# M. PATRICK HULME

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#### RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS

Congressional-Executive Relations, U.S. Foreign Policy, Constitutional War Powers, Deterrence, International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Nuclear Weapons

#### **ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

#### University of Florida

Fall 2025

Assistant Professor, Hamilton School

## Stanford University

2024 - 2025

Stanton Nuclear Security Fellow, Center for International Security and Cooperation

## Harvard Kennedy School

2023 - 2024

International Security Program Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs

## Notre Dame University

2020 - 2021

Hans J. Morgenthau Fellow, Notre Dame International Security Center

## **EDUCATION**

# University of California, San Diego

May 2023

Ph.D. in Political Science

Fields: International Relations and American Politics

#### **UCLA School of Law**

May 2017

Juris Doctor (Specialization in International and Comparative Law)

Order of the Coif

## University of California, Davis

June 2013

Bachelor of Arts in Economics (with Honors)

Minor in Chinese

## SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS

"War and Responsibility" Patrick Hulme. American Political Science Review.

• Runner-up, APSA foreign policy section's best APSA conference paper award (2024).

"Alliance Reassurance and the Image of the Imperial Presidency" Patrick Hulme & Matt Waxman. Forthcoming at Security Studies.

"Power, Parity and Proximity" Patrick Hulme, Lauren Gilbert, Erik Gartzke & Alex Braithwaite. Forthcoming at Journal of Conflict Resolution.

Hulme, M. Patrick & Erik Gartzke. 2021. "The Tyranny of Distance: Assessing and Explaining the Apparent Decline in U.S. Military Performance." *International Studies Quarterly* 65(2): 542-50.

#### **BOOK PROJECT**

## In the Shadow of Congress: the Veneer of the Imperial Presidency

It has long been a presumption that the president enjoys vast powers with respect to decisions to intervene with military force abroad: the United States has an "imperial presidency". This book challenges this conventional wisdom by arguing that this is more illusion than reality. Presidents have to operate in the shadow of Congress. They realize that if they act absent sufficient political cover from lawmakers, they leave themselves highly exposed should the use of force end poorly. Introducing a new measure of congressional sentiment toward the use of force, this book shows that while presidents frequently use force without formal approval from Congress, they are virtually always doing so pursuant to Congress's informal support and urging. Moreover, it demonstrates that presidents are actually unwilling to undertake the largest interventions (full-scale war) absent the formal imprimatur of the legislature. Lastly, it shows that allies and adversaries pay close attention to domestic constraints on the president, yielding implications for deterrence and alliance reassurance. While in reality substantially constrained politically by Congress, presidents intentionally project a veneer of imperialism in order to caution adversaries and hearten allies.

#### WORKING PAPERS

All available upon request:

"The War Powers and the Search for Credibility" Patrick Hulme. Presented at 2024 ISA conference.

"The Essence of Congressional Influence: 'In the Room' or 'On the Mind'?" Patrick Hulme.

"Why the U.S. No Longer Declares War: Nuclear Weapons, the Rise of Limited War, and the Decline of Declarations of War" Patrick Hulme & Adam Saxton.

#### OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- "Evaluating Congressional Sentiment Toward the Iran Strike" Patrick Hulme & Andrew Kenealy. Lawfare.
- "War and Responsibility: Why the U.S. Doesn't Have an Imperial Presidency" Patrick Hulme. Lawfare.
- "The History and Future of Presidential War Powers" Patrick Hulme. UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation.
- "AUKUS and War Powers: The Constitutional Dimensions of Grand Strategy" Daniel Skeffington, Samuel White & Patrick Hulme. Centre for Grand Strategy at King's College London.
- "Like-Minded Allies? Indo-Pacific Partners' Views on Possible Changes in the U.S. Relationship with Taiwan" Jeffrey W. Hornung, Miranda Priebe, Bryan Rooney, Patrick Hulme, Nobuhiko Tamaki & Yu Inagaki. *RAND*.
- "Remembering the Cuban Missile Crisis: Executive Unilateralism or Congressional Drive Toward the Brink?" Patrick Hulme. *Lawfare*.
- "War Powers Reform, U.S. Alliances, and the Commitment Gap" Patrick Hulme & Matthew Waxman. *Lawfare*.
- "A Not-So-Imperial Presidency" Patrick Hulme. Lawfare.
- "The Strategic Logic of Nancy Pelosi's Visit to Taiwan" James Lee and Patrick Hulme. *The Diplomat*.

