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**BEYOND MONROE DOCTRINE'S PATERNALISM:
U.S.-LATIN AMERICA CULTURAL RELATIONS
IN HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY**

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Mondi occidentali. La dottrina Monroe al bicentenario

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HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY**

**OLTRE IL PATERNALISMO DELLA DOTTRINA MONROE: LE RELAZIONI
CULTURALI INTERAMERICANE TRA STORIA E STORIOGRAFIA**

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ABSTRACT

[ENG.] The bicentennial of the Monroe Doctrine in December 2023 marks a pivotal moment in history, calling historians to engage in a renewed examination of inter-American relations. This article seeks to contribute to this important scholarly dialogue by offering a focused review of key works on US-Latin American cultural relations. Specifically, it examines scholarship that challenged entrenched cultural paradigms, particularly those interpretations of US-Latin American interactions that highlight asymmetry and potential hegemony. These interpretations are often traced, at least normatively, to the origins of the Monroe Doctrine. The review covers seminal books published from the late 1990s to the present.

Keywords: US-Latin American relations – Cold War – Monroe Doctrine's Paternalism – Soft Power

[It.] In un momento storico in cui, anche grazie alla specifica congiuntura del duecentesimo anniversario della Dottrina Monroe, anche gli storici sono chiamati a una rinnovata riflessione sulla sfera delle relazioni interamericane in senso ampio. In tal senso, questo articolo vorrebbe apportare un piccolo contributo attraverso una rassegna storiografica sulle relazioni culturali interamericane. In particolare, si focalizza su testi che, dagli anni Novanta ad oggi, hanno sfidato paradigmi consolidati, fondati su una lettura asimmetrica e potenzialmente egemonica dei rapporti tra Stati Uniti e America Latina. I cui precedenti, come noto, vengono di sovente rintracciati, quantomeno a livello normativo, nella stessa Dottrina Monroe.

Parole chiave: Relazioni tra Stati Uniti e America Latina – Guerra fredda – Dottrina Monroe e paternalismo – Soft Power

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1. INTRODUCTION

The study of US-Latin American cultural relations has undergone major developments in recent decades, with scholars challenging long-standing interpretative paradigms and exploring new conceptual frameworks. This article presents a selective review of influential works that have shaped the field since the late 1990s – works that have redefined conventional narratives of cultural imperialism and inter-American dynamics, perspectives strongly influenced, from their inception, by the ongoing reinterpretation of the Monroe Doctrine itself. As Marco Mariano reminds us, the persistence and efficacy of the Monroe Doctrine lie in its remarkable ability to adapt to different moments and contexts¹.

The aim is neither to provide a comprehensive synthesis of US-Latin American cultural relations within a medium or short-term historical perspective nor to offer an exhaustive historiographical review of the literature on Inter-American cultural relations. Instead, I set out to sketch an imaginary pathway across a selection of books that have had a lasting influence on my research background. For one, by virtue of their rigorous approach and the extensive networks of scholarship they have established, the authors discussed in this paper have made substantial contributions to the ongoing academic debate on Inter-American cultural relations. And they have achieved as much, in part, by challenging entrenched cultural paradigms, namely that of *cultural imperialism*, and by interrogating the complex dynamics of cultural exchange and power relations between the United States and Latin America. At the same time, these books have been instrumental in fostering a constructive exchange among historiographical perspectives that are frequently disconnected from one another, such as the history of the Cold War, the history of empires, and the history of international relations. By bringing such diverse approaches into an open conversation, the works discussed here illuminate the multifaceted nature of US-Latin American cultural relations and once again underline the relevance of interdisciplinary analysis in comprehending historical development.

Giles Scott Smith argued convincingly that «the ‘cultural turn’ in international history in the 1990s sought to merge cultural, political, and economic enquiries in order to track the importance of ideas and ‘ideamakers’» and that «the ‘global turn’, particularly regarding Cold War history, has added a new dimension to the historiography» ever since². That is why the present analysis starts with a trailblazing volume published at the turn of the century, one that exemplifies the cultural turn in the study of US-Latin American relations.

