

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

Dissertation: *In the Shadow of Congress: the Legislature's Influence over Use of Military Force Decisions and International Bargaining*

Committee: David Lake, Erik Gartzke, Steph Haggard, Branislav Slantchev, Sam Kernell

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

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.

"War and Responsibility" Patrick Hulme. Forthcoming at *American Political Science Review*.

REVISE AND RESUBMIT

"Power, Parity and Proximity" Patrick Hulme, Lauren Gilbert, Erik Gartzke & Alex Braithwaite. Presented at 2021 APSA, 2021 ISA, and 2022 ISA conferences. Revise and resubmit at *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

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

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:

“Nuclear Politics and Conventional War: Evidence from Elite Military and Public Opinion” Tyler Bowen, Michael Goldfien, Patrick Hulme & So Jin Lee. Preparing for submission as a registered report at *Journal of Politics*.

“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. Early draft.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- “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 | Poster = Po | Reviewer/Discussant = R/D | Panel Organizer = Pn

- **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.

National Committee on American Foreign Policy (New York, NY) 2021

- Six-month, part-time research project to assess the results of the US-China Strategic & Economic Dialogue (S&ED) from 2010-2016. Investigated the implementation of dialogue outcomes and corresponding benefits to U.S. national interests and the American people.

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

UCLA School of Law (Los Angeles, CA) 2017

- Research Assistant for Kal Raustiala (International Law)
- UCLA-RAND Empirical Legal Scholars Program

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

UC San Diego Department of Political Science 2020 - Present

- 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 2018 - Present

- Teaching Assistant, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* (Steph Haggard)—Undergraduate level-section 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	2025
Bridging the Gap New Voices Workshop in (Washington, DC)	2024
CSIS Project on Nuclear Issues (PONI) Fall Conference (Stanford)	2024
Nuclear Security Workshop, Hertie School (Berlin)	2024
Menard Family Emerging Scholars Conference (NDISC)	2024
International School on Disarmament and Research on Conflicts (ISODARCO)	2024
Summer Seminar in History and Statecraft, Clements Center for National Security	2023
Summer Workshop on Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS), SIWPS	2021
Great Power Dynamics Training Course, UC IGCC	2021
Notre Dame International Security Center Hans J. Morgenthau Fellow	2020 - 2021

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
Regents Scholarship, UC Davis

2012
2009-2013

SERVICE AND LEADERSHIP

UC San Diego Forum on U.S.-China 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
<i>New Approaches to Reviewing and Regulating Chinese High-Tech Investment</i> , Rapporteur	2018
Pre-Law Board, UC San Diego	2017 - 2023
<i>Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs</i> (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 <i>Washington, DC</i>	Sept. - Dec. 2016
Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives <i>Washington, DC</i>	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
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Department of Political Science
University of California, San Diego
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