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Holding hands as the ship sinks: Trump and May's special relationship

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Introduction – A Titanic Disaster

In August 2018, while talks between the United Kingdom and European Union to negotiate the terms of the UK's departure from the EU were dominating news cycles, a short film called *Brexit: A Titanic Disaster* went viral across social media platforms. Created by Comedy Central writer Josh Pappenheim, it mocked the prominent 'Leaver' and erstwhile British Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson's comment that 'Brexit means Brexit and we are going to make a Titanic success of it' (Johnson 2016), and tapped into growing fears that the negotiations were going so badly that Britain was drifting towards the iceberg of a 'No Deal' Brexit in March 2019.[1] Featuring scenes from James Cameron's iconic romantic blockbuster *Titanic* (1997), with the faces of high-profile politicians doctored into the footage, the film was watched more than ten million times in a matter of days (Townsend 2018). It begins with a foghorn bellowing and former Prime Minister David Cameron warning that 'there is no going back from this'. Then, as water begins to overwhelm the ocean-liner, his successor, Theresa May, urges the people to 'come together and seize the day'. Labour Party leader

Jeremy Corbyn, playing a slow lament on a violin, says 'the British people have made their decision', and an image of pound sterling falls off the ship and crashes into the water. Cabin lights then illuminate the split vote 48% - 52% on opposite sides of the ship as it breaks down the middle and sinks into the ocean.[2]

While the film is clearly partisan and aimed at the sympathies of 'Remainers', it is also quite witty. And though its message is unsubtle, its ending intrigues. Where *Titanic*'s tragedy of the young couple being torn apart offers a terrible finality (albeit assuaged by Celine Dion's soaring, if trite, insistence that their love 'will go on'), the ending of *Brexit: A Titanic Disaster* is more ambiguous, uncertain, and creepy. While May is left floating on the water, huddled, freezing, and waiting to be rescued, the narrative ends by cutting to the scene in the original film where Jack (Leonardo DiCaprio) is painting the nude Rose (Kate Winslet). However, in the 're-make', Jack's head is replaced with a smiling Nigel Farage[3], and Rose, lying naked and prone, is replaced with a wistful-looking Donald Trump. As such, *Brexit: A Titanic Disaster* ends by speaking more or less directly to the so-called US-UK 'special relationship'. There is a particular resonance here in the film drawing on the history of what was a doomed transatlantic crossing – the Titanic's maiden voyage from Southampton to New York in 1912. Beyond this, the film's ending hints towards how the recent surge of authoritarian-nationalist-populist politicians – of which Trump is the nominal leader – has thrown the notion of the transatlantic union into crisis. It is this unfolding process that concerns the present chapter, which first examines media coverage of the current iteration of the special relationship between Trump and May, before suggesting that Farage has 'cuckolded' the prime minister. It considers all this in light of the UK's current crisis and suggests that the pseudo-romantic imagery used to mediate the special relationship is the symptom of a culture unable or unwilling to address the root causes of its decline.

Fig. 1. Donald Trump as Rose Dewitt Bukater from *Brexit: A Titanic Disaster* (2017). © Comedy Central UK.

The vicar's daughter and the pussy-grabber

In January 2017, Prime Minister May visited Washington to meet President Trump for their first official engagement. During the trip, May addressed the Republican Party conference in Philadelphia and talked about the US-UK special relationship that many British commentators had suggested was under threat from the unpredictable new incumbent of the White House (Anon 2017a). May said that it had been 'America's destiny to bear the leadership of the free world and to carry that heavy responsibility on its shoulders' but that the UK 'had been proud to share that burden and to walk alongside you at every stage'. Rather than attempt to distance the UK from a US under a president whose 'America First' nationalist-populist philosophy advocated increasing isolationism, May's strategy was to double down and to highlight the importance of co-operation between the two countries:

<EXT> As we rediscover our confidence together – as you renew your nation just as we renew ours – we have the opportunity – indeed the responsibility – to renew the special relationship for this new age. We have the opportunity to lead, together, again. Because the

world is passing through a period of change…we can take the opportunity once again to lead. And lead together (May 2017). <EXT>

Earlier that day, the two leaders held hands while walking to a joint news conference on the lawn of the White House. This awkward scene became the defining image of their encounter, with footage filling news bulletins and photographs adorning newspaper and website front pages (Batchelor 2017). While speculation about the reasons for the hand-holding subsequently took up inordinate column inches (Owen 2017), and notwithstanding the fact that looking comfortable in public is not exactly Theresa May's forte (Telegraph Reporters 2017), the main thrust of the coverage suggested that the awkwardness of the encounter dramatised the fundamental differences between a Prime Minister whose persona is based on being a vicar's daughter transported straight out of the 1950s, and a populist, 'pussy-grabbing' president (Jacobs et al, 2016) whose self-proclaimed raison d'être is to smash the propriety of the establishment.

Soon after, and pointedly on Valentine's Day 2017, the *Guardian* published an extended feature on the special relationship (Wheatcroft 2017). Embellished by a large photograph of the hand-holding incident, Geoffrey Wheatcroft's piece is an excoriating critique of the 'myth' of US-UK relations, characterising May as the latest in a long line of British prime ministers debasing themselves by bending knees to US presidents. 'Invoking the special relationship', he writes, 'is a way of evading the truth' that since 1945 the UK's influence on the world stage has been waning inexorably, 'allowing one prime minister after another to desperately and sometimes abjectly to cling to the belief that she is the best friend of the most powerful person on the planet'. 'Dealings between American presidents and British prime ministers have been excruciatingly one-sided', Wheatcroft continues: 'Tony Blair's service to George W Bush in the invasion of Iraq was only the most extreme case of

this game of give and take, in which the president is given everything and takes everything, offering nothing in return.' (2017).

Wheatcroft considers May's conduct as particularly demeaning, however, since she rushed to Washington upset that she was a long way down the list of world leaders whom Trump had called after his election. May 'had felt the humiliation of seeing Nigel Farage and Michael Gove meet the president-elect ahead of her: evidence of Trump's genuine special relationships, with rightwing nationalism and with Rupert Murdoch' (2017). Here, Wheatcroft is referring to: first, the infamous incident on election night when the president posed for photographs with members of the self-proclaimed 'Bad Boys of Brexit' (Banks 2016), including Nigel Farage and Arron Banks[4] in the golden lift of New York's Trump Tower (Stanley 2016), and second, to the *Times*'s exclusive interview with Michael Gove, a member of Theresa May's cabinet, and journalist Kai Diekmann, of the German newspaper *Bild* (Anon. 2017)—the first sit-down interview Trump granted to the foreign press, and one conducted with the Australian-American media mogul Rupert Murdoch in attendance (Pickard and Garrahan 2017).

I will explore the media's treatment of Trump's relationship with Farage below. For now, it is worth contemplating the ways that the media's framing of the special relationship through pseudo-romantic imagery and innuendo fits into a pattern that Shelley Cobb (in this volume) argues began with Ronald Reagan's relationship with Margaret Thatcher, and Hannah Hamad (also in this volume) argues continues through the Bush-Blair years. Indeed, the act of holding hands has become a repeated interaction between Trump and May, as well as a new obsession for media coverage of them. For it to happen once was, perhaps, a misfortune. For it to happen twice suggested a pattern. When it happened a third time, it could legitimately be surmised that it was a strategic PR decision.