¹ M. Mariano, *Identity, Alterity and the “Growing Plant” of Monroeism in US Foreign Policy Ideology*, in M.P. Cullinane, D. Ryan (Eds.), *US Foreign Policy and the Other*, Berghahn Books, 2015.

² G. Scott Smith, *Reframing the Cultural Cold War: 20 Years after Stonor Saunders’ Case*, in *Contemporanea, Rivista di storia dell’800 e del ‘900*, No. 3, 2020.

2. CLOSE ENCOUNTERS OF EMPIRE (1998)

A veritable turning point in the field was marked by *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of US-Latin American Relations* published in 1998³. This landmark collection of essays by distinguished US and Latin American historians and anthropologists shed new light on the cultural ramifications of US involvement in Latin America during the postcolonial period. The authors grappled with new ways of conceptualizing public and private spheres of empire, initiating a dialogue between Postcolonial Studies and traditional scholarship on colonialism and imperialism in the Americas. The volume focuses on the postcolonial period, broadly covering the twentieth century. It addresses recent scholarly concerns as to the intersections of culture and power, historical agency, and the tangle of social and political life, specifically in the context of the United States' involvement in Latin America.

Departing from an orthodox political-economic model based on predictable patterns of subjugation and resistance, this collection lays out alternative approaches to make sense of the roles that US actors and agencies played in Latin America during the postcolonial period. Through a systematic examination of various nineteenth- and twentieth-century encounters in Latin America, scholars provide innovative insights into multiple key issues, ranging from the Rockefeller Foundation's public health initiatives in Central America to the visual regimes of film, art, and advertisements.

Close Encounters of Empire emerged from a Yale University conference in the late 1990s and addressed a wide range of imperial encounters in the Americas, offering enriched theoretical frameworks for understanding colonialism, power, nationhood, and historical agency. One of the challenges presented in this volume is precisely to move beyond the interpretive lens of «benevolent paternalism» and «benevolent colonialism»⁴ often attributed to the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere – an attitude deeply rooted in the Monroe Doctrine itself.

Since the book rethinks the cultural dimensions of nationalism and development, it can be considered a groundbreaking study of US-Latin American relations and a landmark in postcolonial studies in the Americas. It is an ambitious endeavor, because it entails multiple levels of interdisciplinary exchanges within and between the fields of history, anthropology, and international relations. And these exchanges serve to assess the viability of postcolonial theory approaches and postmodernist interpretations of international relations, while also testing the wider applicability of the “cultural turn” model to historical US-Latin American relations. The authors raise thought-provoking questions for scholars interested in the politics of cultural encounters, greatly enhancing our perception of the complex nexus of both local and global dynamics in Latin America. One of the most daring aspects of the collection is its attempt to transcend traditional binaries such as hegemony/subordination, exploitation/domination, external/internal, and US-Latin American. Contributors to the volume establish new webs of relationships by rereading established sources along the paradigms brought in by new cultural history, interrogating US-Latin American relations through the lens of contemporary theory, and providing a critically discerning appreciation of colonialism and postcolonial politics, economy, and culture.

³ G. Joseph, C. LeGrand, R. Salvatore (Eds.), *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of US-Latin American Relations*, Duke University Press, 1998.

⁴ See, in particular, E.J. Findlay's essay, *Love in the Tropics: Marriage, Divorce, and the Construction of Benevolent Colonialism in Puerto Rico, 1898–1910*, in G. Joseph, C. LeGrand, R. Salvatore (Eds.), *Close Encounters of Empire*, cit.

In fact, the volume inaugurated a new Duke University Press series: *American Encounters/Global Interactions*, edited by Gilbert M. Joseph and Penny M. Von Eschen. In their words, the series was meant «to stimulate critical perspectives and fresh interpretive frameworks for scholarship on the history of the imposing global presence of the United State» as well as «to include the deployment and contestation of power, the construction and deconstruction of cultural and political borders, the fluid meaning of intercultural encounters, and the complex interplay between the global and the local».

Key titles in the series include *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence during Latin America's Long Cold War*, edited by Greg Grandin and Gilbert M. Joseph, and *Banana Wars: Power, Production, and History in the Americas*, edited by Mark Moberg and Steve Striffler⁵.

