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2021–2022 Academic Year Fall Session



# DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

# FACULTY OF ARTS

# **Political Science 491.01**

# **US SECURITY POLICY**

<u>Important: The Faculty of Arts, Department</u> of Political Science and the instructor of this course reserve the right to change the delivery of this course from in-person to online if circumstance so warrant.

Instructor	Dr. T. Terriff SS 732 Ph: 403 220 - 5502 Email: tterriff@ucalgary.ca			
Instructor Office H	<b>ours</b> By appointment only, to be held on Zoom. To book, contact the instructor at: <u>tterriff@ucalgary.ca</u>			
Classes:	TR 14:00 PM - 15:15 PM			
Lecture Room:	MS 319			
Course TA	Christopher Verklan Office Hours: Tues 13:00 to 14:00 PM; and Wed 11:00 - 12:00 AM Office: To be Announced Email: christopher.verklan@ucalgary.ca			
D2L Website:	https://d2l.ucalgary.ca			
Required Prerequisite: Poli 381 Introduction to International Relations				

#### **Course Description**

This course examines US security policy, with an emphasis both on how US security policy is made and on the main contemporary security issues the US faces today. The course emphasis is on the post Cold War era.

# **Course Objective**

To understand the factors, influences and actors which have shaped and continue to shape American defence and foreign policy in the post Cold War period, and to gain an understanding of the main current issues in US security and defence policy.

#### **Method of Assessment**

1	Research Proposal	Tues 28 September	10%
2	Mid Term Exam	Thurs 7 October	15%
3	Research Essay	Tues 16 November	40%
4	Final exam	as scheduled by the Registrar	35 %

#### **Research Proposal**

The research proposal shall be 800 words in length (3-4 pages), double spaced, paginated, use the course citation style (on D2L), and include a short bibliography. Further instructions will be furnished in class and in a separate handout that will be posted on D2L.

#### **Research Essay**

The essay shall be 3,500 to 4,000 words in length, double spaced, paginated, use the course citation style (on D2L), and include a bibliography. Further instructions will be furnished in a separate handout that will be posted on D2L.

# READINGS

# Core Texts

- John T. Fishel, American National Security Policy: Authorities, Institutions, and Cases (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Feb 2017)
- Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay, America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy (Brookings Institution, 2003/2005). ISBN-13: 978-0471741503 pb Library - E902 INTERNET, and E902 .D33 2003

#### Additional Readings

Mead, Walter Russell Special providence: American foreign policy and how it changed the world

Dueck, Colin, *Reluctant Crusaders: Power, Culture, and Change in American Grand Strategy.* Halberstam, David, *War in a time of peace: Bush, Clinton, and the generals* Bacevich, A. J *American empire: the realities and consequences of U.S. diplomacy* 

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Suskind, Ron, The one percent doctrine: deep inside America's pursuit of its enemies since 9/11
Woodward, Bob, Bush at War
Woodward, Bob Plan of Attack
Woodward, Bob State of Denial
Woodward, Bob The war within : a secret White House history, 2006-2008
Ricks, Thomas, Fiasco: the American military adventure in Iraq
Ricks, Thomas, The Gamble: General David Petraeus and the American military adventure in Iraq, 2006-2008
Jones, Seth G In the graveyard of empire: America's war in Afghanistan
Bacevich, A. J., The limits of power: the end of American exceptionalism 1st ed.
Zakaria, Fareed, The Post American World, 2008
John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment (Cold War era)

# **Current Events**

The character and content of US security policy often may be fast changing. The course instructor reserves the right to digress from the course subject matter as laid out below in the course outline to discuss ongoing events that are relevant to the overall course subject matter.

Thus, it is useful to pay attention to current events relating to US security policy. The main US newspapers are *New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, among others; unfortunately, almost all of these have imposed subscription fees and are now behind pay walls. RealClearPolitics' World and Defense sections are free (access may be limited), and provide some coverage. The weekly news magazines such *Time* also do cover some elements of US security policy but again seem to be at least partially behind pay walls.

