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SECRET 241547Z SEP 71 CITE [redacted] 18916 SECTION 1 OF 2

21-6

DIRECTOR

RYBAT KEWAY KNBALL

REF: [redacted] 18915 (IN 431014)

21-6

24 SEP IN 431013

1. TEXT OF ATTACHMENT B BLIND MEMO FOLLOWS. COPY THIS ATTACHMENT PASSED BY [redacted] TO LOCAL LNERGO. ONLY STATION TRACE WILLIAN E P T O N IS [redacted] 69760 OF 18 JUNE 65. POUCHING PHOTO EPTON AND P U ON WAY TO MEETING:

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22

RETURN TO CIA
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"ON AUGUST 7, 1971 A RELIABLE SOURCE WAS INFORMED OF RELEVANT DETAILS OF A MEETING THAT TOOK PLACE AS THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (PRC) EMBASSY IN OTTAWA ON THAT DATE. APPARENTLY THE FOLLOWING PERSONS WERE IN ATTENDANCE:

WILLIAN E P T O N - U.S.-BASED SUSPECT CCIS AGENT

H U A N G, HUA - AMBASSADOR

H O, LI-LIANG (MRS. HUANG, HUA) - COUNSELLOR

Y A O, JEN-LIU - ATTACHE

L A O, HSIU - FIRST SECRETARY

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Y U A N, HSIANG-LUNG - SECOND SECRETARY

P U, CHAO-HIN - HCNA REPRESENTATIVE

"OUR SOURCE ADVISED THAT DURING THIS MEETING, WHICH LASTED FOR APPROXIMATELY 3 AND ONE HALF HOURS, HE RECOLLECTS THAT EPTON AND HUANG HUA DISCUSSED IN LENGTH THE POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING AN OUTLET FOR CHINESE PUBLICATIONS IN THE U.S. AND THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR LEFTIST STUDENTS AND WORKERS TO VISIT THE P.R.C.

"INITIALLY, ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, EPTON ADVISED HUANG THAT THE TYPE OF U.S. RESIDENTS THAT HAVE VISITED CHINA SO FAR ARE MAINLY FROM THE INTELLECTUAL GROUP AND WHILE THEY HAVE HAD A CERTAIN LEVERAGE ON THE POPULATION, HE BELIEVED ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE MADE TO INVOLVE THE STUDENTS AND WORKERS. EPTON CLAIMED THAT THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IS EXTREMELY POWERFUL IN THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT IN THE U.S. AND THAT THE WORKERS MUST BE WON SINCE THIS AREA IS WHERE THE WEAKEST POLITICAL WORK IS DONE. EPTON RELATED THAT THEY WOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN ARRANGING FOR STUDENTS TO VISIT CHINA; HOWEVER WORKERS POSE A DIFFERENT PROBLEM SINCE THEY HAVE TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF LOSING

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THEIR EMPLOYMENT. SOURCE STATED THAT HUANG AGREED WITH EPTON AND STATED THAT CHINA IS READY TO RECEIVE SMALL PROGRESSIVE GROUPS OF STUDENTS AND WORKERS FOR REVOLUTIONARY WORK. HUANG SUGGESTED THAT THE TIMING OF THESE VISITS COULD BE DISCUSSED DURING A FUTURE MEETING AND HE ASKED EPTON IF HE WOULD BE READY TO GO TO CHINA IN SEPTEMBER. EPTON APPARENTLY REPLIED THAT HE COULD ARRANGE HIS TRIP FROM THE SECOND WEEK OF SEPTEMBER TO THE SECOND WEEK OF OCTOBER. HE ALLEGEDLY COMMENTED THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO OBTAIN A PASSPORT SINCE IT WAS TAKEN AWAY SEVEN YEARS AGO; HOWEVER INDICATIONS ARE THAT HIS LAWYER HAS ASSURED HIM THIS WILL BE NO PROBLEM. AT ONE POINT, PU, CHAO-HIN APPARENTLY INTERJECTED THAT THE TRIP COULD BE MADE THROUGH ITALY OR PARIS, BUT HUANG IMPLIED THAT EPTON COULD PICK UP THE TICKET AT THE EMBASSY AND DEPART FROM CANADA.

ACCORDING TO SOURCE EPTON EXPLAINED HE WORKS PRIMARILY WITH THE BLACK WORKERS COUNCIL AND THE COUNCIL SHOULD NOT BE CONFUSED WITH THE BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS WHICH IS HEADED BY FORMAN (BELIEVED TO BE JAMES F O R M A N) WHO EPTON DESCRIBED AS A CHARLATAN. EPTON INDICATED THAT FORMAN

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IS PRESENTLY IN PEKING AND THERE ARE MANY COMRADES IN THE U.S. WHO CAN'T UNDERSTAND HOW FORMAN ARRANGED TO VISIT CHINA.