A 2016 volume by Ricardo Salvatore belongs to the same series. Salvatore, an Argentine scholar who conducted much of his studies in the US and frequently collaborated with the Yale University group, was among other things a co-editor of *Close Encounters of Empire*. Through this book, the author rewrites the origin story of Latin American studies by tracing the discipline's roots back to the first half of the twentieth century. It is interesting because, at a time in which most research on Inter-American relations seemed exclusively focused on the Cold War time frame, Salvatore selected a longer and different periodization, examined over a medium-term (if not long-term) perspective. The work delves into the “mission” of five representative US scholars of South America – historian Clarence Haring, geographer Isaiah Bowman, political scientist Leo Rowe, sociologist Edward Ross, and archaeologist Hiram Bingham – to show how Latin American studies was aligned with US business and foreign policy interests. Following an argumentative thread, he had laid out in previous works⁶, Salvatore focuses on the so-called “informal agents” of the “informal empire”. Diplomats, policy makers, business investors, and the American public used the knowledge these and other scholars gathered to build an informal empire that fostered the growth of US economic, technological, and cultural hegemony throughout the hemisphere.

Unlike classic studies like *Under Northern Eyes*⁷, *Disciplinary Conquest* offers an alternative narrative on the origins of Latin American Studies in the United States, which traces the deep roots of the phenomenon and concludes that the contours of Latin American studies were defined by scholars during the first half of the twentieth century. They did so both in the context of “dollar diplomacy” and the “good neighbor” policy towards the region. By indirect analogy to the military interventions in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean, the approach to South America deployed “disciplinary interventions” of a scholarly nature. In this sense, the creation of transnational fields of inquiry was meant to make the whole region “visible” to audiences in the United States.

Before moving on to another pivotal stage in our overview of research on US-Latin American cultural relations – the Cold War era, a constantly expanding field of study – we ought to stop and consider the establishment of academic institutions that actively promoted Pan-Americanism at a continental level just prior to the Cold War. These institutions were sponsored by either private or public entities

⁵ G. Grandin, G. Joseph (Eds.), *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence During Latin America's Long Cold War*, Duke University Press, 2010.

S. Striffler, M. Moberg, (Eds.), *Banana Wars: Power, Production, and History in the Americas*, Duke University Press, 2003.

⁶ R. Salvatore, *Imágenes de un imperio: Estados Unidos y las formas de representación de América Latina*, Sudamericana, 2006.

⁷ M. Berger, *Under Northern Eyes: Latin American Studies and U S Hegemony in the Americas 1898-1990*, Indiana University Press, 1995.

as part of active public diplomacy efforts. Of particular importance was the creation of the Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA) throughout the region. From its establishment in 1940 until its dissolution in 1946, the OIAA undertook initiatives that set essential precedents for such collaborations⁸.

The collective volume *¡Américas unidas! Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs (1940-46)*, edited by Gisela Cramer and Ursula Prutsch (2012) addresses one of the most prominent efforts by the United States government to manage public opinion both at home and abroad during World War II. As Nazi Germany was taking over ever larger territories in Europe and beyond, the US government sought to secure Latin America's allegiance and assistance in the upcoming war. Through the newly established OIAA, the government underwrote programs meant to mobilize public opinion in Latin America and the United States, with a view to improving inter-American cooperation and mutual understanding.

Scholarly interest in US cultural diplomacy vis-à-vis Latin America during World War II has brought increased scrutiny to the programs of the OIAA. *¡Américas unidas!*, the outcome of a 2005 workshop at the Rockefeller Archive Center, enlists the work of a multinational, multidisciplinary team of scholars from Austria, Germany, the United States, and Mexico, including experts in history, art history, international relations, and film and communications studies. The essays zero in on the agency's attempt to win the hearts and minds of its target audiences, mainly through the press, radio, and film. The editors also examine the OIAA via multiple interpretive lenses, such as historical materialism and soft power, and discuss doubts as to the OIAA's effectiveness. Of special note is the contributors' concerted effort to assess the reception of OIAA programs in their respective countries, an approach that attests to their serious commitment to unravel the strategies of international promotion from the US but also to probe the tactics in which such forms of propaganda were deployed and assimilated locally.

