FRANCISCO FRANCO AND TEXACO: PROVIDING FUEL FOR BOTH THE WAR AND PROPAGANDA

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ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to uncover exactly how the war relief aid, particularly through Texaco oil and oil stocks, contributed to Franco’s regime. Throughout history, we see a constant influence of regime type on media outlets, especially in Franco’s Spain. Further, it will verify a clear parallel between regime types and permissible media publications within each regime, respectively. By means of this paper, I hope to be able to contribute to the larger discussion on the political profile of Francisco Franco’s regime and the United States’ role in expanding its influence in Europe in the aftermath of World War II. This thesis will also question Texaco Oil and Franco’s Spain with respect to various trades, deals, and overall add to global conversations. How crucial really was the oil question to the Franco regime in the 1940’s and 50’s after the Civil War to fuel the economy and kick off the reconstruction process.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Dating back to the early 1900’s, the relationship between Spain and the United States has been influenced by countless contributing elements. Many of the relationships that we create have the power to outlast life itself. The Spanish Civil War, Texaco Oil, and media effects of propaganda all played part in how the United States and Spain carry themselves when dealing with one another, respectively. These “antics”, if you will, can be seen to have an impact on politics, leadership, and policies even still today.

Many historians refer to the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) as a trial run for World War II. General Francisco Franco led a number of troops against the new liberal, democratic Spanish government. He was a leader that was highly committed to the well-being and readiness of his own troops. He was also a family man: Franco married his wife, Carmen Polo, in 1923 and together, they raised a daughter. Francisco demonstrated his dedication to leadership and family throughout his days.

During World War II, Great Britain and the United States were allies and Spain remained neutral. Great Britain eventually suggested that the United States should deny supplies to the axis powers using one of two methods: either deny them directly or through neutral countries. Great Britain was scared that Spain would enter war on the Axis power side so they were more willing to supply Spain with oil. The United States did not lend money and American owned tanks sailed under foreign flags.
Before delving into the Spanish Civil War and Franco’s regime, I would like to first comment on a series of events that led him to his regime. His road to leadership first started when he was only 14 years old. Francisco Franco graduated from the Infantry Academy at Toledo in three short years. That means that by the time he was 17, he was getting ready to become first lieutenant and put his skills in commanding and leading to productive use. Francisco Franco was the youngest captain in the Spanish army and gained full command of the Spanish Foreign Legion within 8 years (Taylor). His dedication to service and his commitment to his own militaristic and political advancement proved effective in the series of successes of his career.

Franco went on to become the director of the General Military Academy in Saragossa (General). Three short years later, the monarchy fell and Franco’s successes found themselves halting all of a sudden. Francisco and conservative forces gained active command and control of the republic in 1933, two years later (Taylor). By 1936, Spain and its political system divided in two: The Rightist and the Leftist parties. In the following chapters, we will learn that the Nationalist Right had the support of Francisco Franco. These Nationalists chose Franco to be both Commander in Chief of the Military Rebellion and take his place as head of the Nationalist government. In doing so, the Nationalists confirmed that Franco had the capacity to do great things with his background in acquiring both Hitler and Mussolini’s militaristic help.

In 1936 Francisco Franco finally became head of state in the Nationalist Regime. He was commander in chief during the Civil War and came out victorious in 1939. Despite consequences of war, Franco led Spain with utmost military and economic guile. Further in his career, he faced the quaking government that was shaped by the turmoil of World War II. Proving to be one of the most difficult parts of Franco’s regime, right after World War II, Franco became known as
the “last surviving fascist dictator” by many foreigners (Taylor). The Axis Powers formed Spain’s choice to adopt policies of neutrality at the time. The United States Government Policy of neutrality didn’t stop Americans from aiding both sides. Later in the chapters, we will see how US neutrality played a key role in the nationalist victory in the Spanish Civil War.

A few years pass until France falls and by this time, Franco thought he could once again prove his worth. Just like in 1936 when he got militaristic support from Germany and Italy, Francisco Franco again sought to get Hitler support - this time he wanted economic and militaristic support of Germany in exchange for him to dedicate Spain to Germany’s war efforts. Hitler neglected to agree to these terms. Francisco Franco returned Spain to total neutrality in 1943.

