数为 12.24%。整体而言，除了德拉华及阿拉斯加州，美国各州的贸易值占比差异较小。但按贸易值占 GDP 的比值排名，在排名末等的十个州中不乏纽约，加州等经济大洲，这些州贸易量大，但因其本身州经济发达，支柱产业多样，所以贸易值占比相对较低，即对贸易依赖较低。而反过来，一些贸易总值较小的州，因其经济规模也较小，所以贸易值占比相对较高。按贸易值占 GDP 比值排名，占比最高的 5 个州及其贸易总值排名为：阿肯色州（33），北达科他州（43），南达科他州（44），佛罗里达州（4），爱达华州（38）。占比最低的 5 个州及其贸易总值排名为：德拉华州（47），阿拉斯加（50），马塞诸塞州（13），新墨西哥州（39），以及纽约州（3）。

对华贸易

以进出口两项数据为基准，50 个州与华贸易量区间在 2 亿美元到 1775 亿美元之间，平均数为 131 亿美元，中位数为 48 亿美元，各州差距较大。按对华贸易量排名，第 41 名的罗德岛，其对华贸易量仅为第 10 名俄亥俄州的 6.7%。但不可否认的，对华贸易总值与每个州的经济体量大小密切相关。排名最末的十州，其贸易总量也较低，其 GDP 排名也相对靠后，反之亦然。其中对华贸易量排名最高的 5 个州是：加利福尼亚州、得克萨斯州、伊利诺伊州、华盛顿州、得克萨斯州。

Top 10 Ranking States in Total Trade Volume with China		
Rank	State	Trade Volume Total
1	California	\$177,541.99
2	Texas	\$64,101.23
3	Illinois	\$44,311.26
4	Washington	\$32,277.59
5	Tennessee	\$29,097.51
6	New York	\$27,109.14

7	Georgia	\$26,745.52
8	New Jersey	\$20,296.49
9	Pennsylvania	\$17,931.47
10	Ohio	\$16,576.30

The five states with the lowest trade volume with China are:
North Dakota, Wyoming, South Dakota, Montana, and Hawaii.

对华贸易量排名最低的 5 个州是：北达科他州、怀俄明州、南达科他州、蒙大拿州、夏威夷州。

Lowest 10 Ranking States in Total Trade Volume with China		
Rank	State	Trade Volume Total
50	North Dakota	\$192.83
49	Wyoming	\$219.13
48	South Dakota	\$267.87
47	Montana	\$270.08
46	Hawaii	\$411.18
45	Vermont	\$416.73
44	Maine	\$554.94
43	West Virginia	\$718.87
42	Delaware	\$829.80
41	Rhode Island	\$1,119.06

Percentage of trade with China

Judging from the ratio of trade with China to total state trade, the ratio of the 50 states in the United States ranges from 2.45% to 58.87%, with an average ratio of 20.91% and a median of 17.92%. Overall, the proportion of US states' trade volume with China is significantly different. It is worth noting that, due to the influence of the state's economic scale, among the ten states with the highest ratio of total trade to China, not only California, Illinois and other large economic states, but also Alaska and other small-scale trade with China State. In other words, although some states have low trade value with China, their economic scale is relatively small due to their relatively small economies. The overall economy still has a certain impact.

For a larger state economy, although its economic structure is diverse and trade has a limited impact on overall GDP, this does not mean that economic exchanges with China are insignificant. Taking California and Tennessee as examples, its trade share of over 50% can directly affect the state's GDP. Especially in California, its total trade accounts for 10.16% of GDP, while trade with China accounts for 5.98%. Ranked by the ratio of trade with China to the value of state trade, the 10 states with the lowest proportions are:

各州对华贸易量占比

以对华贸易占州贸易总量比值来看，美国 50 个州的比值区间从 2.45%至 58.87%不等，平均占比 20.91%，中位数为 17.92%。整体而言，美国各州对华贸易量占比差异明显。值得注意的是，受州经济规模影响，对华贸易占州贸易总量比值最高的十个州里，不仅有加州，伊利诺伊州等经济大州，还有阿拉斯加州等对华贸易量较小的州。换言之，虽然有些州虽然对华贸易总值不高，但因其经济规模相对小，与华的经济往来对其整体经济还是有一定影响的。