Apart from some criticism that May should have rejected Trump's political advances as a statement of Britain's independence and a disavowal of an intolerant regime (Edelstein 2017), the first hand-holding incident was treated by the media as a bizarre and slightly humorous oddity, and one in a series of examples whereby Trump's physical interactions with other political figures became the focus of intense scrutiny. Public handshakes with French president Emmanuel Macron, Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau, and Japanese president Shinzo Abe, to cite just three examples, have all been the subject of curiosity, mockery, and often speculation about what the body language says about Trump's masculinity (Tanner 2018). Holding hands with a female leader such as May is inevitably circumscribed by Trump's notorious reputation as a lothario, and specifically by his shameful comments to media personality Billy Bush in the 'Access Hollywood' tape, released during Trump's presidential campaign in October 2016, where he was recorded saying that 'When you a star…you can do anything' and that when he meets beautiful women he feels entitled to 'grab them by the pussy' (Jacobs 2016).[5] As such, when Trump holds May's hand, the kind of tired insinuations of heterosexual romance between leaders (a feature of the ways that Reagan and Thatcher's relationship was mediated) turns into something weirder and more sinister. The public and physical conjunction of two such differing personalities, representing two countries of increasingly inequitable power, leads to a rump of media coverage ripe with speculation, dark humour, and nauseating overtones about personal interactions that are inevitably read metaphorically as saying something about the state of the political union between the two countries.

In July 2018, when Trump and May held hands for a second time on the steps of Blenheim Palace during Trump's first state visit to the UK (a visit memorable for the ‘Baby Trump’ blimp flown by protestors in London), the media was thus enraptured (Bartlett 2018). The next day, at the prime minister's country house, Chequers, they held hands for a third

time, after which the BBC posed the question: 'Do Trump and May hold hands every time?' (Anon. 2018). Typically described as 'painfully awkward', these moments were dissected by pundits positing possible explanations for the repeated action (Harvey-Jenner 2018).

Even if Trump does have a phobia of stairs, as speculation first suggested in January 2017 (Owen 2017) and as Theresa May seemed to confirm the following September when she called it a 'moment of assistance' (Anon 2017c), the particularly awkward physical interaction of holding hands while straining not to trip in front of a global audience has a peculiarly potent symbolic power, encapsulating the contemporary nature of the special relationship as performed by these two leaders: Trump reaches out and grabs for what he wants, while May is desperate to be grabbed (in the political sense). The former is borne of entitlement; the latter is the result of desperation. May knows that associating with Trump risks opprobrium or ridicule, and, certainly after the first time it happened, that this close physical interaction only serves to draw attention to their every move. Yet, she is working within the context of Britain's long slide from power, at a point in history where the self-inflicted harm of Brexit means that the country is at risk of being cut adrift. If being grabbed by a stair-phobic vulgarian is the price to pay for recognition and a little orientation, May has done the sums and calculated that the risk is worth it.

Britain Adrift

May's need for recognition by the US president is circumscribed by the UK's slide into constitutional crisis, which came to a head with the Brexit referendum in June 2016, which in turn had followed the Scottish independence referendum in September 2014, when the people of Scotland had narrowly voted against seceding from the UK by 55.3% - 44.7%. These events highlighted the fragile nature of the UK as a viable political project and revealed a dramatic fragmentation of any sense of Britain as a coherent 'imagined community'

(Anderson 1991). The interregnum that followed the Brexit referendum – and which could continue for many years into the future – was defined by political paralysis at Westminster, an absence of political leadership, acute anxiety about the socio-economic consequences of Brexit, and a media culture filled with endless, earnest musings on the condition of Britishness. The Left / Right political axis that once provided conceptual bearings broke apart to reveal new formations of 'Leavers' and 'Remainers,' and the possibility that the UK could fragment along national lines became increasingly more real. In a political climate as fraught as at any time in living memory, and lacking political power at home, May's attempts to sustain ties with the US was an obvious strategic ploy.