There are also a large number of useful internet sources, including US government and US military websites, that can be accessed for free; indeed, many if not most subjects being currently debated are done so in a mixture of journals, newspapers and blogs, and this holds true for US security issues.

# Learning Technologies and Requirements

If there is deemed a need to move this course to an online lectures model, the following applies: There is a D2L site for this course which contains relevant class resources and materials (see d2L.ucalgary.ca).

In order to successfully engage in their learning experiences at the University of Calgary, students taking online, remote and blended courses are required to have reliable access to the following technology:

- A computer with a supported operating system, as well as the latest security, and malware, updates;
- A current and updated web browser;
- Webcam (built-in or external);
- Microphone and speaker (built-in or external), or headset with microphone;
- Current antivirus and/or firewall software enabled;
- Broadband internet connection.

Most current laptops will have a built-in webcam, speaker and microphone.

#### **Class Participation**

There is no mark for class participation, but students will be expected to come to class prepared for discussion. This means staying up with the readings and current affairs as it may concern the subject of the course. Students must also be prepared to be called upon to offer their assessment of the issues being discussed.

# **Research Paper Proposal**

A hard copy paper proposal must be submitted at the beginning of class, on Tuesday, 28

**September 2021.** The proposal (800 words, or 3-4 pages, double spaced) must include a clear identification of the question to be addressed in the paper, the context and relevance of the question, any relevant concepts, and the methodology to be utilized. The proposal must cite research sources. In addition to the main body of the proposal, a one page preliminary list of sources (bibliography), including those cited, must be included. The research question may be on any aspect of US security policy.

The clarity of writing style (including grammar and punctuation) as well as the correct formatting of citations are evaluated as part of the grade assessment. Information on the research proposal, on how it is assessed, and on the appropriate citation style is available on D2L.

Do note that the generation of a research proposal requires conducting research!

# **Midterm Exam**

The midterm exam will consist of long-answer, essay questions. The midterm exam is closed book and no aids will be permitted. The <u>midterm exam will be written on *Thursday 7 October* <u>2021</u>.</u>

# **Research Paper**

<u>A hard copy research paper must be submitted at the beginning of class, on *Tuesday, 16* <u>November 2021</u>. This paper (3,500 to 4,000 words) is to provide an analytical study of an aspect of US security policy. The essay will use an appropriate citation style and include a bibliography. The clarity of writing style (including grammar and punctuation) as well as the correct formatting of citations are evaluated as part of the grade assessment. Information on the research essay, how it is assessed, and on the appropriate citation style is available on D2L.</u>

# **Final Exam**

The final exam will be two hours in length and will consist of long-answer, essay questions. The final exam is closed book and no aids will be permitted. The <u>final exam is scheduled by the</u> <u>Office of the Registrar during the examination period</u>, <u>Monday, 13 December - Wednesday</u>, <u>22 December, 2021</u>.

# Writing Statement

Written assignments are often required in Political Science courses, including this one, and the quality of writing skills, including but not limited to such elements as grammar, punctuation, sentence structure, clarity, citation, and organization, will be taken into account in the determination of grades, including in the written essay answer exams. Students are encouraged to make use of the services offered through Writing Support Services in the Student Success Centre (3<sup>rd</sup> floor of the Taylor Family Digital Library) or at <u>http://www.ucalgary.ca/ssc/writing-support</u>.

# **Grade Scale**

The following grading scale will be used:

A + = 95 - 100	B+ = 77-79	C+ = 67-69	D+ = 55-59
A = 86-94	B = 73-76	C = 63-66	D = 50-54
A = 80 - 85	B- = 70-72	C- = 60-62	F = 0-49

#### Late Penalties

A late penalty of three (3) percent will be applied for each day past the required submission date a piece of work is submitted. This late penalty applies to the research proposal and the research essay.

#### **Class Preparation and Desire2Learn**

Lectures focus on the material presented in the textbook and general discussion relating to the topic(s) outlined in the lecture schedule. Students are expected to read the assigned text chapters and readings before class, and be prepared for class discussion. Any important information and additional readings for US Security Policy (Poli 491.01) will be posted on D2L. Students should regularly check the Announcements section of D2L for ongoing notices.