而对于经济规模较大的州而言，虽然因其经济结构多样，贸易对整体 GDP 影响有限，但这并不代表与华经济往来对其无足轻重。以加州和田纳西州为例，其超过 50%的贸易占比，是能够直接影响到州 GDP 的。尤其是加州，其贸易总量占 GDP10.16%，而对华贸易一项就已占了 5.98%。按对华贸易占州种贸易值比值排名，占比最低的 10 个州为：

Trade of Volume with China Rank	GDP Rank	Total Trade Volume Rank	State	Trade with China	
				Percent of Total Trade	Percent of GDP
50	45	43	North Dakota	2.45%	0.35%
48	47	44	South Dakota	3.61%	0.52%
47	48	46	Montana	4.47%	0.55%
46	38	40	Hawaii	4.62%	0.45%
49	49	49	Wyoming	5.82%	0.56%
44	43	41	Maine	6.30%	0.86%
36	16	20	Colorado	6.33%	0.70%
43	40	42	West Virginia	8.31%	0.93%
39	35	36	Nebraska	9.63%	1.12%
45	50	48	Vermont	9.87%	1.24%

Ranked by the ratio of trade with China to trade value of the states, the top 10 states are:

按对华贸易占州种贸易值比值排名，占比最高的 10 个州为：

Trade of Volume with China Rank	GDP Rank	Total Trade Volume Rank	State	Trade with China	
				Percent of Total Trade	Percent of GDP
1	1	1	California	58.87%	5.98%
5	19	14	Tennessee	57.88%	7.96%
15	26	25	South Carolina	45.80%	5.61%
4	12	9	Washington	40.81%	5.73%
3	5	5	Illinois	40.23%	5.13%
17	28	27	Kentucky	39.34%	5.02%
40	46	50	Alaska	36.25%	2.48%
7	9	10	Georgia	35.16%	4.55%
20	25	28	Oregon	32.20%	3.38%
12	17	16	Minnesota	32.06%	3.99%

Overview of the governors of each state

Since the United States adopts a federal system, according to the US Constitution, in addition to the power of the federal government, the rest of the power is reserved for the states, such as supervising state business, holding elections, establishing local governments, and approving constitutional amendments. Therefore, the power of the governor of the United States is greater than that of ordinary countries. In addition, the governors of the United States are all elected by the people, but the terms of office are different. Some states have limits on the number of re-elections of governors, such as California, Delaware and Arkansas; some states do not set limits, such as New York and Illinois.

三、各州州长概况

由于美国实行联邦制，因此根据美国宪法，除了联邦政府的权力之外，其余权力均留给各州，如监管州内商业，举行选举，建立地方政府和批准宪法修正案等。因此，美国州长的权力，相对一般国家来说较大。此外，美国的州长均由民选产生，但任期不一，一些州对州长的任期连任次数设限制，如加州、特拉华州和阿肯色州；一些州则不设限，如纽约州和伊利诺伊州。

01. Gender

From a gender perspective, the majority of the 50 governors are men and only 9 women.

02. Age

Of the 50 governors, 7 were under 50 years old, 16 were between 50 and 60 years old, 21 were between 60 and 70 years old, and 6 were over 70 years old, with an average age of 60 years old. The media is 62 years old, which shows that the age distribution of governors is relatively concentrated. Taken together, most of the governors are between 50 and 70 years old, that is, born between 1949 and 1969. During this time, the United States reached the peak of the capitalist world. Wall Street enjoyed the longest bull market in history after the World War II. The stock market rose from 1949 to 1957 with almost no resistance. Politically, the United States began its road of global expansion, McCarthyism prevailed, the Cold War iron curtain opened, and its containment policy toward China continued. From a psychological point of view, the influence of historical events on the governor's attitude towards China cannot be ruled out.