The UK crisis is the culmination of a long history of gradual structural disintegration. Indeed, the idea that Britain, as an over-centralised and off-kilter multi-national state, might be coming apart at the seams is not a new one. Theorists have been pondering the potential unravelling of the UK for generations. Linda Colley, in *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (2009), argues that a coherent Britishness was created on the basis that an isolated island state shared a common enemy (France), were bound together by a shared religion (Protestantism) and by participating in a shared project of disseminating capitalism around the globe (Empire). With the Empire having dissolved, the foundations for a shared sense of British identity effectively collapsed. Meanwhile, Tom Nairn posited in *The Break-up of Britain* (1982) that a British nationalism did not develop in a 'normal' fashion at the beginning of the modern era and that the UK therefore lacked ideological glue. As the world's pre-eminent power during the 18th and 19th centuries, Britain was never forced to define itself in terms of national myths in the ways that other 'peripheral' countries were compelled to do in opposition to the global hegemon, and so with the rise of Scottish nationalism in the second half of the twentieth century, the foundations of the UK started to wobble.

Echoes of Nairn's argument can be heard in contemporary theoretical work, such as Anthony Barnett's *The Lure of Greatness* (2017) and Mike Wayne's *England's Discontents* (2018), which highlights that English nationalism tends to be romantic and located in visions of a past tinged with imperial nostalgia. Wayne argues that the predominant images and tropes that have been coded as English (monarchy, church, Empire, World War II) are much more readily available imaginatively than liberal, never mind radical, ones. As such, this constructs a world view that sees the EU as leeching sovereign power from the UK not only politically and economically, but symbolically, too. Meanwhile, Paul Gilroy's concept of 'postcolonial melancholia' suggests that the post-WWII period of history has been dominated by a longing for a return to Britain's long-lost imperial greatness, which is necessarily exclusionary, reactionary, and hostile (Gilroy 2004).

We might therefore understand the Leave campaign's 'Take Back Control' narrative during the EU referendum campaign as so affectively powerful because it drew effectively on a long history of post-imperial nostalgia elaborated consistently by a largely Eurosceptic British media. This is not to say that reasoned arguments for leaving the EU do not exist. However, the potential benefits of leaving the European Union from a Right perspective that sees the EU as overly bureaucratic (Gillingham 2018) and a Left perspective that sees it as being fundamentally neoliberal and anti-democratic (Lapavitsas 2018) continue to be drowned out in mainstream discourse by loudmouth nationalist-populist voices who points to immigrants and other scapegoats to offer easy cultural answers to complex socio-economic problems. Primed by years of Thatcherism, Blairism, and post-financial crisis austerity, weary populations are drawn to charismatic leaders who propose alternatives to a tired establishment.

In the context of Britain cutting itself adrift from the European Union, May has little choice but to reanimate the cultural script of the transatlantic special relationship that has

been constructed as being mutually beneficial to both countries and personified as an intimate relationship between two leaders. Previous versions of this personal relationship – Thatcher/Reagan and Blair/Bush – appeared to reinvigorate the UK's position and influence in global politics, while at the media obsession with the intimacy of the leaders' relationships worked to distract from the material consequences of their policies. The media's repeated publication of images of Trump and May holding hands, as well as the Titanic video and other satirical images of them as a couple, do the ideological work of deflecting the ineptitude of May's leadership during Britain's biggest crisis since World War II and seek to further ridicule Trump: a strategy that simply shores up his base support. Concurrently, May's relationship with Trump has not resuscitated the UK's position in global politics because it is irrelevant to the deeper problems afflicting Britain as a country.

A rival rather than a friend?

Wheatcroft's article is just one notable contribution to a recent upsurge in attention on the special relationship, stimulated by Trump's singular ability to generate controversy and to draw attention to himself. In February 2017, for example, in response to Trump signing Executive order 13769 (commonly referred to as 'the Muslim travel ban'), Members of Parliament debated whether a state visit invitation should be extended to the president. During this debate, the Speaker of the House of Commons John Bercow announced that he was 'strongly opposed' to Trump addressing the Houses of Parliament during a mooted state visit to the UK, because the right to such addresses was 'an earned honour' and not an 'automatic right', and that 'opposition to racism and sexism' were 'hugely important considerations' (Anon 2017d). The state visit was then postponed, seemingly at Trump's request, because of fears that it would generate mass protests (Hughes 2017). And in June 2017, Trump instigated widespread opprobrium when he tweeted criticism of London Mayor