Francisco Franco led his rightist authoritarian regime in a way that would go down in history. His legacy outlasted his death and so did his regime. After suffering a series of steady decline in his health during the 1960’s, Franco passed away. His regime was succeeded by Juan Carlos and Franco was sure his regime would stand tall. Little did he know that Carlos would crush his Franconian institutions that he built from the ground up. Juan Carlos developed new institutions that modeled those of western Europe (History.com).
Chapter 2
Spanish Civil War

Before the Spanish Civil War, Francisco Franco was banished to the Canary Islands. Despite his banishment, Franco was still committed to the military efforts of his home country, Spain. During this mission, Franco was sure to make a variety of alliances that would prove useful down the road in his life including alliances with Italy and Germany. These alliances went further to be used in gaining a variety of supplies and aid during the Spanish Civil War.

On July 18, 1936, the military rebelled and the Spanish Civil War started. During his time at the Canary Islands, Francisco Franco was able to aid in the Republicans and Nationalists, the rebels, securing their own territories by executing opponents in the political realm (Spanish). Remember that Franco was still trapped in Spanish Morocco by loyalists to the Republic.

From the year 1936 up until 1939, the Spanish Civil War was in full force, resulting in over 400,000 deaths within the 3-year span. Many of the higher ups within the army feared that a Marxist revolution would unfold within a liberal government, so they conspired to seize power. Leading the Nationalists, General Francisco Franco rose against the Republican government which was elected through democracy. The republican government took very few steps in trying to stop the attempted power seizure to spill over into the mainland. The following day, Nationalists began to gain control of conservative cities that lacked the proper weaponry to defend themselves.

It is important to note that beyond the Spanish government, the Left included mainly workers and peasants. Members of this Loyalists Left all inhibited the support of both the Soviet
Union and European Democracies. The Nationalist Right was backed by the Catholic Church, landowners, among many others. Forming part of this overall conflict, both Germany and Italy’s Fascist governments played part in the Nationalist efforts (Donquijote).

The United States Government’s neutrality policy did not stop Americans from providing aid, troops and weaponry to both sides; however, it is important to note that the US ‘big businesses’ acted more in favor of the Nationalists. The neutrality of the United States proved to be extremely influential in the Nationalist victory. In 1937, The Neutrality Act was revised and oil shipments began to be sent through Italy. By sending shipments through Italy, the grand total amount of business that was being executed by Nationalists during the war grew to immense proportions.

Many British businessmen and big American corporations feared Francisco Franco and his capabilities; therefore, they signed a non-intervention agreement. Aside from the Americans, both the Mexicans and Soviets were sending weaponry to Franco’s Spain; however, lots of the weaponry and tanks could not be powered without oil. American Oil Companies provided Franco with both resources and supplies during the war. Later in the chapters I will discuss the exact scope of influence that Texaco Oil had on the Nationalist victory in the Spanish Civil War.

By the end of the confrontation, the Nationalists secede Spanish Morocco and various parts of inlands of Spain Madrid, the East coast of Spain, and the Basque regions were still under possession of the Republican Communist allies (JabzyJoe). Within the next few weeks, militias were starting to form while the Nationalists marched on Madrid. Franco led campaigns in southern Spain that led to Nationalist leadership gaining control of cities including Toledo, Cordoba and Granada. After gaining control over various southern cities, Francisco Franco turned his attention to those in the northern Basque region. The city of Guernica was devastated.
by a fleet of German bombers. In the year 1937, after Republican forces failed to defend the two cities, Bilbao and Santander were both now under Franco’s control (JabzyJoe).