3. IN FROM THE COLD (2008)

In from the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War, edited by Gilbert Joseph and Daniela Spenser, was published in 2008 by Duke University Press as part of the *American Encounters/Global Interactions* series⁹. This trendsetting volume appeared at a time when «studies of the Cold War [...] mushroomed globally» but research on Latin America was largely underrepresented in both theoretical and empirical discussions of the broader conflict. Notable exceptions to this trend would only appear much later, in volumes such as *Historia mínima de la Guerra Fría en América Latina* by Vanni Pettinà (2018) and *Latin America and the Global Cold War*, edited by Thomas C. Field Jr., Stella Krepp, and Vanni Pettinà (2020)¹⁰.

Until the beginning of the new millennium, research tended to proceed along rather conventional channels, focusing on US policy objectives, high-profile leaders like Fidel Castro, and events such as the Cuban Missile Crisis, while drawing largely on US government sources. Also, US foreign relations scholars rarely engaged productively with Latin American historians who aimed to investigate how the international conflict had transformed the region's political, social, and cultural life. Following an editorial

⁸ G. Cramer, U. Prutsch, *Nelson Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs and the Quest for Pan-American Unity: An Introductory Essay*, in G. Cramer, U. Prutsch (Eds.), *¡Américas unidas! Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs (1940-46)*, Iberoamericana, 2012.

⁹ G. Joseph, D. Spenser (Eds.), *In from the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War*, Duke University Press, 2008.

¹⁰ V. Pettinà, *Historia mínima de la Guerra Fría en América Latina*, El Colegio de México, 2018; T. Field Jr., S. Krepp, V. Pettinà (Eds.), *Latin America and the Global Cold War*, University of North Carolina Press, 2020.

pattern similar to *Close Encounters of Empire, In from the Cold* marks a cooperative project among eleven North American, Latin American, and European historians, anthropologists, and political scientists, aimed at boosting cross-fertilization. The volume shifts the focus of attention away from the bipolar conflict to showcase research, discussion, and a range of new archival and oral sources which center on the grassroots, where conflicts found their actual breeding ground. The contributors address international and everyday contests over political power and cultural representation, honing in on communities and groups, Latin American and international governing elites, relations among states regionally, or, less frequently, the dynamics between the two great superpowers themselves.

Overall, *In from the Cold* paved the way for a more nuanced understanding of conflict in the Global South, an approach that would gain broader traction among researchers in the following years. In this case, the perspective of observation is not confined to the Western Hemisphere – a rhetorical construct as well as a specific geopolitical area shaped by the Monroe Doctrine and profoundly reinterpreted during the Cold War. Instead, it decentralizes a traditionally established viewpoint, adopting a different positionality.

The novelty of such approach lay in linking the geostrategic aspects of the great power struggle to cultural and grassroots experiences on the ground. The collection unveils subtle ways whereby the superpowers' rivalries shaped politics and culture in Latin America. The overall goal was to demonstrate how intense struggles that spread political terror and caused outbursts of violence and trauma also generated spaces for resistance, influencing the Latin American media, and giving national leaders *carte blanche* in setting out policies, both domestic and international.

In from the Cold left an indelible theoretical mark which years later inspired the volume *La guerra fría cultural en América Latina*, edited by Benedetta Calandra and Marina Franco, published in 2012 by Biblos in Buenos Aires¹¹. This collection brought together contributions from European, US, and Latin American scholars, offering a European/Latin American perspective on the cultural Cold War. Among the many questions the editors asked themselves to “frame” the cultural Cold War in Latin America and pinpoint its onset was how to interpret and use the analytical framework provided by scholars who had addressed the “cultural Cold War” in Europe. The scholarly paragon in this regard was Giles Scott-Smith, especially his edited volume *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-60* (co-edited with Hans Krabbendam)¹².

A few months after the publication of *La guerra fría cultural en América Latina*, US scholar Patrick Iber released his *Neither Peace nor Freedom: The Cultural Cold War in Latin America* (2015)¹³. Iber's work focused on left-wing Latin American artists, writers, and scholars who, during the Cold War, worked as informal diplomats and policy advisors. The broader context is determined in terms of two competing visions of social democracy, represented by two respective Cold War powers' organizations: the Soviet-backed World Peace Council, the US-supported Congress for Cultural Freedom, and, after the 1959 Cuban Revolution, the homegrown Casa de las Américas.