"SINCE THERE IS PRESENTLY NO EFFICIENT METHOD OF MASS DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLISHED MATERIAL FROM CHINA IN THE U.S." EPTON ALLEGEDLY PROPOSED THAT A NEW DISTRIBUTION CENTER BE SET UP IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN HARLEM WHICH COULD DISSEMINATE MATERIAL ON A WIDER BASE THAN CHINA BOOKS AND PERIODICALS ARE DOING ON THE WEST COAST. APPARENTLY THE LEGAL ASPECTS OF IMPORTING PUBLICATIONS FROM CHINA HAD ALREADY BEEN EXPLORED BY EPTON AND ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE EPTON FELT THERE APPEARED TO BE NO PROBLEM NOW THAT PRESIDENT NIXON'S NEW POLICY ON CHINESE TRADING HAD BEEN ANNOUNCED. EPTON IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE SUGGESTED THAT A PROBLEM COULD EXIST WHEN THE STORE HAS TO REGISTER WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT CLAIMING THAT THE PEOPLE WHO ARE INVOLVED ARE ALREADY LISTED AS AGENTS BY THE F.B.I. HOWEVER HE ALLEGEDLY CONCLUDED HIS REMARKS WITH A COMMENT TO THE EFFECT IT WOULD TAKE AT LEAST A YEAR TO MAKE THE MASSES AWARE OF THE COMPANY AND THAT EXTENSIVE PUBLICITY WOULD BE REQUIRED IN THE CAMPUS NEWSPAPERS AND IN THE BLACK, SPANISH AND LATIN AMERICAN

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COMMUNITIES IN THE U.S. EPTON APPARENTLY ESTIMATED THAT, IF THE PUBLICATIONS AND OTHER P.R.C. MATERIALS WERE FREE, THE STORE WOULD COST SEVENTY-FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS TO OPERATE FOR THE FIRST YEAR; THIS FIGURE APPARENTLY INCLUDES TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS RENT FOR THE BUILDING. EPTON ALSO ALLEGED THAT A BUILDING HAS ALREADY BEEN OBTAINED ON 125TH STREET IN HARLEM WHICH IS AN IDEAL LOCATION. IN RESPONSE TO THESE COMMENTS, HUANG IS ALLEGED TO HAVE REMARKED THAT THE MATERIALS WITH WHICH TO STOCK THE STORE WILL BE ~~PAID~~ DONATED ~~FURNISHED~~ BY CHINA WHEN THE STORE IS NAMED, AND EPTON WOULD BE FURTHER ADVISED. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, EPTON SUGGESTED THAT GOUZI SHUDIAN SHOULD NO LONGER SUPPLY MATERIAL TO CHINA PUBLICATIONS SINCE HE THOUGHT CHINA PUBLICATIONS WAS NOW A REACTIONARY ORGANIZATION WITH VIEWS AGAINST THE P.R.C. HUANG REPLIED ALONG THE LINES THAT THERE IS ANOTHER BOOK STORE IN SEATTLE THAT COULD BE USED.

SOURCE RECALLED THAT EPTON ALSO MENTIONED THE NEED FOR MASS DISSEMINATION OF PUBLICATIONS IN THE U.S.A. SINCE CHINESE AMERICANS WILL BECOME MORE ACTIVE IN OCTOBER WHEN THE U.N. MEETS AND THEY MUST BE ORGANIZED AND MOBILIZED TO PARTICIPATE IN DEMONSTRATIONS, SINCE

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DIRECTOR

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REF: [redacted] 18915 (IN 431014)

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SUCH A TACTIC WAS EFFECTIVELY USED DURING THE CUBAN DEBATES IN 1959/60. AT THE SAME TIME EPTON IS ALLEGED TO HAVE REMARKED THAT THE BASIC PROBLEM AMONG THE LEFT IN THE U.S. IS THAT THEY GENERALLY LACK THEORY. OUR SOURCE'S IMPRESSION WAS THAT EPTON FELT THE LEFTIST ELEMENT IN THE U.S.A. IS GENERALLY LEFT IN MINORITIES, OPPRESSIONS AND ATTITUDE, BUT NOT LEFT IN THEORY AND ALTHOUGH THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY, THE PROGRESSIVE LABOUR PARTY AND VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE TROTSKYITES HAVE A LARGE PUBLICATION AUDIENCE, ALL THREE LACK IN IDEOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FOUNDATION. EPTON APPARENTLY CLAIMED THAT THIS CAN ONLY BE CORRECTED THROUGH MASS DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS.