Your instructor may not necessarily cover all of the materials in the course outline or in the required readings, but it is the responsibility of the student to understand the concepts presented in the textbook and lectures. If you are unsure of any of the concepts, please take the initiative to ask the instructor during class. The instructor may also address current events relevant to the course subject matter.

#### **Instructor Instructions**

Students requiring assistance are encouraged to speak to the instructor during class or their office hours. Should you wish to meet outside of office hours, please email the instructor or teaching assistant to make an appointment. It is to the student's advantage to keep such appointments.

Email is commonly used by students to communicate with their instructor. However, it does limit the effectiveness of the communications and may not be the best way for instructors to answer student questions, especially those requiring an explanation of concepts covered in this course or some personal concerns. Therefore the instructor may request a telephone call or personal meeting. *Your instructor will inform you as to his/her expectations about emails.* 

Students are welcome to use laptops and other electronic note-taking devices in this course. Please be considerate of others and switch off all cell phones when you enter the classroom. Sending/receiving texts and browsing the Web is extremely disruptive to others and will not be tolerated.

# **Course Outline**

# **Part I: Sources of Influence**

# Week 1 Tues (7 September) Introduction

# Thurs American Political and Strategic Culture

Required Reading: Fishel, American National Security Policy, Ch 1.

# *Week 2* Tues American Political and Strategic Culture\_cont.

# Thurs The National Security System and Actors: Policymakers, Bureaucracies, and Organizations

Required Reading: Fishel, American National Security Policy, Ch. 2-5. The National Security Council: An FPRI Primer, Foreign Policy Research Institute, 5 Sept 2017 (5:20 Min video) At: <u>https://www.fpri.org/multimedia/2017/09/national-security-council/</u> Van Jackson, "I Got a Story to Tell: Who Does What in National

Security Policy?", War on the Rocks, 14 February 2017, at: Footnote 1<sup>-1</sup>

# Week 3 Tues & Thurs The National Security System and Actors: Policymakers, Bureaucracies, and Organizations

# Week 4 Tues The Cold War and a Small War in Southeast Asia

Required Reading: Heather Stur. "Why the United States Went to War in Vietnam", Foreign Policy Research Institute, 28 April 2017, at: <u>https://www.fpri.org/article/2017/04/united-states-went-war-vietnam/</u>

# Research Proposal Due: Tuesday, 28 September 2021

# Thurs (30 September) National Day for Truth and Reconciliation - no class

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> <u>https://warontherocks.com/2017/02/i-got-a-story-to-tell-who-does-what-in-national-security-policy/</u>

# Part II: US Security Policy Before 9/11

Week 5 Tues & Thurs From 11/9 to 9/11: The Post Cold War Interregnum

Required Reading:

Fishel, American National Security Policy, Ch. 6-10
Stephen M. Walt, "Two Cheers for Clinton's Foreign Policy", Foreign Affairs, March/April 2000, pp. 63-79.
John Dumbrell, "Was There a Clinton Doctrine? President Clinton's Foreign Policy Reconsidered", Diplomacy & Statecraft, 13:2, 2002.

Week 6 Tues From 11/9 to 9/11: The Post Cold War Interregnum

Thurs (7 October) Mid Term Exam

# Part III: US Security Policy Since 9/11

Required Reading for Entire Section: Daalder and Lindsey, America Unbound (entire book). The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, issued 20 September 2002 (esp.Chapters 1-5) at: <u>http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2002/</u>

#### Week 7 Tues & Thurs 9/11 & The 'Long War': America's Global War on Terror (GWOT)

Required Reading: Jessica Stern, "Obama and Terrorism: Like It or Not, the War Goes On", *Foreign Affairs*, Sept-Oct 2015: 62-70
Hal Brands & Michael O'Hanlon, "The War on Terror Has Not Yet Failed: A Net Assessment After 20 Years", *Survival*, 63:4, (2021) pp. 33-54

## Week 8 Tues The Threat of Nuclear Proliferation

Required Reading:

Sarah Lohschelder, "Three Presidents Facing North Korea - A Review of U.S. Foreign Policy", *Huffington Post*, no date, at Footnote Two<sup>2</sup>

#### Thurs 'Blind into Baghdad'? Theory, Optimism and Reality

Required Reading:

Fishel, American National Security Policy, Ch. 12Hakan Tunç, 'What was it all about after all? The causes of the Iraq war', Contemporary Security Policy, 26/2 (2005) pp. 335-355.