Neither Peace nor Freedom follows the entwined histories of these organizations and looks at the aspirations and dilemmas of the intellectuals who took part in them. The book does challenge the view that such individuals were merely pawns of the competing superpowers, and mentions by way of example the Casa de las Américas, an institution that promoted a brand of revolutionary nationalism beholden to

¹¹ B. Calandra, M. Franco (Eds.), *La guerra fría cultural en América Latina*, Biblos, 2012.

¹² H. Krabbendam, G. Scott-Smith (Eds.), *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-60*, Routledge, 2004.

¹³ P. Iber, *Neither Peace nor Freedom: The Cultural Cold War in Latin America*, Harvard University Press, 2015.

neither the Soviet Union nor the United States. Nonetheless, Iber ultimately argues that Latin American intellectuals were unable break free from the Cold War's rigid binaries. With the Soviet Union demanding loyalty from Latin American communists, the United States supporting their repression, and Fidel Castro pushing for regional armed revolution, advocates of social democracy found little room to promote their ideals without compromising them.

As Stella Krepp astutely notes, paraphrasing Leon Trotsky, Cold War politics offered utopian dreams, but intellectuals could get «neither the peace nor the freedom they sought»¹⁴. Krepp claims that Iber's study on the transnational political Left in Latin America is *de facto* a story about how the project of social democracy substantially failed in Mexico, as demonstrated by many voices from the local milieu. Iber goes beyond the well-known paradigm of the anti-communist struggle and of US security policies, military interventions, economic influence, and diplomatic relations. As he focuses almost exclusively on the cultural dimension of the Cold War within Latin America, he proposes a more discriminating periodization, and shows how the cultural Cold War was rooted in the region's pre-Cold War history, starting in the 1930s and 1940s when exiles from the Spanish Civil War and communist dissidents such as Trotsky himself migrated to Mexico.

On this issue, Marina Franco and I thoroughly agree with Eduardo Rey, who, in his essay from *La Guerra Fría* underlined the importance of medium-term continuity with the politics of pre-Cold War cultural diplomacy¹⁵. Krepp's review of Iber's book rightly calls for further verification for the Mexican case to assess whether it was indicative of the whole region or merely an isolated instance. More broadly, Krepp suggests that it is a matter of determining whether we can generalize what happened on a national basis, extending the research model to the entire Latin American region. Yet another aspect to be addressed has to do with the provenance of sources and archives used for research. Where are they from? Should we be considering US archives, Latin American archives, or a combination of both? In several cases, even the local impact of certain US cultural policies from a national Latin American perspective appears to benefit from a mixture of the two. Among the most interesting recently published books that embrace this approach are Fernando Quesada's *La Universidad Desconocida: El Convenio Universidad de Chile-Universidad de California y la Fundación Ford* (2016) and Javier Castro Arcos' *Guerra en el Vientre: Control de Natalidad, Malthusianismo y Guerra Fría en Chile (1960-1970)* (2017)¹⁶. The fact that both works were written in Spanish and had primarily a Latin American circulation serves as a reminder of how deeply the language of publication affects the distribution and potential readership of these studies.

4. CURRENT TRENDS

I would like to share some concluding remarks on two recent publications that promise to further advance our understanding of US-Latin American cultural relations during the Cold War era. The first is *El 'Americano' Imposible: Estados Unidos y América Latina: entre modernización y contrainsurgencia*, edited by

¹⁴ S. Krepp, Review of *Neither Peace nor Freedom*, in *H-Diplo Roundtable Reviews*, No. 17, 2016.

¹⁵ E. Rey, *Estados Unidos y América Latina durante la Guerra Fría: la dimensión cultural* in B. Calandra, M. Franco (Eds.), *La Guerra Fría cultural*, cit.

¹⁶ F. Quesada, *La Universidad Desconocida: El Convenio Universidad de Chile-Universidad de California y la Fundación Ford*, Universidad de Cuyo, 2016; J. Castro Arcos, *Guerra en el Vientre: Control de Natalidad, Malthusianismo y Guerra Fría en Chile (1960-1970)*, Bicentenario, 2017.