In March of 1938, after many anti-Franco groups had been fighting at Cataluña, a communist group known as POUM who thought those Republicans were “undermining class consciousness fought back, and the Nationalists launched a major offence into Cataluña. They fought their way all the way to the Mediterranean Sea and managed to cut the Republican territory in half (JabzyJoe). In 1938, Britain and France met with Hitler and gave him Czechoslovakia. This proved they were not willing to break the non-intervention agreement and that there would be no extra troops or weapons would be in the Republicans way. In 1939, Franco’s troops took Barcelona and in that same year, moved onward to take Madrid. Figure 1 clearly defines which areas were controlled by Republicans in red, and which were Nationalist controlled, in blue, as of September 1936 (File). All of the green areas show these gains that the Nationalists had made since the start of the Spanish Civil War.
Finally, on April 1, 1939, the Spanish Civil War came to a close and Spain was left under the leadership of its first military dictator, Francisco Franco. The Spanish Civil war was essentially a fight between fascists, communists, and liberals. This struggle was due to a political climate in Spain that was quite influential on decisions to intervene or to remain useful, as we have just seen. The Spanish Civil War was essential in creating important relationships and establishing a dynamic between Spain and their people.
Chapter 3
Franco’s Regime

In order to combat the impending threat of communism, Spain was governed under a military dictatorship. In 1931; however, a second republic was the new liberal form used during the economic depression that spread throughout the country. When the socialists lost the 1933 election, communist strikes that arose in the north were stopped by none other than General Franco’s militaristic forces (JabzyJoe). The Popular Front won the 1936 election after defeating the National Front, and provoked the right wing to organize a resistance alongside the military. Comprised of the Communist Party of Spain, the Workers’ Party of Marxist Unification, the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party, and the republicans, the Popular Front was not silent.

When the Spanish Civil War began in 1936, the Spanish Republican Army was dissolved in loyal territory. Then, weapons were brought to armed groups soon after. The groups were comprised of many of the groups that make up the Popular Front (Dreifort). Their initial success lies within the defeating of many Francoist armies in many large Spanish cities including, Barcelona and Madrid. The Spanish Republican Army that was once dissolved in loyal territory, managed to successfully reorganize enough so to secure leadership of the country right up to the year 1929.

Soon after the Nationalists defeated the Republicans in 1939, Francisco Franco ruled as the fascist dictator of Spain from 1939 until he died in 1975 during a time period known as postwar Spain. His reign as dictator began during the end of the Spanish Civil War. This war played part in the birth of the dictatorship of Francisco Franco and the creation of his regime of absolute control over the country of Spain. The strategic use of propaganda is a common defining characteristic of dictatorships, especially Franco’s. Historically, the propaganda is used
with tireless efforts to brainwash the people in conforming with or conforming to your own way of thinking. I will touch more on this in the chapters to come.

During his first decade as dictator, Francisco Franco began to implement policies of repression and chastised those who showed even the slightest differing views or opposition to his regime and their beliefs. Franco had firing squads execute over 50,000 republicans for alleged war crimes (Othen 280). Criticisms from these executions surmounted any that any other leaders had endured. Many argue that Franco’s government style was more of that of a military dictatorship. Regardless, he ruled in a violent and unforgiving manner that would go down in history.

Francisco Franco was famous for making a series of deals and trades with other countries and in doing so, retained many reliable allies that he would be calling upon during the Spanish Civil War. For example, he proved to be adamant on acquiring a variety of financial aid and militaristic support from those allies, including Germany. Franco would only get this sought-after support if Spain were to enter into the war supporting German efforts and Hitler’s regime in return (Payne).

On April 17, 1944, towards the end of WWII, Hull said that if the UK wanted Spain to get petroleum without fulfilling exigency of embargo on wolfram, that it should send oil from its own British Shell Oil Company in Aruba (Thomás 103). In attempts to deprive the German Industry of wolfram through embargo on exports to the countries at war, United States’ relations with a Spain that was still pro-Franco, shifted focus. Roosevelt continued to show his commitment to strengthening and growing US trade relations with Spain.

In the year 1970, Francisco Franco named Prince Juan Carlos I the successor to his dictatorship (Donquijote). At last, on November 20, 1975, Franco’s 40-year dictatorship had
come to an end with his death. Two years later, Spain made smooth transitions from his militaristic dictatorship rule to that of a parliamentary democracy. Prince Juan Carlos would serve to reestablish monarchy and pave the road to democracy in Spain. Today, Spain is ruled by Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy. Even though we see a change in the political sphere of Spain, Franco’s legacy is still looming over the heads of the citizens.
Chapter 4

Texaco Oil and Spain

The Franco regime limited the foreign participation in the Spanish Petroleum industry to 25% in 1939 (Chester). Despite this, oil companies were the first in developing foreign policies and employing them. They discovered that in implementing their own foreign policies, they had the opportunity to decide for themselves who to do business with. By deciding for themselves who to do business with, the companies were able to limit Franco’s influence in the matter.