#### Week 9 Tues 'Blind into Baghdad'? Theory, Optimism and Reality

# Thurs Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq and all that: America and its European Allies

Required Reading: Fishel, American National Security Policy, Ch. 11, 13 & 14
Terry Terriff, "Fear and Loathing in NATO: The Atlantic Alliance after the Crisis over Iraq", Perspectives on European Politics and Society, 4/3 (December 2004) 419-446.

#### Week 10 Term Break: Sunday, 7 November to Saturday, 13 November

# Week 11 Tues Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq and all that: America and its European Allies

Research Essay Due: Tuesday, 16 November 2021

#### *Week 11* Thurs "Leading from Behind": Obama, the Arab Spring, Libya, and Syria/Iraq

Required Reading:

Fawaz A. Gerges, "The Obama Approach to the Middle East: The End of America's Moment", *International Affairs*, 80/2 (2013) 299-323.
Mikael Blomdahl, "Bureaucratic Roles and Positions: Explaining the United States Libya Decision", *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 27:1, (2016) pp. 142-161
Jeffrey Goldberg, "The Obama Doctrine", *The Atlantic*, April 2016, at: Footnote Three <sup>3</sup>
Colin Dueck, "The Real Obama Doctrine Exposed", *The National Interest*,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> <u>https://www.huffingtonpost.com/young-professionals-in-foreign-policy/three-presidents-facing-n\_b\_9335546.html</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This article is available electronically through the Library but can be hard to access, so the instructor will distribute a PDF copy to the members of this class.

28 April 2015, at Footnote Four <sup>4</sup>

# Week 12 Tues "Leading from Behind": Obama, the Arab Spring, Libya, and Syria/Iraq

# Thurs The Decline of America? America and its (Near) Peer Competitors

Required Reading: Thomas J. Christiansen, "Obama and Asia: Confronting the Challenge of China", Foreign Affairs, Sept-Oct 2015: 28-36.
Peter Rudolf, "The Sino-American World Conflict", Survival, 63:2 (2021) pp. 87-114.

# Week 13 Tues The Decline of America? America and its (Near) Peer Competitors

# Thurs From Trumping the World to Biden Time

Required Reading:

- Toma McTaque and Peter Nicholas, "How 'America First' Became America Alone", *Defense One*, 29 Oct 2020 at Footnote Five <sup>5</sup>.
- "Is There National Security Continuity Between the Trump and Biden Administrations (Nadia Schadlow in Conversation)", *Orbis*, Summer 2021 pp. 377-384.
- Angela Stent, "Trump's Russia Legacy and Biden's Response", *Survival*, 63:4, (2021) pp. 55-80.

# *Week 14* Tues From Trumping the World to Biden Time

Thurs **Course review** (7 December 2021)

# Winter Term Ends, Thursday, 9 December 2021

NB. All articles listed above without internet addresses can be found in the Library or through the Library's electronic access to journals.

Please note that the above schedule is tentative and may change as the need arises

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> <u>http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-real-obama-doctrine-exposed-12745?page=show</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2020/10/how-america-first-became-america-alone/169678/

# **IMPORTANT POLICIES AND INFORMATION**

#### **Supporting Documentation and the Use of a Statutory Declaration**

As stated in the University Calendar:

Students may be asked to provide supporting documentation for an exemption/special request. This may include, but is not limited to, a prolonged absence from a course where participation is required, a missed course assessment, a deferred examination, or an appeal. Students are encouraged to submit documentation that will support their situation. Supporting documentation may be dependent on the reason noted in their personal statement/explanation provided to explain their situation. This could be medical certificate/documentation, references, police reports, invitation letter, third party letter of support or a statutory declaration etc. The decision to provide supporting documentation that best suits the situation is at the discretion of the student. Students cannot be required to provide supporting documentation, such as a medical note.

