of China after the Tiananmen Incident and by deepening Western worries about the long term future of mainland China's modernization process.

## EDUCATIONAL AND ACADEMIC RELATIONS

Bilateral academic and educational exchange has been very slow to develop. Until recently, its principal advocates have been government agencies in Taiwan and a small number of professors and teachers in Canada, usually of Chinese descent. The major source of funding, although the amount has not been large, has been government organizations in Taipei, especially the Pacific Cultural Foundation, the China Youth Corps, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The most important Canadian organization had been the Canada Taiwan Friendship Association which has been active in promoting exchanges, though principally at the high school level and without extensive support in major Canadian universities. Two cities (Winnipeg and Pickering) are twinned with counterparts in Taiwan but promotion of post-secondary educational exchange has not been emphasized.

Existing academic and educational relations can be divided into two main areas: university study abroad; and faculty research and conferences.

University Study Abroad. One of Taiwan's principal exports has been students. Since 1954 about 120,000 have been given permission to study abroad, more than 90% choosing the United States. A very high percentage of the students studying overseas have been enrolled in graduate programs. Until last year all male undergraduates were compelled to remain in Taiwan for in-school military training; females for nurse's training. This regulation was lifted in the spring of 1989, raising the prospect of a greatly increased outflow of undergraduates seeking foreign degrees. Statistics are not yet available on whether in fact this has happened.

A very high proportion of Taiwanese students are privately financed. The number returning to Taiwan after graduation from a foreign institution is increasing but it is important to note that a large majority remain abroad. In 1987, for example, 6,599 left Taiwan to study overseas and 1,920 returned home; in 1988, 7,122 students left Taiwan and 2,296 returned. See Table 1.

Canadian universities have attracted a very small number of Taiwanese. In fact the number has dropped considerably in the 1980s to an average of about thirteen new students per year. See Tables 2, 3 and 6. Most estimates have the total number now studying in Canada at about 100. Of the roughly ten thousand foreign graduate students in Canadian universities, less than 1% are from Taiwan while more than 5% are from Hong Kong. By way of comparison, there are somewhere between 25,000 and 30,000 Taiwanese now doing graduate studies in the United States. This ranks number two in the list of foreign students in the U.S. by country, just below the PRC.

There are several reasons why Canada has not been a more popular destination. One is that the formal political relationship has never been warm. This has reinforced the