In 1940, Texaco was breaching U.S. embargo against oil shipments to Hitler’s Germany. Franco gained the support of the chief executive of Texaco: Mr. Torkild Rieber. Rieber became both an American citizen and the captain of an oil tanker at the ripe age of 22 (Hochschild). This tanker later became known as Texaco Oil. Through his experience as “cap”, Rieber discovered that the real money in the business was not found on the tankers, but rather in a business office. This discovery gave him the inspiration to become CEO of Texaco. In 1935, Torkild Rieber did just that. He made an incredible oil powerhouse.

Torkild Rieber, the CEO of Texaco, was known as being a fascist sympathizer. He supported Francisco Franco and repeatedly violated US laws when he sold oil on credit. This act was illegal since they were at war. Further, Rieber knowingly transported oil to Spain on American ships, which also violated US laws. Rieber “preferred doing business with autocrats” and illegally sold Franco’s Nationalists oil. The CEO of Texaco essentially had spies around the world that were able to determine where Republican-bound oil shipments were so that the Nationalists had the opportunity to attack them (Greenspan).

The Nationalists revolted against the Spanish government’s elect government. (Hochschild). The overall brutality of the revolt had a lasting result at a global level. Since
Franco’s Nationalists were low on money, Rieber would either extend credit or sell oil at a discounted rate to the Nationalists. Selling the commodity at a discounted rate and sending the fuel in Texaco’s tankers were two very illegal acts in this time when the neutrality acts were being enforced. The American government seemed highly concerned with Rieber supplying oil to neutral Spain and Portugal for reshipment to the Axis Powers Post World War II (Chester 60). Why should their opinions change further into the Spanish Civil War? Neutrality in association with oil deals was crucial in interpreting and understanding the ethics and legality of events at the time, especially those between Franco and Rieber.

Both Germany and Italy supplied tanks and planes to the Nationalists during the civil war. Many newspapers reported on this aid from two powers of the world. The importance that Hitler and Mussolini were of a high influence to the Nationalists with all of the weapons they supplied; however, as we have seen, oil was the most important supply for the allies (Hochschild). With such advanced, heavy-duty machines, one would think that winning the war was a given. Regardless their machinery, the Nationalists would have never won the civil war if it weren’t for Texaco and their constant supply of fuel. The fueling question of the war provided them with oil, capital, and valuable intelligence that was used for the Nationalists to come out victorious.

Oil, sometimes referred to as the black beast, was a commodity in high demand during the Franco regime. It continues to be of utmost necessity in a variety of sectors—both public and private. Texaco Oil is a subsidiary of the hugely successful Chevron Corporation. Today, Chevron-Texaco is one of the four largest oil companies of the world. In 2017, Chevron not only ranked in the top ten, but placed as one of the top 2 oil and gas companies based on market value in 2017 (Largest). Statista based these values off of the Financial Times Equity list of leading
global companies. As shown in Table 1, Chevron Corporation ‘s market value reached 197 billion US dollars (Largest).

Table 1. Top 5 Oil and Gas Companies Based on Market Value (2017)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oil and Gas Company</th>
<th>Market Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exxon Mobil</td>
<td>341.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chevron</td>
<td>197.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ConocoPhillips</td>
<td>53.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EOG Resources</td>
<td>50.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occidental Petroleum</td>
<td>44.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5
The Resulting Propaganda Shift

There is a direct parallel between regime type and what said regime deems permissible to be published in the media. Franco was the kind of leader who would use propaganda as a means in which he could manipulate the beliefs and thoughts of his Spanish people, oftentimes without them even knowing. With his “Francoist censorship”, it was common to see mainly propaganda and news sources that would highlight the good sides of the Francoist government and promote a unified Spain. It didn’t matter how true the information might have been, the only thing that mattered was how it made the government look. Franco had the goal of creating an ideologically unified Spain: in the process, he subjugated various forms of expression of liberal social and political ideology among the Spanish people.