Students can make a Statutory Declaration as their supporting documentation (available at <u>ucalgary.ca/registrar</u>). This requires students to make a declaration in the presence of a Commissioner for Oaths. It demonstrates the importance of honest and accurate information provided and is a legally binding declaration. Several registered Commissioners for Oaths are available to students at no charge, on campus. For a list of locations to access a Commissioners for Oaths, visit <u>ucalgary.ca/registrar</u>).

Falsification of any supporting documentation will be taken very seriously and may result in disciplinary action through the Academic Discipline regulations or the Student Non-Academic Misconduct policy.

This statement is accessible at: https://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/m-1.html

#### Absence From a Mid-term Examination

Students who are absent from a scheduled term test or quiz for legitimate reasons are responsible for contacting the instructor via email within 48 hours of the missed test to discuss alternative arrangements. A copy of this email may be requested as proof of the attempt to contact the instructor. Any student who fails to do so forfeits the right to a makeup test.

#### **Deferral of a Final Examination**

Deferral of a final examination can be granted for reasons of illness, domestic affliction, and unforeseen circumstances, as well as to those with three (3) final exams scheduled within a 24hour period. Deferred final exams will not be granted to those who sit the exam, who have made travel arrangements that conflict with their exam, or who have misread the examination timetable. The decision to allow a deferred final exam rests not with the instructor but with Enrolment Services. Instructors should, however, be notified if you will be absent during the examination. The Application for Deferred Final Exam, deadlines, requirements and submission instructions can be found on the Enrolment Services website at

https://www.ucalgary.ca/registrar/exams/deferred-exams.

### **Reappraisals**

The University Calendar states that for reappraisals of graded term work:

"A student who feels that a piece of graded term work (term paper, essay, test, etc.) has been unfairly graded, may have the work reappraised as follows. The student shall discuss the work with the instructor **within ten business days** of being notified about the mark or of the item's return to the class. If not satisfied, the student shall take the matter to the head of the department offering the course **within 2 business days of receiving the decision from the instructor**, who will arrange for a reappraisal of the work **within the next ten business days**. The reappraisal will only be considered if the student provides a detailed rationale that outlines where and for what reason an error is suspected." See <u>https://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/i-2.html</u>

The University Calendar states that for reappraisal of academic assessments (final grades):

"A student may request a reappraisal of a final grade. The only element that will be considered is the final assessment(s) that makes up the final mark (e.g., final examination, final project, and final paper). The exception is when a grade for a piece of graded term work is made available to students after the last day of classes for the term in which the course is scheduled; that grade may also be considered in a reappraisal of the final grade."

"A student seeking a reappraisal of a final grade should first attempt to review the final assessment with the department or faculty offering the course. After which the student shall obtain a Reappraisal of Final Grade form from <u>ucalgary.ca/registrar</u> (under Student Forms). The student must indicate exactly what error was made in marking the final assessment and/or in computing the final grade. The reappraisal will only be considered if the student provides a detailed rationale that outlines where and for what reason an error is suspected." More information is available at: <u>https://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/i-3.html</u>

#### **University Regulations**

Students are responsible for familiarizing themselves with the University policies found in the Academic Regulations sections of the Calendar at www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/academic-regs.html.

#### **Student Accommodations**

Students seeking an accommodation based on disability or medical concerns should contact Student Accessibility Services; SAS will process the request and issue letters of accommodation to instructors. For additional information on support services and accommodations for students with disabilities, visit <u>www.ucalgary.ca/access/</u>.

Students who require an accommodation in relation to their coursework based on a protected ground other than disability should communicate this need in writing to their Instructor.

The full policy on Student Accommodations is available at <a href="http://www.ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/student-accommodation-policy.pdf">http://www.ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/student-accommodation-policy.pdf</a>.