03. Partisan

From a partisan background, almost all 50 governors are Republicans or Democrats. Specifically, of the 50 governors, there are 27 Republicans and 22 Democrats. The only exception is the Governor of Minnesota, from the Minnesota Democratic Farmers-Labor Party. * The Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party (DFL) is one of the two main political parties in Minnesota. It belongs to the Democratic Party of the United States and can be regarded as the Democratic State Party in Minnesota. It was formed in 1944 by the merger of the Minnesota Democratic Party (the branch of the American Democratic Party in Minnesota) and the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party. The merger was led by the 38th Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

04. Past experience

Of the 50 governors, 13 were once lieutenant governors, 14 had senator experience, and 17 were congressional representatives. In addition, there are 15 governors who have served as directors in state or county offices, and there are 5 former federal department heads including the former US Secretary of State and former US ambassador. In other words, one-third of the 50 governors were former members of Congress and 41% had been in charge of state affairs. These people are either familiar with the mindset of voters or have rich front-line management experience. In addition to government office, 8 governors have experience as lawyers, and 2 governors were former Republican Party leaders in their states. In addition, there are seven governors who have no prior public affairs experience before becoming governors. It should be noted that although lawyers belong to the judicial system, Americans classify them into public affairs occupations.

性别

从性别上看，50 位州长中，绝大部分为男性，女性仅有 9 位。

年龄

50 位州长中，小于 50 岁的有 7 位，50 岁至 60 岁的有 16 位，60 岁-70 岁的有 21 位，大于 70 岁的有 6 位，平均年龄为 60 岁，中位数为 62 岁，由此可见，各州长年龄分布相对集中。综合来看，州长们的年龄大部分在 50 岁至 70 岁之间，即出生于 1949 年至 1969 年之间。在这段时间，美国登上了资本主义世界的高峰，华尔街在战后享受了历史上最长的一次牛市，股市几乎毫无阻力的从 1949 年到一直上涨到 1957 年。政治上，美国开始了其全球扩张的道路，麦卡锡主义大行其道，冷战铁幕开启，对华遏制政策不断。从心理学角度而言，不排除这一时期历史事件对州长对华态度的影响。

党派

从党派背景上看，50 位州长几乎都是共和党或者民主党人。具体而言，50 位州长中，有 27 位共和党人，22 位民主党人，唯一一个例外是明尼苏达州州长，出身于明尼苏达民主农民-劳工党。*明尼苏达民主-农民-劳工党（Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, DFL）是美国明尼苏达州的两个主要政党之一，隶属于美国民主党，可视为民主党在明尼苏达州的州政党。1944 年由明尼苏达民主党（即美国民主党在明尼苏达州的分支）与明尼苏达农民-劳工党合并而成。由第 38 任美国副总统休伯特·汉弗莱主导合并。

过往经历

50 位州长中有 13 位曾经是副州长，14 位有过参议员经历，17 位众议员出身。另外，还有 15 位州长在州或县级办公室担任过主管，更有包含前美国国务卿、前美国大使在内的前联邦级部门主管 5 人。换言之，在 50 位州长中，有三分之一曾是国会议员，有 41% 曾主管过州务。这些人或熟悉选民心态，或有丰富的一线管理经验。政府公职之外，还有 8 位州长有过律师从业经历、有 2 位州长曾是所在州的共和党党魁。此外，还有 7 位州长在任州长之前无任何公共事务经验。需要特别说明的是，虽然律师属司法

Therefore, in official news, only the occupation of lawyers is listed separately.

05. Term of office

The terms of office of governors in the 50 states vary from August 2009 to January 2019, mainly in January 2015, January 2017, and January 2019. The specific information is as follows: The term of office of the 50 governors spans from 2019 to 2023. The statistical information of the specific term change is as follows: Among them, Kentucky Governor Republican Matt Bevin will end this term this year, and he has already launched a re-election campaign. The three governors who will be re-elected in 2020 are: Governor Louisiana Democrat John Bel Edwards, North Dakota Governor Republican Doug Burgum, and Mississippi Governor Republican Phil Bryant. The governor of Mississippi has reached the term limit, while the governor of Louisiana, John Bel Edwards, and the governor of North Dakota, Doug Burgum, are still in their first term. At present, the governor of Louisiana, John Bel Edwards, has announced his participation in the re-election campaign, but there is no confirmation whether Governor Doug Burgum of North Dakota will run in the election.