- "Better to Jaw-Jaw than to War-War: US-China Engagement in an Era of Great Power Competition" Patrick Hulme. *The National Interest*.
- "Engagement Revisited: Progress Made and Lessons Learned from the U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue" Rorry Daniels, Dan Jasper, Tiffany Barron, Craig Kafura, Kacie Miura, and Patrick Hulme. *National Committee on American Foreign Policy*.
- "Repealing the 'Zombie' Iraq AUMF(s): A Clear Win for Constitutional Hygiene but Unlikely to End Forever Wars" Patrick Hulme. *Lawfare*.
- "Congress, the Cuba Resolution and the Cuban Missile Crisis" Patrick Hulme. Lawfare.
- "The U.S. Military's Real Foe: The Tyranny Of Distance" Patrick Hulme & Erik Gartzke. 19forty-five.com.
- "Northeast Asia Defense Transparency Index 2020-21" Patrick Hulme & Tai Ming Cheung. UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation.
- "Biden and War Powers" Patrick Hulme. Lawfare. (Cited by Washington Post)
- "Taiwan, 'Strategic Clarity' and the War Powers" Patrick Hulme. Lawfare.
- "The Deterrent Threat of a Vetoed War Powers Resolution" Patrick Hulme. Lawfare.
- "No Substitute for the Real Thing: International and Congressional Use of Force Authorizations" Patrick Hulme. *Lawfare*.
- "The Future of War is Unilateral but Small" Patrick Hulme. Lawfare.

#### CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION

# $Paper = P \mid Poster = Po \mid Reviewer/Discussant = R/D \mid Panel Organizer = Poster = P$

- · **APSA:** 2019 (P), 2020 (P), 2021 (P), 2022 (P,Pn), 2023 (P,Pn), 2024 (P,Pn)
- · ISA: 2020 (P-Canceled due to COVID), 2021 (P), 2022 (P), 2024 (P)
- · **IS-ISSS** 2021 (P,R/D,Pn)
- · **EPSA:** 2019 (P)
- · **CEEISA-ISA:** 2019 (P)

## RESEARCH AND POLICY EXPERIENCE

## RAND Corporation (Washington, DC)

2022

· Three-month Summer Associate Program with RAND's Center for Analysis of U.S. Grand Strategy. Evaluated competing claims regarding effect of past actions on U.S credibility utilizing both quantitative and qualitative methods. Analyzed history of U.S. defense relationship with Taiwan, as well as expected regional reactions to possible adjustments in the relationship.

#### Center for Peace and Security Studies (La Jolla, CA)

2017 - 2023

· Focused on U.S. foreign policy, including the effect of distance on U.S. military performance, incentives of democratic leaders to prolong unwinnable conflicts, and the ability of Congress to influence the decision to use military force.

#### 21st Century China Center (La Jolla, CA)

2017 - present

- · Rapporteur for annual UC San Diego Forum on U.S.-China Relations (co-chaired by former National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Susan Shirk, and Deputy Secretary of State Kurt Campbell)
- · Comparative analysis of foreign investments screening regimes (e.g., CFIUS) amongst OECD states

#### Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (La Jolla, CA)

2018 - 2023

- · Rapporteur for annual Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (Track 1.5) between U.S., China, Russia, North Korea, South Korea, and Japan
- · Researcher for biennial IGCC Defense Transparency Index of six parties of Northeast Asia

