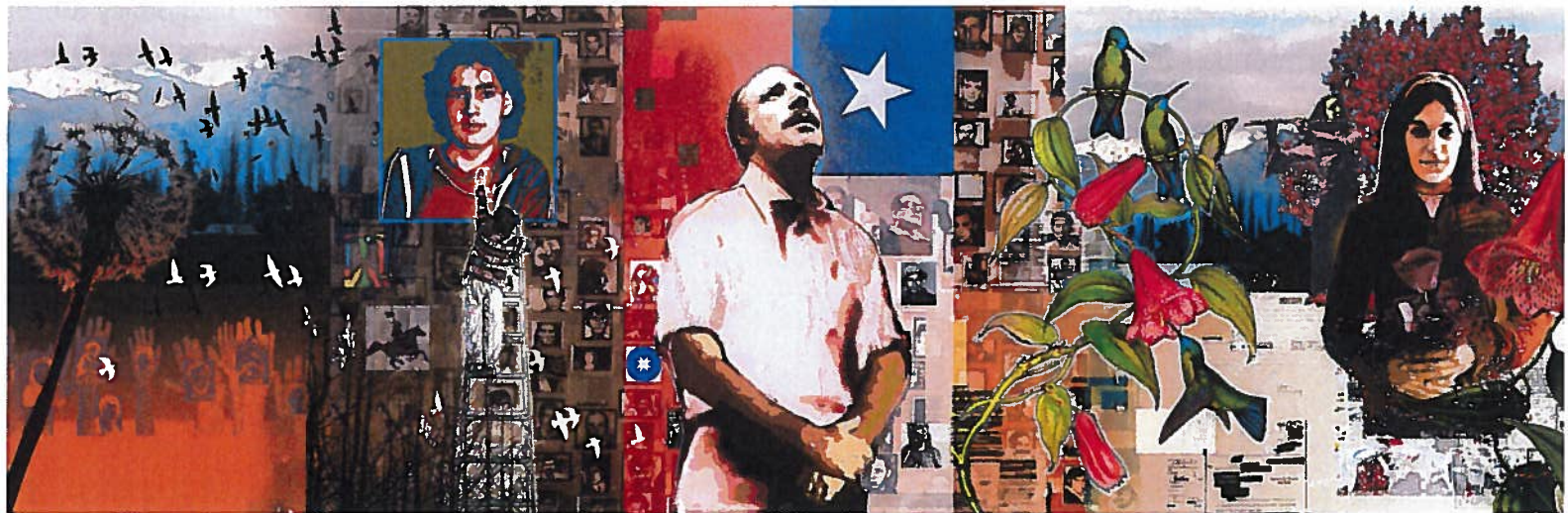


# Todas Las Manos

Todas Las Manos is a five part or 'Pentptych' installation. Each panel functions individually as well as a part of the larger composition. The panels are numbered from right to left. The mural celebrates human rights and global justice and serves in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the deaths of former Chilean Ambassador Orlando Letelier (the artists father) and co-worker Ronni Karpen Moffitt who were killed in Washington, DC on September 21, 1976.



# Overview

In 1970 Salvador Allende was elected president of Chile, supported by a wide coalition known as the Popular Unity. Orlando Letelier served as US Ambassador for the Allende government for nearly three years and returned to Chile to serve on the cabinet in June of 1973. The democratically elected government was overthrown by a military coup on September 11, 1973. Allende died during the coup and officials of the government were imprisoned or killed. Mass incarcerations, torture and disappearances became common as Chilean dictator General Augusto Pinochet consolidated power. Letelier was incarcerated in a series of camps including the infamous Dawson Island Camp modeled after German-style World War II camps and located 200 miles from the Antarctic circle. International pressure led to the release of Letelier into exile in 1974. He returned to Washington, DC to work for the restoration of democracy in Chile.

On September 21, 1976, agents of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet detonated a car bomb that killed Letelier and his colleague Ronni Karpen Moffitt. Both of them worked at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) in Washington, DC. Letelier had become one of the most outspoken critics of the Pinochet regime. Moffitt was a 25-year-old IPS development associate. Until 9/11, it was the most infamous act of international terrorism on US soil. For more than three decades, the pursuit of justice for their murders has been a symbol of hope for victims of terrorism and tyranny. A massive FBI investigation traced the crime to the highest levels of Pinochet's regime.