#### **Plagiarism And Other Forms Of Academic Misconduct**

Academic misconduct in any form (e.g. cheating, plagiarism) is a serious academic offence that can lead to disciplinary probation, suspension or expulsion from the University. Students are expected to be familiar with the standards surrounding academic honesty; these can be found in the University of Calgary calendar at <u>http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/k.html</u>. Such offences will be taken seriously and reported immediately, as required by Faculty of Arts policy.

# **Required Access to Technology**

Please see the University's resource page at https://ucalgary.service-ow.com/it?id=kb\_article&sys\_id=86e7438013753ac06f3afbb2e144b031

#### **Copyright Legislation**

As stated in the University of Calgary Calendar, Academic Regulations, "students are required to read the University of Calgary policy on Acceptable Use of Material Protected by Copyright and requirements of the copyright act to ensure they are aware of the consequences of unauthorised sharing of course materials (including instructor notes, electronic versions of textbooks etc.). Students who use material protected by copyright in violation of this policy may be disciplined under the Non-Academic Misconduct Policy."

https://www.ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/acceptable-use-of-material-protected-bycopyright.pdf and https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-42/index.html

#### **Instructor Intellectual Property**

Course materials created by instructors (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the instructor. These materials may NOT be reproduced, redistributed or copied without the explicit consent of the instructor. The posting of course materials to third party websites such as note-sharing sites without permission is prohibited. Sharing of extracts of these course materials with other students enrolled in the course at the same time may be allowed under fair dealing.

#### Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy (FOIP)

FOIP legislation requires that instructors maintain the confidentiality of student information. In practice, this means that student assignment and tests cannot be left for collection in any public place without the consent of the student. It also means that grades cannot be distributed via email. Final exams are kept by instructors but can be viewed by contacting them or the main office in the Department of Political Science. Any uncollected assignments and tests meant to be returned will be destroyed after six months from the end of term; final examinations are destroyed after one year.

#### **Evacuation Assembly Points**

In the event of an emergency evacuation from class, students are required to gather in designated assembly points. Please check the list found at <u>www.ucalgary.ca/emergencyplan/assemblypoints</u> and note the assembly point nearest to your classroom.

# **Faculty of Arts Program Advising and Student Information Resources**

For program planning and advice, visit the Arts Students' Centre in Social Sciences 102, call 403-220-3580 or email <u>artsads@ucalgary.ca</u>. You can also visit <u>arts.ucalgary.ca/advising</u> for program assistance.

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For registration (add/drop/swap), paying fees and assistance with your Student Centre, contact Enrolment Services at (403) 210-ROCK [7625] or visit their office in the MacKimmie Tower, MT 116..

# **Important Contact Information**

Campus Security and Safewalk (24 hours a day/7 days a week/365 days a year) Phone: 403-220-5333

Faculty of Arts Undergraduate Students' Union Representatives Phone: 403-220-6551 Email: arts1@su.ucalgary.ca, arts2@su.ucalgary.ca, arts3@su.ucalgary.ca, arts4@su.ucalgary.ca Students' Union URL: www.su.ucalgary.ca

Graduate Students' Association Phone: 403-220-5997 Email: <u>askgsa@ucalgary.ca</u> URL: <u>www.ucalgary.ca/gsa</u>

Student Ombudsman Phone: 403-220-6420 Email: <u>ombuds@ucalgary.ca</u>

# **Campus Mental Health Resources**

The University of Calgary recognizes the pivotal role that student mental health plays in physical health, social connectedness and academic success, and aspires to create a caring and supportive campus community where individuals can freely talk about mental health and receive supports when needed. We encourage you to explore the excellent mental health resources available throughout the university community, such as counselling, self-help resources, peer support or skills-building available through the following resources:

SU Wellness Centre: http://www.ucalgary.ca/wellnesscentre/

Student Wellness Services: https://www.ucalgary.ca/wellness-services/services/mental-health-services

Campus Mental Health Strategy website: https://www.ucalgary.ca/mentalhealth/.