Regime propaganda in Franco’s Spain stressed his central role and he would be the man that would be seen to single handedly embody the different faces of the regime. Photos and portraits of Francisco Franco were widely distributed and he appeared in many different forms: on clothing for the party and army. He was portrayed as a catholic gentleman, a family man, and a fine leader. As shown in Figure 2, the phrase “Una Patria, un estado, un caudillo” is advertised along with Francisco Franco and Spain. The phrase itself translates to: “A country, a nation, a leader” which shows first-hand how this man was envisioned by his people. Franco, himself, was a vision of a leader which represented the country entirely. Both his regime and his style of leadership were seen as almost ‘godly’ and were always portrayed and advertised with the utmost respect and honor.
During the Spanish Civil War, many forms of entertainment we have now did not exist; however, going to the movies was a popular form of entertainment. Censorship in the film industry made sure that all displays of ideology including politics, religion, military, sex, etc. were controlled. In 1938, Franco implemented a press law that put harsh limits on what was permissible to be published in the media including all things political, sexual, or religious. He had a way of suppressing any free forms of expression that defied what he and his regime deemed the “standard”.

**Figure 2: Franco Propaganda Pamphlet (Basilio)**

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The Catholic Church was a key player in Nationalist Francisco Franco’s propaganda efforts. In Spain, schools were taught from a mainly catholic standpoint. Over 25% of Catholics admitted to unifying and supporting Francisco Franco during his dictatorship; however, after years of suffering from discrimination, Catholics opinions on the matter began to become silent (Othen 171). Many went from being Catholics who were allies with Franco, to citizens who began to demonstrate reluctance in their support of the dictator. Foreign artists and intellectuals supported the Loyalist Left: these included extraordinarily talented men like Ernest Hemmingway and George Orwell. These Loyalist supporters experienced first-hand the effects of Francoist censorship in their very own publications. Works by men like these two were oftentimes banned for social, political and sexual contexts and overall themes that were seen as being entirely too graphic for the times in the eyes of the government.

Even still today, many components of Franco’s censorship are still being implemented. According to Financial Times, many of the books that Franco put regulations on are still only available in those versions-lacking elements such as references to Franco or the Spanish Civil War (Buck). A lot of the time, publishers credit this censorship to lack of knowledge of the censorship or monetary reasons. The lack of open references to prominent historical events including the Spanish Civil War and the scarcity of sexually explicit content, politically unjust commentary, or commentary undermining the Catholic church can all be credited to the regime censorship that has stood the test of time. Books have longer lives than the dictatorship of Franco and in this sense, the Francoist censorship has exponential potential to outlast his regime.

Propaganda and censorship in the media work hand-in-hand as a form of manipulating the Spanish people into suppression led by Franco’s dictatorship. The actions of Francisco Franco led Spain into a culture that was full of government screening and restrictions in
everyday culture and politics. Many still see Franco’s censorship as, in the words of Lecturer in Hispanic Studies, Dr. Jordi Corellà-Detrell, “one of the most long-lasting and at the same time invisible legacies of Franco’s regime” (Bangor). The legacy of his regime continues to contribute to the literary world, especially that of Spain; however, it is a silent contribution and oftentimes the censorship occurs in ways that are easily overlooked as being unimportant or overlooked since they have already been incorporated as the norm.

Yes, censorship from the Francoist government rule has disappeared; however, we can still pick out some of the effects throughout modern day media. In the political scene of today, for example, especially around election time, oftentimes it is clear that the citizens are receiving either censored or regulated news and advertisements for political campaigns. A certain bias can also be found in educational textbooks. Especially in the realm of US history and therefore in those textbooks, there is an absence of representation of African American’s (Loewen 2008). This recurring lack of representation can be viewed as a link back to textbook companies, political permissibility, and essentially link back to the power of propaganda.