Following these assassinations, IPS established the Letelier-Moffitt Human Rights Awards to honor their fallen colleagues and recognize individuals and groups in the United States and elsewhere in the Americas most dedicated to the struggle for human rights.

Forty years after the car bombing that took their lives, the pursuit of justice for Orlando, Ronni, and other victims of the Pinochet regime continues. In May 2016, Chile requested the US extradite three former Pinochet agents for the murder of UN diplomat Carmelo Soria. All three were also involved in the Letelier-Moffitt assassination. Michael Tigar and Juan Garcés, recipients of the Letelier-Moffitt Award in 1992 and 1999, helped advance this case.

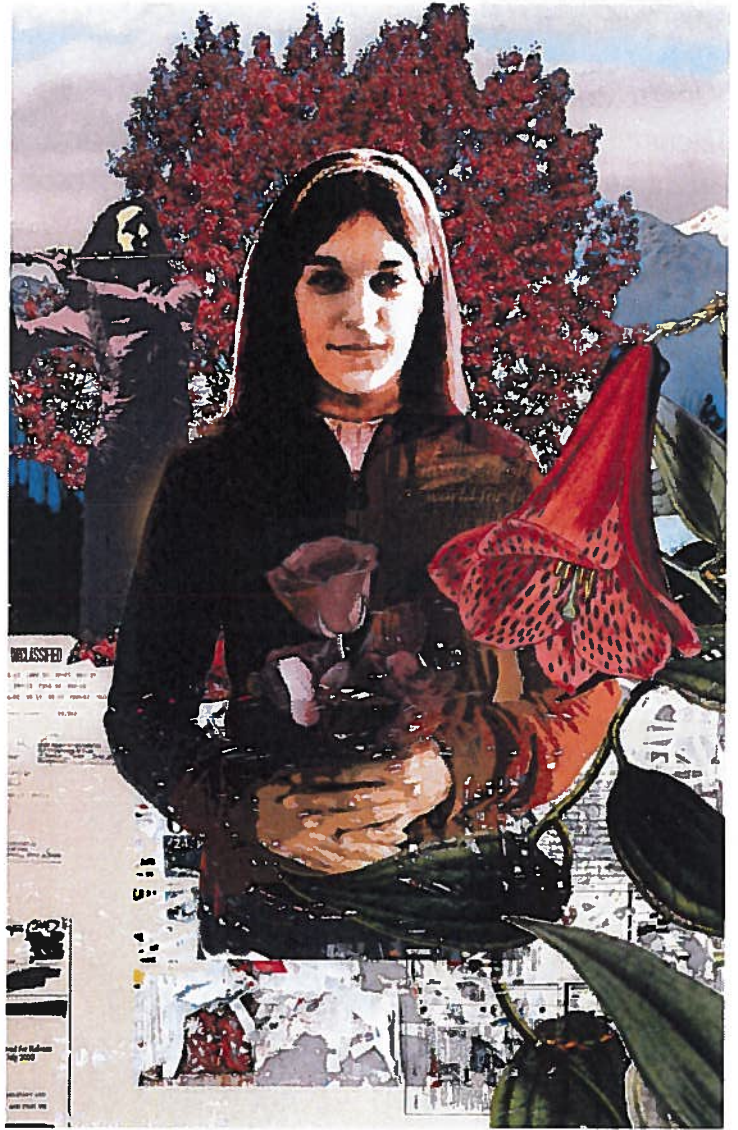
In June 2016, a Chilean court reopened its investigation into Moffitt's murder. Three former Pinochet agents were indicted. Also in June 2016, a US jury found a Florida resident liable for the torture and murder of iconic Chilean folk singer Víctor Jara during the Pinochet era. The Center for Justice and Accountability, recipient of the Letelier-Moffitt Award in 2015, played a critical role in this victory.

