Contents

List of Figures *page* vii
List of Tables viii
Acknowledgments ix

1 The Impunity Presidency 1
1.1 Why It Matters for Research 9
1.2 Why It Matters for Policy and Governance 12
1.3 But Is Trump a "War Criminal"? 15
1.4 A Challenge to the IHL Consensus 19
1.5 Case Selection: Trump 22
1.6 Preview of the Argument 31

2 Means 34
2.1 War Crime Clemencies 37
Fox News 38
GOP Allies on Capitol Hill 50
2.2 Additional Examples of IT Synchronization 59

3 Motive 71
3.1 "Law and Order" and Moral Foundations 75
In-group Loyalty 75
Authority 82
Purity 89
3.2 Survey of Attitudes toward War Crimes 96
Support for Exonerating Crimes 98
Support for Challenges to IHL 101
Impunity Coalition Activation 108

4 Opportunity 127
4.1 Norm Socialization and Ideological Subcultures 129
4.2 The Impunity Coalition's Influence over the Military 130
Trump 130

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 12 Nov 2026 at 06:26:24, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009675901

Fox News 134
GOP Allies on Capitol Hill 138
4.3 Rise of Far-Right Extremism in the Military 142
4.4 Illustrative Case: Storming of the U.S. Capitol 151
Role of Current and Former Military Members 152
Means 156
Motive 160
Opportunity 164

5 Impunity Here to Stay 168
5.1 Trends in Conservative Media 169
5.2 Trends among GOP Allies on Capitol Hill 175
5.3 Other Political Pressures 178
Lobbyist Organizations 179
Troops Granted Clemency 184
5.4 Impunity Synergies 192

6 Trumpism and the Future of Impunity 200
6.1 Practical Takeaways 200
6.2 Can Anything Stop Impunity at the Source? 207
Nonbinding Methods 207
Pushback from Moderate Republicans 209
Critiques from Conservative Intellectual Circles 211
"Guerrilla Sabotage" 213
Cabinet Resistance 214
"Self-Policing" by Other Western Leaders 216
UN Resolutions 217
Binding Methods 219
Executive Order 220
Accession to ICC Jurisdiction 221
Impeachment 222
Domestic Prosecution 224
Global Prosecution 226
Reforming the Insurrectionist Act 227
6.3 The End of IHL? 228
6.4 Why Trump 2.0 Could Be Worse for IHL 249
6.5 Where to Go from Here 256

Index 260

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 12 Nov 2026 at 06:26:24, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009675901