In addition, there are two governors who will be re-elected in 2021 and chose to participate in the 2020 presidential election, namely, Washington Governor Democrat Jay Inslee and Montana Governor Democrat Steve Bullock. It is worth noting that, of these five states, except Washington State, the remaining four states have been in the past five presidential elections. And, with the exception of McCain who won Montana in 2008 with a vote rate of less than 5%, Republican candidates' vote rate exceeded 5%. As a result, the current Governor of Louisiana, John Bel Edwards, who is a Democrat, is bound to usher in fierce competition, especially from Republican Rep. Ralph Abraham in the 5th District of Louisiana. In addition, there are 11 governors, including Phil Bryant, the Mississippi Governor, who will reach the term limit. Although there is no news yet about what these governors will do after they resign, these 11 governors' public words and deeds are bound to be affected and the impact of their subsequent plans.

4. Governor's attitude towards China

01. Governors' attitudes toward China at a glance

Based on the above basic analysis of the governor, the state economy, and their respective attitudes toward China, we take the friendly attitude, toughness, and ambiguity toward China as the standard to further analyze the economic and other related influencing factors behind the attitude toward China. The friendly criterion is whether any pro-China remarks have been published publicly; if there is no obvious

system, but Americans have divided it into public service jobs, and therefore in official news, only lawyers this occupation is listed separately.

任期时间

50 州州长任期各不相同，任期起始时间跨度从 2009 年 8 月至 2019 年 1 月，主要集中于 2015 年 1 月，2017 年 1 月，以及 2019 年 1 月。具体信息如下：50 位州长的任期结束时间跨度从 2019 年到 2023 年，具体任期换届统计信息如下：其中，肯塔基州长共和党人 Matt Bevin 将于今年结束本届任期，目前他已经展开连任竞选活动。而将在 2020 年迎来换届的 3 位州长分别是：路易斯安州长民主党人 John Bel Edwards、北达科他州长共和党人 Doug Burgum、及密西西比州州长共和党人 Phil Bryant。密西西比州州长已达到了任期限制，而路易斯安州长 John Bel Edwards、北达科他州长 Doug Burgum 则都还在第一届任期内，目前路易斯安州长 John Bel Edwards 已宣布参与连任竞选，但尚无消息确认北达科他州长 Doug Burgum 是否参与竞选。

另外，还有 2 位将于 2021 年迎来换届的州长选择了参与 2020 年总统大选，分别是华盛顿州长民主党人 Jay Inslee，以及蒙大拿州长民主党人 Steve Bullock。值得注意的是，这五个州中除华盛顿州，其余 4 个州在过去 5 次总统选举中。并且，除了 2008 年麦凯恩以低于 5% 的得票率拿下蒙大拿州以外，共和党候选人的得票率都超过了 5%。因此，身为民主党人的现任路易斯安州长 John Bel Edwards 势必将迎来激烈的竞争，尤其是在路易斯安州第 5 选区的共和党众议员 Ralph Abraham。除此之外，还有包括密西西比州州长 Phil Bryant 在内的 11 位州长将达到州长任期限制，虽然目前尚无消息表明这些州长之退任之后会何去何从，但这 11 位州长的公开言行势必会受其后续打算的影响。

四、州长对华态度

各州州长对华态度一览

基于以上关于州长、州经济、以及各自对华态度的基本分析，我们以对华态度友好、强硬、模糊为标准，进一步分析对华态度背后的经济等相关影响因素。友好的评判标准为是否有公开发表过亲华言论；如果没有明显对华言论，但就对华增加关

remarks against China, but we have expressed dissatisfaction with incidents such as increased tariffs on China and waging trade wars that clearly target China, we will classify them as fuzzy; if There have been obvious anti-Chinese remarks, critical remarks, or explicit support for trade war remarks, which we classify as tough. For example, Massachusetts Governor Charlie Baker said at an event in December 2018: "The US should see China as a valued partner not only in our economic growth but in solving problems around the world", so we will It is regarded as friendly to China. Arkansas Governor Asa Hutchinson said in an interview with CNBC on June 9, 2019: "I continue to support the president But we feel it's appropriate to say there is a point that you should not squeeze us further", so we will It is attributed to a vague attitude towards China. Georgian governor Brian Kemp, who publicly said "he supports whatever decision the president makes on delicate trade negotiations", is classified as tough.