Much of what is known about the murders has been learned through the declassification of US government documents concerning Chile and US policy towards the Chilean dictatorship. The continuing pursuit for justice is fueled in part by the information obtained in these documents.

## Panel 1

# Scarlet Oak

Besides working as a Development Associate at IPS, Moffitt ran a "Music Carryout" program to make musical instruments accessible to all. Originally from Pasaic, New Jersey, Karpén-Moffitt was a newlywed and only 25 years old at the time of her death. The flute player in the panel is an allegorical figure symbolizing Moffitt's pursuits and her talents with both piano and flute. Moffitt is holding an American Beauty Rose, the flower of the District of Columbia. Behind her, a Scarlet Oak the tree of the District shows its autumn colors. The collages in the bottom portion are created from a series of declassified documents concerning Chile and other countries in Latin America. Other artifacts include original Chilean newspapers, an etching by the artist of Pablo Neruda, Chilean poet, and pages from journals concerning Pan-American cooperation from the 19th and 18th centuries. Look for the image of Victor Jara, the famous Chilean Folk singer slain after the September 11th coup in the National Stadium and whose killer was found liable for his murder in a celebrated court case this past June, 2016.





## Panel 2

# Copihue Hummingbird (Picaflor)

Where do hummingbirds go in the winter? Depending on the species, hummingbirds fall into an intermittent torpor, a form of avian hibernation. In this way the fragile species survives winters and seasonal changes. In the mural they serve as symbols of survival and of the methods that make it possible to weather difficult moments. During the Pinochet dictatorship both in exile and within the country, Chileans accomplished what immigrants, refugees and victims of state terror often do to survive; calling up hidden resources and developing new skills.

The Copihue is the national flower of Chile. Two of the largest indigenous groups in Chile, the Mapuche

and the Pehuenche, share a legend about the flower. A Mapuche princess by the name of Hues and a Pehuenche prince by the name of Copih, fell in love, despite a war between their tribes. They were forbidden to see each other, but they ignored the warnings and met by the side of a lake. The young lovers' fathers went in search of them, and Hues' father speared Copih in the heart, prompting Copih's father to kill Hues as well. The next year, both tribes gathered at the lake to mourn the fate of Hues and Copih, and when they awoke in the morning, they discovered a beautiful new flower with blood-red petals. In this legend the flower is a warning against mistrust of those who are different and a symbol of reconciliation even after violence and war.

In this panel the beautiful bellflower is used in the same manner as the many folk art forms that took on qualities of resistance during the dictatorship. Arpilleras, Chilean hand embroidered tapestries, were a way for women to protest the activities of the Chilean dictatorship in the 1970's. At first glance they seem cheerful and picturesque, but a closer look reveals a stance of resistance and a testament to daily struggles.

The image on this panel is a reproduction of an antique botanical illustration but at the bottom of the panel declassified documents concerning the September 21, 1976 Embassy Row bombing that took the lives of Letelier and Moffitt and images alluding to the Allende government and the 1973 military overthrow provide an insightful subtext.