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

## University of Florida

2025 - Present

- · Instructor of Record, Deterrence Theory (Spring 2025)
- · Instructor of Record, Legal Reasoning (Spring 2025)
- · Instructor of Record, Just War Theory (Fall 2025)

## UC San Diego Department of Political Science

2017 - 2023

- · Instructor of Record, The U.S. Congress (Spring 2023)
- · Instructor of Record, The Cold War (Spring 2021)
- · Instructor of Record, The Presidency (Summer 2020)
- · Teaching Assistant, The Supreme Court and the Constitution (Glenn Smith)

# UC San Diego School of Global Policy and Strategy

2017 - 2023

- · Teaching Assistant, International Relations of the Asia-Pacific (Steph Haggard)—Undergraduate levelsection instructor (3x) & Masters level (1x)
- · Teaching Assistant, International Relations and National Security of China (Tai Ming Cheung) (2x)
- · Teaching Assistant, National Security Decision Making (Vice Admiral Robert Thomas) (3x)
- · Teaching Assistant, A History of Warfare (Vice Admiral Robert Thomas)
- · Teaching Assistant, Policy Responses to Global Problems (Barbara Walter and Weiyi Shi)

## OTHER PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

CGSR-CISAC Fellowship Conference at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory 202	
	24
Bridging the Gap New Voices Workshop in (Washington, DC) 202	
CSIS Project on Nuclear Issues (PONI) Fall Conference (Stanford) 202	24
Menard Family Emerging Scholars Conference (NDISC) 202	24
International School on Disarmament and Research on Conflicts (ISODARCO) 202	24
Summer Seminar in History and Statecraft, Clements Center for National Security 202	23
Summer Workshop on Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS), SIWPS 202	21
Great Power Dynamics Training Course, UC IGCC 202	21
Notre Dame International Security Center Hans J. Morgenthau Fellow 2020 - 202	21

#### HONORS AND AWARDS

Nonresidential Fellow, Eurasia Group Foundation	2024
Notre Dame International Security Center Hans J. Morgenthau Fellow	2020 - 2021
Jerri-Ann and Gary E. Jacobs Endowed Fellowship, UC San Diego	2017 - 2023
Dean's Merit Scholarship, UCLA School of Law	2014 - 2017
Masin Family Academic Gold Awards (Public International Law and EU Law)	2015
Phi Beta Kappa, UC Davis	2012
Regents Scholarship, UC Davis	2009-2013

#### SERVICE AND LEADERSHIP

UC San Diego Forum on U.SChina Relations, Rapporteur	2019 -	2024
Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (San Diego), Rapporteur		2023
Summer Training Academy for Research Success (STARS), Mentor	2018 -	2022
UCSD Security Reading Group, Organizer		2020
Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue Working Group (Tokyo), Participant		2020
Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (Hong Kong), Rapporteur		2019
Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (San Diego), Rapporteur		2018
New Approaches to Reviewing and Regulating Chinese High-Tech Investment, Rapporteur		2018
Pre-Law Board, UC San Diego	2017 -	2023
Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs (JILFA), Articles Editor	2015 -	2017
Lawyering Skills Writing Advisor, UCLA	2015 -	2016

#### RELEVANT WORK EXPERIENCE

Office of the General Counsel, U.S. Department of Treasury $Washington,\ DC$	Sept Dec. 2016
Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives $Washington, DC$	June - Aug. 2015

## PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

International Studies Association; American Political Science Association; State Bar of California

#### LANGUAGES

Chinese (intermediate); German (intermediate); Italian (advanced)

## REFERENCES

#### David Lake

Distinguished Professor Department of Political Science University of California, San Diego dlake@ucsd.edu

#### Erik Gartzke

Professor

Department of Political Science University of California, San Diego egartzke@ucsd.edu

# Steph Haggard

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#### Matthew Waxman

 ${\bf Professor}$ 

Columbia Law School Columbia University mwaxma@law.columbia.edu

#### Steven E. Miller

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International Security Program Harvard Kennedy School steven\_miller@harvard.edu

## James Fearon

Professor

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