After counting the attitudes of the 50 governors towards China, we found that the governors' overall attitude toward China is biased toward friendship. Among them, 17 governors showed obvious friendship with China, 14 governors had ambiguous attitudes toward China, 6 governors had strong attitudes toward China, and 14 governors had no obvious and open stance on China.

Friendly

The list of 17 governors who have shown an obvious friendly attitude towards China is as follows. Their statements focused on opposing Trump's trade war with China, and participating in Chinese community activities or visiting China many times. Among the 17 governors, there are 3 female governors and 14 male governors, ranging from 44 to 75 years old. There are 6 Democrats and 11 Republicans.

税、发动贸易战等明显针对中国的事件表明过不满的，我们将其归纳为模糊；如果就有过明显反华言论，批判言论，或者明确支持贸易战言论的，我们将之归为强硬。例如，马塞诸塞州长 Charlie Baker 在 2018 年 12 月在一场活动上曾表示：“The U.S. should see China as a valued partner not only in our economic growth but in solving problems around the world”，因此我们将其视为对华友好。阿肯色州长 Asa Hutchinson 在 2019 年 6 月 9 日接受 CNBC 采访时表示：“I continue to support the president But we feel it's appropriate to say there is a point that you should not squeeze us further”，因此我们将其归为对华态度模糊。而公开说过 “he supports whatever decision the president makes on delicate trade negotiations” 的乔治亚州长 Brian Kemp 则被归为态度强硬。

在统计了 50 个州长的对华态度后，我们发现州长们对华整体态度偏向友好。其中有 17 位州长对华表现出明显的友好，有 14 位州长对华态度模糊，有 6 位州长对华态度强硬，另有 14 位州长未有明显的、公开的对华表态。

友好

17 位对华表现出明显友好态度的州长名单如下，其表态议题集中于反对特朗普开展对华贸易战，及多次参与华人社区活动或者到访中国。这 17 位州长中，女性州长 3 人，男性州长 14 人，年龄从 44 岁到 75 岁不等，有 6 位民主党人，11 位共和党人。

List of the 17 Governors Friendly to China				
Name	Gender	Age	State	Party
Kay Ivey	Female	75	Alabama	Republican
Doug Ducey	Male	55	Arizona	Republican
Jared Polis	Male	44	Colorado	Democrat
John Carney	Male	63	Delaware	Democrat
Brad Little	Male	65	Idaho	Republican
Eric Holcomb	Male	51	Indiana	Republican
Janet Mills	Female	72	Maine	Democrat
Charlie Baker	Male	63	Massachusetts	Republican
Steve Bullock	Male	53	Montana	Democrat
Chris Sununu	Male	45	New Hampshire	Republican
Roy Cooper	Male	62	North Carolina	Democrat

Doug Burgum	Male	63	North Dakota	Republican
Katie Brown	Female	59	Oregon	Democrat
Bill Lee	Male	60	Tennessee	Republican
Gary Herbert	Male	72	Utah	Republican
Phil Scott	Male	61	Vermont	Republican
Jim Justice	Male	68	West Virginia	Republican

Tough

The list of the six governors who have clearly expressed their toughness toward China is as follows. Among them, four have very close personal relations with Trump, and three have accused China of human rights issues. In terms of parties, there are 5 Republicans and 1 Democrat. The age ranges from 41 to 70 years old, and in terms of gender, they are all male.

强硬

6 位对华明显表态强硬的州长名单如下，其中有 4 人与特朗普私交甚密，有 3 人就人权问题指责中国。党派而言，有 5 位出自共和党，1 位民主党人。年龄从 41 岁到 70 岁不等，性别而言，皆为男性。

List of the 6 Governors Tough on China				
Name	Gender	Age	State	Party
Henry McMaster	Male	72	South Carolina	Republican
Andrew Cuomo	Male	65	New York	Democrat
Mike Parson	Male	64	Missouri	Republican
Mark Gordon	Male	62	Wyoming	Republican
Brian Kemp	Male	56	Georgia	Republican
Ron DeSantis	Male	41	Florida	Republican

Ambiguous

The list of 14 governors with ambiguous attitudes to China is as follows: 3 women, 11 men, 6 Democrats, 8 Republicans, ranging in age from 48 to 72 years old. Most people worry that tariffs hurt the state's economy, but their trade war's attitude is ambiguous, and some governors firmly support Trump, or believe that China does have problems with intellectual property rights.