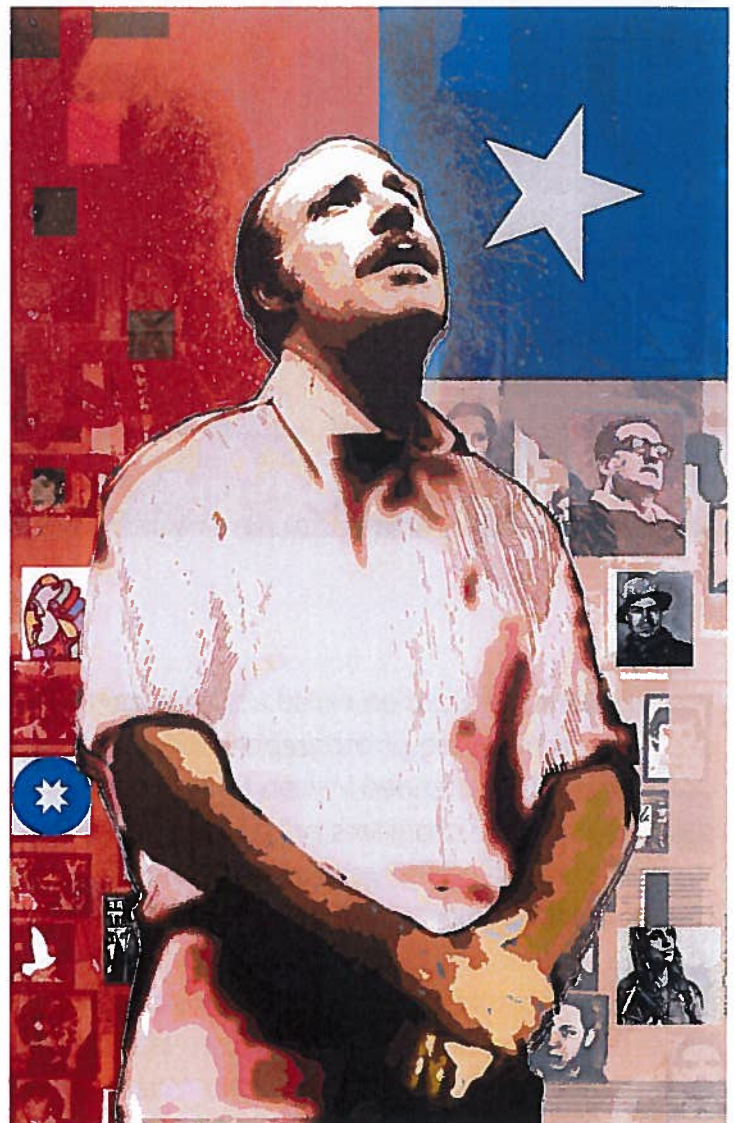
## Panel 3

# A Polaroid of Orlando Letelier

In 1971, Francisco Letelier, son of Orlando Letelier, was given a Polaroid camera for Christmas. That year, the family celebrated Christmas in Shenendoah, Virginia on property purchased by Letelier and his brother, christened "Chile Chico" (Little Chile). In order to make it look more like Chile, the family planted Poplar trees, which are iconic to the landscape of the Central Valley of Chile.

The artist explains: "We moved back to Chile for good (or so we thought) in 1973, two months before the coup. Following the coup my father was imprisoned in a series of concentration camps and then released into exile. On September 18th our National Day of Independence in 1976, we were back in the United States. We held a gathering and ate empanadas, drank red wine and danced the Cueca, our national dance. The camera had made the journey to Chile and back and I took a picture of him in our backyard in Bethesda, Maryland.