Francisco Jiménez, Lorenzo Delgado and me, and published by Silex in Madrid (2023)¹⁷. The second publication, with a similar aim but different contributions and authors, is *US Public Diplomacy Strategies in Latin America During the Sixties: Time for Persuasion*, edited by the same trio and published as part of the Routledge Studies in the History of the Americas series (2024)¹⁸. The significance of these volumes and their connection to the broader historiographical trends I have touched upon here is evident in the prologue, written by Gil Joseph.

Time for Persuasion offers a slice of recent work on a new international history of the Cold War, increasingly centered on the region's "cultural Cold War". The book addresses the troubled 1960s in Latin America to cast light on the political and cultural facets of public diplomacy¹⁹ and «to tease out the complex, power-laden cultural processes, relationships, exchanges, ideological formations and institutional forms that shaped the late twentieth-century conflict» (xi). Joseph catalogs the many "Cold War diplomats", those engaged individuals from various professions discussed in the volume – economists, scholars, scientists, doctors and private or government agencies but also athletes and artists – and claims that their synergistic effort as experts in their respective fields played a crucial ideological and strategic role in the Cold War era²⁰.

Joseph correctly notes that *Time for Persuasion* tackles the issues of US public diplomacy on two fronts: ideological, as US diplomats sought to refurbish the appeal of liberal capitalism, and operational, since they also strove to find practical, political-economic responses to socialism's new challenges in the Caribbean and throughout Latin America. «Reformist democracy and the suppression of communism» were the invariable aims underlying diplomatic initiatives of questionable groups such as "the Alliance of Progress"²¹. Ultimately, Joseph contends that this collection of essays records a progressive erosion of «liberal forms of soft power» in favor of authoritarian policies of modernization largely backed by international hard power from the United States²². Research of this kind suggests that the exercise of draconian power is much subtler and more nuanced than previous studies on modernization in Latin America may have indicated. It contributes to our understanding of both the Cold War and the complex international process of US-led development»²³.

These volumes could bring additional contributions to the ongoing scholarly conversation about the cultural dimensions of US-Latin American relations during the Cold War, building upon groundbreaking work of from the past two decades to offer fresh insights into the complex interplay of soft and hard power, modernization and counterinsurgency, and the enduring impact of US hegemony in the region.

¹⁷ F. Jiménez, L. Delgado, B. Calandra (Eds.), *El 'americano' imposible: Estados Unidos y América Latina: entre modernización y contrainsurgencia*, Silex, 2023.

¹⁸ F.J. Rodríguez Jiménez, L. Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, B. Calandra (Eds.), *US Public Diplomacy Strategies in Latin America During the Sixties: Time for Persuasion*, Routledge Studies in the History of the Americas, Routledge, 2024.

¹⁹ G.M. Joseph, Prologue to *US Public Diplomacy*, cit., xii.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² *Idem*, xiii.

²³ *Idem*, xiv.

5. IN SUM...

Inspired by the bicentennial of the Monroe Doctrine and its significance to the field of North and South American history, this article has traced key developments in the study of US-Latin American cultural relations from the late 1990s to today. Instead of attempting exhaustive coverage, it has focused on works that have redefined our understanding of the intricate relationships between culture, power, and diplomacy in the Americas. From the trailblazing *Close Encounters of Empire* to recent analyses of public diplomacy, scholarship in this area has consistently questioned entrenched narratives, advancing new frameworks for interpreting inter-American dynamics. Moving beyond simplistic models of cultural imperialism, recent research has uncovered the layered complexities of exchange, resistance, and adaptation, enriched by interdisciplinary methodologies and diverse sources.

Future research could further expand this field by incorporating more Latin American perspectives and exploring how Cold War cultural diplomacy continues to shape contemporary US-Latin American relations. The digital turn in humanities scholarship presents opportunities for visualizing and analysing the networks of cultural interaction that have defined these relations across history. By delving deeper into the cultural dimensions of these interactions, scholars can offer richer insights into the forces that have shaped the Americas and continue to influence their shared future in the 21st century.