模糊

对华态度呈模糊的 14 位州长名单如下，其中有 3 位女性，11 位男性，6 位民主党人，8 位共和党人，年龄从 48 岁到 72 岁不等。大多数人担忧关税伤害本州经济，但对于贸易战的态度模糊不清，更有部分州长坚定支持特朗普，或认为中国在知识产权上确实存在问题。

List of the 14 Governors Ambiguous on China				
Name	Gender	Age	State	Party
Asa Hutchinson	Male	69	Arkansas	Republican
Gavin Newsom	Male	52	California	Democrat
David Ige	Male	62	Hawaii	Democrat
Kim Reynolds	Female	60	Iowa	Republican
Matt Bevin	Male	52	Kentucky	Republican
John Bel Edwards	Male	53	Louisiana	
Larry Hogan	Male	63	Maryland	Republican
Gretchen Whitmer	Female	48	Michigan	Democrat

Pete Ricketts	Male	55	Nebraska	Republican
Mike DeWine	Male	72	Ohio	Republican
Tom Wolf	Male	71	Pennsylvania	
Kristi Noem	Female	48	South Dakota	Republican
Greg Abbott	Male	62	Texas	Republican
Jay Abbott	Male	68	Washington	Democrat

02. China Trade and Governor's Attitude towards China

Friendly

Divided by state, the 17 governors who are friendly to China, and the rankings of their states' GDP, total trade value, and total trade value with China are concentrated in the middle and the bottom. However, if we look at the ranking of trade value in GDP, most of them are concentrated in the middle. In terms of geographic location, the states are concentrated in the New England region, the south central region, and the mountainous region of the United States.

对华贸易与州长对华态度

友好

以州划分，对华态度友好的 17 位州长，所在州 GDP、贸易总值、以及对华贸易总值排名集中于中等及末等。但若以贸易值占 GDP 排名来看，则大多集中于中等。地理位置而言，所在州集中于美国新英格兰地区、中南部、以及美国山地地区。

The Economic Data for the 17 Friendly Governors Towards China				
Trade Volume with China Ranking	GDP Ranking	Trade Volume Ranking	Percent of GDP Ranking	State
22	27	26	20	Alabama
27	20	17	14	Arizona
36	16	20	37	Colorado
42	42	47	50	Delaware
32	41	38	5	Idaho
16	18	18	30	Indiana
44	43	41	10	Maine
21	10	13	48	Massachusetts
47	48	46	24	Montana
38	39	37	12	New Hampshire
14	11	12	38	North Carolina
50	45	43	2	North Dakota
20	25	28	39	Oregon
5	19	14	9	Tennessee
31	31	30	22	Utah
45	50	48	21	Vermont
43	40	42	355	West Virginia

Tough

Among the six governors with strong attitudes towards China, their states' GDP, total trade value, and total trade value with China rank generally high. Geographically, with the exception of New York and Wyoming, the other four states are all located in the southeastern United States. However, it is worth noting that the ratio of Wyoming and New York State's trade volume to GDP is at the end of the 50th state.

强硬

对华态度强硬的 6 位州长，其所在州 GDP、贸易总值、及对华贸易总值排名大体上靠前。地理而言，除纽约州和怀俄明州以外，其他 4 州皆位于美国东南部。但值得注意的是，怀俄明州及纽约州的贸易量占 GDP 的比值都属 50 州末等。

The Economic Data for the 6 Tough Governors Towards China				
Trade Volume with China Ranking	GDP Ranking	Trade Volume Ranking	Percent of GDP Ranking	State
11	4	4	4	Florida
7	9	10	15	Georgia
23	22	19	16	Missouri
15	26	25	26	South Carolina
49	49	49	43	Wyoming
6	3	3	46	New York

Ambiguous

The 14 governors with ambiguous attitudes to China are scattered in their states' GDP, total trade value, and total trade value with China. There is no rule of concentration for the time being. There is also no geographical concentration.