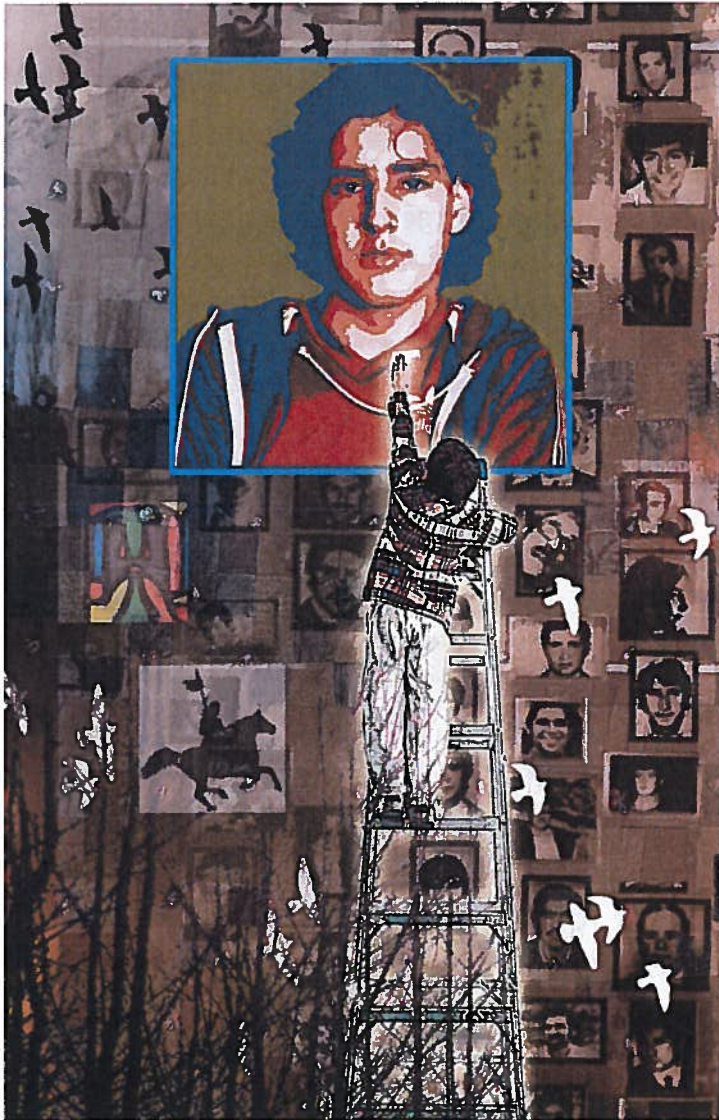
There are numerous images embedded in the panel. The text at the bottom is from Orlando's famous speech at the Felt Forum on September 10, 1976, when he learned that the Military Junta had stripped him of his nationality. In the background, images of the disappeared merge with an image of Salvador Allende. On the left, look for the image of Orlando's sister, Fabiola Letelier, who works tirelessly as a lawyer for human rights in Chile. Other images include a reproduction of Letelier's driver's license on his person on the day of his death, and a photograph of my parents as they entered New York harbor on a ship in 1960.





## Panel 4

# Native Son: Rodrigo Rojas



Rodrigo Rojas, a son of an exiled Chilean family, was a 19 year old aspiring photographer who lived in Washington DC, attended Wilson High School and participated in the programs of the Latin American Youth Center. In 1986 he returned to Chile for the first time. While taking photos at a demonstration he and a friend, Carmen Gloria Quintana, were accosted by a squad of soldiers. The soldiers doused him and Carmen Gloria with gasoline and set them on fire. Later they dumped them in another location in Santiago. Rodrigo lost his life and Carmen Gloria

was scarred for life. Rodrigo became a powerful symbol for youth and resistance in Chile. Carmen heroically continued to work to end the dictatorship.

Rodrigo's case has received much attention in Chile. In Washington, DC we want to reassert his status as a native son of the city who died because of terrorism. Declassified documents prove that agencies of the US government were aware of the role of the Chilean military in his death.

During the resistance to dictatorships across the Latin American continents, images of the disappeared appeared with the slogan, "Donde Estan?" (Where are They?). In creating this panel with youth participants the artist alludes to these as well as the iconic wall of the disappeared at the Museum of Memory in Santiago, Chile. Here, they identify Rodrigo as a native son of both Washington, DC and of Santiago, Chile: a Chilean-American whose tragic death serves to underline the experience of a state of exile now entering its third and fourth generation. Displaced Chileans continue to influence the culture and ideas in Washington, DC and elsewhere. Among the images on the wall surrounding Rodrigo are other American heroes and iconic figures: Harriet Tubman joins Leonard Peltier, Pete Seeger, The Cuban 5, and Martin Luther King.

This panel asserts that the Chilean-American experience is one of pride and identity for subsequent generations of Chileans and other Latinos. The panel contains allusions to Chilean 'arpilleras,' both in form and materials, as well as to American quilts as they relate in symbolism and history to the African American experience.

## Panel 5

# Spreading the Seeds

The dandelion is the logo of the Transnational Institute, a project of the Institute for Policy Studies of which Letelier was director when he lost his life. Its mandate: to investigate the growing disparity between rich and poor in the world, and to seek democratic paths for its remedy.

The dandelion also symbolizes the powerful legacy that has been created through the Letelier-Moffitt Human Rights Awards. Since 1976 they have recognized those at the forefront of important struggles both domestically and abroad.

On this panel, look for the list of those who have received the award: a group of individuals and organizations that have confronted violence and terror with peace, justice and dignity, creating the groundwork for building a better world today.