PU, CHAO-MIN APPARENTLY ASKED FOR EPTON'S GENERAL OPINION OF THE BAY AREA REVOLUTIONARY UNION, AND OUR SOURCE RECALLS THAT EPTON'S RESPONSE WAS TO THE EFFECT THAT ALTHOUGH HE KNEW VERY LITTLE OF THE ORGANIZATION, HE

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WAS FAMILIAR WITH LEIBEL B E R G M A N. HE ALLEGEDLY EXPLAINED THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION RECENTLY SPLIT, WITH LARGER FACTION BEING LED BY BERGMAN AND B A V O K I A N (PH) WHO TOOK THE POSITION THAT ONE CAN STILL PARTICIPATE IN MASS WORK OPENLY, WHILE THE SMALLER FACTION IS LED BY TONY D U S W A C K I (PH), A PROFESSOR AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY WHO MAINTAINS THAT THE TIME IS RIGHT FOR OPEN ARMED STRUGGLE. BRUCE F R A N K L I N OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY WAS ANOTHER NAME MENTIONED BY EPTON AND ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, EPTON INDICATED THAT FRANKLIN ALSO ADVOCATES OPEN ARMED STRUGGLE AND DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH THE POLICE. ON FURTHER QUESTIONING BY PU AS TO BERGMAN'S ACTIVITIES, EPTON APPARENTLY ANSWERED WITH COMMENTS TO THE EFFECT THAT BERGMAN HAS ADOPTED A POSITION SIMILAR TO THE BLACK PANTHERS IN AS MUCH AS A SWITCH HAS BEEN MADE TO THE RIGHT WHEREBY MASS WORK CAN BE DONE OPENLY, RATHER THAN BY THE LEFTIST POSITION ADOPTED BY ELDRIGE C L E A V E R WHICH CALLS FOR OPEN CONFRONTATION. YET ANOTHER INDIVIDUAL MENTIONED BY EPTON HAS HUEY N E W T O N, WHOM OUR SOURCE FELT EPTON THOUGHT HAD ADOPTED THE 'RIGHT' POSITION AND HAD THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

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ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, HUANG INTERJECTED THAT SPLITS AND FURTHER SPLITS ARE NOT THE WAY OUT, SINCE THERE ARE ALREADY BLACK CAPITALISTS WHO AREN'T DOING ANY BETTER THAN THE WHITE ONES.

"SOURCE SAID HUANG ALSO QUESTIONED EPTON AS TO THE GOVERNMENTS REACTION TO THE YOUNG WORKERS WHO ARE SPEAKING OF A JOURNEY TO CHINA. EPTON ALLEGEDLY REMARKED THAT THIS WAS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS, BUT THAT THE WORKERS WILL BE OF MUCH GREATER CONCERN THAN THE INTELLECTUALS, AND THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS CONSCIOUSLY TRYING TO PREVENT THE WORKERS FROM EVEN PARTICIPATING IN THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT. SOURCE STATED THAT HE LEARNED FROM EPTON THAT HE AND HIS COMRADES HAVE RECENTLY JOINED THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN NEW YORK, BOSTON AND THE WEST COAST AND ARE ALIGNED WITH A VIEW OF INVOLVING MORE OF THE WORKING CLASS. ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE EPTON IS OF THE OPINION THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE U.S. IS BETTER THAN IT HAS EVER BEEN TO BUILD A UNITED LEFT, A GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY, THAT CAN EXPLOIT THE PRESENT CONTRADICTIONS TO THE FULLEST. AT THIS POINT, HUANG APPARENTLY QUOTED MAO'S

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VIEWPOINT ON REVOLUTION: 'THAT BEFORE THE TIME IS RIPE FOR ARMED CONFRONTATION IT IS NECESSARY TO DEAL WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT THROUGH LEGAL CHANNELS AND TO UTILIZE ALL THE USEFUL FORCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF RIOTS OF THE PEOPLE'. OUR SOURCE INDICATED THAT HUANG THEN ADVISED EPTON TO ORGANIZE TRADE UNIONS, HAVE STRIKES AND USE THE STRIKES AS AN INSTRUMENT TO MOBILIZE THE MASSES THROUGH PUBLICATIONS. HUANG APPARENTLY WENT ON WITH WORDS TO THE EFFECT THAT BEFORE THE WORKERS CAN BE PREPARED TO TAKE ON ARMED STRUGGLES, ALL LEGITIMATE AND DEMOCRATIC CHANNELS SHOULD BE MADE FULL USE OF AS A PREPARATION FOR THE FINAL CLASH, EMPHASIZING THAT THE STRUGGLE IS NOT EASY, THAT IT TAKES TIME TO ESTABLISH TRUE LEADERSHIP AND TO HAVE THE ABILITY TO APPLY THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY TO THE BACKWARD STUDENTS OF THE COUNTRY.

OUR SOURCE SUBSEQUENTLY LEARNED THAT EPTON AND HUANG INTEND TO MEET AGAIN IN SEPTEMBER 1971. THIS SOURCE ALSO BELIEVES THAT HUANG EXTENDED AN INVITATION THROUGH EPTON FOR SUSAN W A R E H A W K TO VISIT THE EMBASSY. SOURCE WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT EPTON WOULD BE

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MEETING SUSAN IN NEW YORK DURING SEPTEMBER 1971."

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