模糊

对华态度模糊的 14 位州长，其所在州 GDP、贸易总值、及对华贸易总值排名四散，暂无集中规律可循。地理位置上也无集中。

03. Import and Export to China and Governor's Attitude towards China

If the trade with China is further divided into exports to China and imports from China, under the classification of attitudes, there is no particularly obvious pattern for the distribution of data on exports and imports from China by the governor's state. What has been observed so far is that there is no direct correlation between the governor's attitude toward China and its exports to and from China and the governor's attitude toward China, but it does not exclude the existence of dummy variables between the three. The state with a strong attitude toward China, the total value of its exports to and from China, except Wyoming, are in the forefront of 50 states, but the number of data itself is too small to support the law. A state with a vague governor's attitude toward China has a polarized value of its exports to China, either at the front of the 50 states or at the end.

对华进出口与州长对华态度

如果将对华贸易进一步拆分为对华出口和从华进口，各态度分类下，州长所在州对华出口和从华进口数据分布没有特别明显的规律可循。目前观测到的是，州长对华态度友好的州，其对华出口及从华出口与州长的对华态度之间并没有直接的相关性，但是并不排除三者之间有虚变量 (dummy variable) 的可能。州长对华态度强硬的州，其对华出口及从华出口总值，除怀俄明州以外，皆处于 50 州前列，但数据本身数量过小，不足以支撑规律。州长对华态度模糊的州，其对华出口总值或处于 50 州前端，或处于末端，呈两极分化。

04. Term of office and attitude to China

In terms of comprehensive data, the governor's past experience is not related to his attitude toward China. However, in terms of tenure, governors under election pressure have either clearly expressed friendship with China or have publicly criticized the trade war. Of the 11 governors who are about to expire, most of them are ambiguous or unspoken, and three other governors express their friendship with China. It is worth mentioning that none of the 16 governors facing election pressure and retirement pressure have a tough attitude toward China.

Conclusion

At present, Sino-US trade frictions are escalating and tending to be normalized. Sino-US relations are facing huge downward pressure. Although the United States has become tougher toward China, there has been little research on how the United States views China, what kind of Sino-US relations it hopes to form, and how it plans to build Sino-US relations. But at a time when China-US relations are accelerating, this kind of uncertainty may cause fatal harm to China-US relations. Therefore, it is important to understand the attitudes of all walks of life in the United States, including the government, states, interest groups, and mainstream think tanks. In order to discuss this issue, Minzhi International Research Institute and Tsinghua University Globalization Research Center launched the "Panorama of American Attitudes to China" study. This is the first in a series of reports-the governor. Next, we will also launch other reports including members of the US White House cabinet, so stay tuned. Copyright statement: All charts except for the map of the United States are owned by Minzhi. All research teams: Kang Yaqi, Liu Chang, Yang Jingying, Ma Yuxin, Du Xinlei

任期时间与对华态度

综合数据而言，州长的过往经历与其对华态度无关联性。然而，从任期来看，有竞选压力的州长，或明确对华表示友好，或者曾公开批判过贸易战。而 11 位即将任满的州长中，态度模糊或不表态的占大多数，另有 3 位州长明确对华表示友好。值得一提的是，面临选举压力和退休压力的 16 位州长，无人对华态度强硬。

结语

当前，中美贸易摩擦升级且趋于常态化，中美关系面临巨大下行压力。虽然美国对华态度日趋强硬，但针对美国各方如何看待中国、希望形成怎样的中美关系以及计划如何建设中美关系等方面的研究较少。但在中美关系加速转型的当下，这种不确定性可能给中美关系带来致命的伤害。因此，了解美国各界，包括政府、各州、利益集团、主流智库的对华态度至关重要。为探讨这一问题，民智国际研究院同清华大学全球化研究中心启动了“美国对华态度全景”研究，此篇为系列报告的第一篇——州长篇。接下来，我们还将陆续推出包括美国白宫内阁成员在内的其他报告，敬请期待。版权声明：除美国地图以外，所有图表皆为民智所有研究团队：康雅琦、刘畅、杨晶滢、马雨欣、杜心蕾