Franco developed relationships with Nazi Germany during the Spanish Civil War. These relationships were tested in World War II, where Franco had to decide if he was going to remain neutral in between the Allies and Axis Powers or simply he, himself an ally of Hitler. By reducing Spain’s access to oil, the US and Britain were able to put pressure on an economically struggling Spain (Was). Overall, we can see that with such economic struggle after the Spanish Civil War, World War II could have easily been disastrous to the entire country of Spain.

Upwards of three-quarters of a century later, climate change deniers are a testimony to the power of the oil industry and how it lives on. Many of the fossil fuel companies discussed throughout this paper have been accused of misrepresenting climate change and providing funds
to climate change disinformation groups (Hold). The oil industry holds many risks in the burning of fossil fuels, in the market, within the realm of transportation, and reserves quantities, just to name a few. Aside from the possible risks, the black beast also possesses the potential to provide huge economic benefits. According to Dr. M. Ray Perryman, “the total economic benefits of oil and gas exploration and development activity are estimated to include almost $1.2 trillion in gross product each year, as well as 9.3 million permanent jobs in the US (Perryman). Changing market conditions do not drive economic activity as well as the oil and gas industry do, and are likely to continue to do for many years.

Overall, the corruption that effected Spanish politics during the Francoist regime and also the influence of oil companies will not be going away any time soon. The corruption is also not exclusive to Spain, either. In 1936, we saw the creation and the rise of a military dictator, ruthless and conniving. We saw the effects that neutrality and non-intervention had on the country, and we saw the lasting importance that Franco’s friendships have left. Torkild Rieber and Francisco Franco might have come from different places around the world, but Rieber’s support and aid reached Spain and ‘fueled’ his victory. If we look closely, the somewhat timeless ideas behind the dictatorship of Franco and the question of fuel during the time of the Spanish Civil War can be found within the political realm. A side of the man is a truly grueling, lasting infamy that is often lost in the shadows of censorship.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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EDUCATION

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Study Abroad, Ronda, Spain:  
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▪ Adapted to living with a host family during a 5 week long, demanding educational experience abroad
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RELEVANT COURSEWORK
▪ International Relations Theory  ▪ Threat of Terrorism and Crime
▪ International Political Economy  ▪ Criminology
▪ Comparative Politics  ▪ Spanish Translation

WORK EXPERIENCE

Greater Rostraver Chamber of Commerce, Rostraver, PA:  
May 2017-August 2017
Intern
▪ Catered to over 350 business members by providing resources, visiting their places of business and attending out-of-office meetings and events
▪ Collaborated in organizing and planning numerous events using various marketing strategies
▪ Refined data and contributed in the unveiling of the new Chamber website

United States Small Business Administration (SBA), Pittsburgh, PA:  
May 2016-August 2016
Intern
▪ Planned, collaborated and penned a 45-page strategic plan document detailing all aspects of the SBA including counseling, capital access and contracting programs
▪ Reviewed office operations and studied each department’s comprehensive checklist to prepare for the upcoming Federal Acquisition Regulations (FAR)

Penn State Learning, University Park, PA:  
August 2015-Present  
Spanish Language Tutor
▪ Explained complex concepts using easy-to-understand terms to students with diverse learning needs and cultural backgrounds in a drop-in tutoring setting
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ACTIVITIES AND LEADERSHIP

Penn State College of the Liberal Arts, University Park, PA:  
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Paterno Fellows Program
▪ Inducted into the honors program which includes advanced academic coursework, thesis, study abroad, ethics study, and leadership/service commitment

Penn State Spanish Immersion Club, University Park, PA:  
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- Promoted the cause of higher learning of the Spanish language and Spanish culture
- Instilled a sense of cultural empathy among those pursuing careers in a multilingual setting

**Penn State University Choir, University Park, PA:**
August 2015-December 2017

President and Social Media Coordinator

- Coordinated various merchandise orders and group events for 60+ people throughout the year
- Provided oversight and dictated social media interactions and posts from the social media team

**Penn State THON Rules and Regulations, University Park, PA:**
August 2016-February 2017

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- Ensured the safety and well-being of all parties involved in The Penn State Dance Marathon
- Committed to raising money, awareness, and support for The Penn State Dance Marathon and the fight against pediatric cancer

**HONOR SOCIETIES**

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