

M. PATRICK HULME

1478 Union Rd | Gainesville, FL 32611
patrick.hulme@ufl.edu | www.patrickhulme.com

RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS

Congressional-Executive Relations, U.S. Foreign Policy, Constitutional War Powers, Deterrence, Nuclear Weapons

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

University of Florida <i>Assistant Professor of Law and Political Science</i>	<i>Fall 2025</i>
Stanford University <i>Stanton Nuclear Security Fellow, Center for International Security and Cooperation</i>	<i>2024 - 2025</i>
Harvard Kennedy School <i>International Security Program Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs</i>	<i>2023 - 2024</i>
University of Notre Dame <i>Hans J. Morgenthau Fellow, Notre Dame International Security Center</i>	<i>2020 - 2021</i>

EDUCATION

University of California, San Diego Ph.D. in Political Science Fields: International Relations and American Politics	<i>May 2023</i>
UCLA School of Law Juris Doctor (Specialization in International and Comparative Law) Order of the Coif	<i>May 2017</i>
University of California, Davis Bachelor of Arts in Economics (with Honors) Minor in Chinese	<i>June 2013</i>

PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

Hulme, M. Patrick. 2026. “War and Responsibility.” *American Political Science Review* 120(1): 267–90.

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

Hulme, M. Patrick & Matthew C. Waxman. 2026. “Alliance Reassurance and the Image of the Imperial Presidency.” *Security Studies*.

Hulme, M. Patrick, Lauren Gilbert, Erik Gartzke & Alex Braithwaite. 2025. “Power, Parity and Proximity: Why Forgetting the Loss-of-Strength Gradient Misses the Relative Power Relationship.” *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

The Veneer of the Imperial Presidency: Risk, Blame, and War-Making in the Shadow of Congress

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, as presidents 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. The 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 finds 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.

The book combines a new measure of congressional sentiment toward the use of force, built from congressional floor speeches and analyzed quantitatively, with archival case studies, original survey experiments, and elite interviews.

Status: Book workshop completed November 2025. Manuscript requested by Princeton and Cornell University Presses.

REVISE & RESUBMIT

“The Nuclear Balance and Elite Military Opinion towards Using Conventional Military Force,” with Tyler Bowen, Michael Goldfien, Kendrick Kuo, and So Jin Lee. Presented at ISA, APSA, and Harvard Belfer Managing the Atom Program. Revise and resubmit at *International Studies Quarterly*.

UNDER REVIEW

“The War Powers and the Search for Credibility.” Presented at 2024 ISA conference, 2025 Stanford IR/S workshop, and 2026 Duke Frontiers in International Security workshop. Under review at *International Organization*.

“Legal but Lethal: The State of War in the Shadow of the Cold War,” with Adam Saxton. Presented at IS-ISSS and ISA. Under review at *International Organization*.

“The Essence of Congressional Influence: Power without Participation in the Cuban Missile Crisis.” Under review at *International Security*.

“An Audience with Agency: Congressional Influence in International Crisis,” with Andrew Kenealy. Presented at ISA and APSA. Under review at *American Political Science Review*.

WORKING PAPERS

“A methodology for constraint theories: Necessary Condition Analysis (NCA),” with Gary Goertz and Jan Dul. In progress.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- “Measuring Congressional Sentiment Toward the Maduro Strike” Patrick Hulme, Katherine Irajpanah, & Andrew Kenealy. *Lawfare*.
- “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 | 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), 2026 (P,Pn)
- **ISA:** 2020 (P—Canceled due to COVID), 2021 (P), 2022 (P), 2024 (P), 2026 (P)
- **IS-ISSS:** 2021 (P,R/D,Pn), 2025 (P)
- **EPSA:** 2019 (P)
- **CEEISA-ISA:** 2019 (P)

RESEARCH AND POLICY EXPERIENCE

RAND Corporation (Washington, DC) 2022

- Summer Associate, Center for Analysis of U.S. Grand Strategy: evaluated competing claims regarding the effect of past actions on U.S. credibility; analyzed the U.S.–Taiwan defense relationship.

Center for Peace and Security Studies (La Jolla, CA) 2017 - 2023

- Research on U.S. foreign policy, including the effect of distance on military performance, incentives of democratic leaders to prolong unwinnable conflicts, and congressional influence over the use of force.

21st Century China Center (La Jolla, CA) 2017 - present

- Rapporteur, UC San Diego Forum on U.S.-China Relations; comparative analysis of foreign investment screening regimes (e.g., CFIUS) among OECD states.

Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (La Jolla, CA) 2018 - 2023

- Rapporteur, Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (Track 1.5); researcher, biennial IGCC Defense Transparency Index.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

University of Florida 2025 - Present

- Instructor of Record, *Causes of War* (Fall 2026)
- Instructor of Record, *Presidential War Powers* (Spring 2026)
- Instructor of Record, *Legal Reasoning* (Spring 2026)
- 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 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

Albritton Center for Grand Strategy (CGS) Program on Grand Strategy	2025 - 2027
CGSR-CISAC Fellowship Conference at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory	2025
Bridging the Gap New Voices Workshop (Washington, DC)	2024
CSIS Project on Nuclear Issues (PONI) Fall Conference (Stanford)	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	2012
Regents Scholarship, UC Davis	2009 - 2013

SERVICE AND LEADERSHIP

Alexander Hamilton Society, UF Chapter Faculty Mentor	2025 - present
UC San Diego Forum on U.S.-China Relations, Rapporteur	2019 - 2026
Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue, Rapporteur	2018 - 2023
Summer Training Academy for Research Success (STARS), Mentor	2018 - 2022
Pre-Law Board, UC San Diego	2017 - 2023
<i>Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs</i> (JILFA), Articles Editor	2015 - 2017

REFEREEING (JOURNALS AND GRANTS)

International Organization, Journal of Politics, Political Analysis, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Presidential Studies Quarterly, Congress and the Presidency, U.S. National Science Foundation

RELEVANT WORK EXPERIENCE

Office of the General Counsel, U.S. Department of Treasury <i>International Affairs Legal Extern</i>	Sept. - Dec. 2016 <i>Washington, DC</i>
· Drafted legal memoranda and supported international agreements, legislation, and department positions on matters including international trade and finance, national security, and foreign investment.	
Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives <i>Legal Intern</i>	June - Aug. 2015 <i>Washington, DC</i>
· Supported Counsel to the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations; researched international-law questions and helped organize subcommittee hearings.	

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

Walter Russell Mead

Alexander Hamilton Professor of
Strategy and Statecraft
University of Florida
wmead@ufl.edu

Matthew Waxman

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

Steven E. Miller

Director
International Security Program
Harvard Kennedy School
steven_miller@harvard.edu

James Fearon

Professor
Department of Political Science
Stanford University
jfearon@stanford.edu