

10 Introduction

elucidating how torture under each regime is represented, and how the identities of the participants and their relations to one another are constructed. I buttress my interpretations through my interviews with plaintiffs and their lawyers, written accounts of the litigation by participants and observers as well as press coverage of the litigation in the United States as it was ongoing.

The book then traces how these narratives were reinterpreted in the United States, Paraguay, and the Philippines in key sites of public discourse, in particular the press. In libraries and archives in Washington, DC, Asunción, and Manila, as well as online, I gathered a sample of parliamentary debates, media texts, and other sources discussing the litigation from the time of each case to the present. I use critical discourse analysis to interpret how the texts construct the ATS litigation, the political violence subject of the litigation and its causes, as well as the participants thereto. Viewing ATS litigation as a social phenomenon of which court decisions are only one component, I analyze not only how court decisions were interpreted in public discourse but also how legal stages and arguments made before and after judgments on liability were interpreted. Here too I validate my interpretations through interviews and other textual sources, such as internal police files in Paraguay.

In Paraguay, my study of the independent and official press as well as police archives reveals that the independent press harnessed the *Filártiga* lawsuit to challenge the legitimacy of the Stroessner regime. As to *Marcos*, I explore how the lawsuit has interacted with transitional justice initiatives in the Philippines. I trace through the sources mentioned earlier, as well as court decisions from the Philippines, the United States, Switzerland, and Singapore, how human rights victims used the ATS judgment to pressure the Philippine Republic to recognize the extent of abuses under Marcos and obtain compensation, leading to the enactment in 2013 of a reparations law in the Philippines, which in turn fueled new memory projects. To understand the mobilization around this law and its relation to the ATS lawsuit, over a three-week period in the summer of 2014, I observed claims proceedings under the law in Metro Manila and the provincial town Baguio City. I also expose the conflict between the human rights victims' claims for compensation and the state's program of economic redistribution in the post-Marcos era. I situate my findings

relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony ... ” (at 135). It focuses on the perspective(s) adopted by the text, structure and sequencing, vocabulary, verb transitivity, level of sentence complexity, and modality (the tone used to convey authority and certainty), to construct the interpersonal meaning of the text, constituting the parties and the relationships among them.