Sadiq Kahn's response to the London Bridge terror attack, hours after seven people were killed and 48 injured (Pengelly 2017). Such events and actions have led to widespread media commentary suggesting that the special relationship is under threat of collapse. Trump's 'working visit' to the UK in July 2018 (a state visit having been deemed more trouble than it was worth), generated a rash of biting headlines such as 'Has Trump broken the special relationship?' (Landale 2018), 'Trump lays bare Britain's 'special relationship' delusion' (Freedman 2018), 'Trump visit tests Britain's 'special relationship with the US' (Castle and Freytas-Tamura 2018), 'Special Relationship? Trump and May's is almost pathological' (Crace 2018) and the memorable 'Trump and May: How the special relationship devolved into a greasy dumpster fire' (Thompson 2018).

Another explosion of critical attention occurred in November 2018 in response to Trump's visit to Europe, during which he caused outrage and invited ridicule for missing a ceremony to mark the centenary of the Armistice in France because it was raining (Chazan and Allan 2018; Rozsa 2018), and reportedly berated Theresa May for having the temerity to call to congratulate him on his party's performance at the US midterm elections (Cole 2018). A prominent *Guardian* columnist wrote that increasingly adrift from the EU, the UK is now a 'vassal state' of the US, which is no longer a reliable ally and headed by a president who is a 'rival' rather than a friend and 'potentially something worse' (Kettle 2018). Although the majority of anxiety about the special relationship is located in Britain, some sections of the US commentariat share these concerns. For example, David Frum, a former speechwriter for George W. Bush, argues that American presidents have historically wanted the UK to be at the heart of Europe, to veto anti-American actions by other EU countries, especially France, and that Brexit was a problem for both sides of the special relationship. Frum notes that after the relationship had cooled under the Obama presidency, Trump had been expected to

reinforce the US-UK union along the lines of giving preferential trade deals to the UK in the event of Brexit. But, as Frum, notes, this is an increasingly forlorn hope (Frum 2018).

As well as media commentary, Trump's rise to power has inspired academic reconsideration of the special relationship. A British Council report in July 2018 suggested that the 'relationship between the UK and the US' continues to be 'special and thriving', and that 'what really matters to people on both sides of the Atlantic' is 'culture and history – not politics'. It acknowledges that there is 'ongoing debate amongst UK commentators about just how special it is' and suggest that the report 'should dispel some of that anxiety' (Donaldson 2018). On the other hand, sociologists Oliver and Williams (2017) suggest that Trump has caused widespread anxiety in the UK, and that 'coming to terms' with him 'will not be easy', but note that cooperation in terms of intelligence gathering and sharing, special forces, and nuclear weapons, will ensure that the special relationship endures his presidency. Meanwhile, the political scientist Graham K. Wilson (2017) suggests that there will be three key consequences to Brexit that will frame the UK's future relationship with the US: the economy; diplomacy; and sentiment. Wilson suggests that it is too early to tell the economic consequences of Brexit, and although US businesses like doing business with the UK (due to common language, laws, and light-touch regulation), he stresses that this relationship is far more important to the UK than the US. In terms of diplomacy, Wilson notes the long history of closeness between the countries, which continues to this day, writing that the UK will be desperate for this to continue: 'without friends in Europe and diminished by leaving the EU, the United Kingdom needs friends badly' (Wilson 2017: 553). Finally, Wilson notes the importance of sentiment between the countries, in terms of exchanges, scholarships, and personal ties. 'The challenge for the UK', however, 'is that it is easier to evoke sentiment about the UK's past than present' (553). Intriguingly, Wilson notes that 'It is likely that these commonalities of sentiment will produce the sort of symbolic opportunities – visits to the

White House, photographs in the Rose Garden, perhaps even an address to both houses of Congress – that British prime ministers usually crave' (554).

Conclusion – Farage Cuckolds May

Wilson's article was likely written before the inglorious spectacle of May and Trump's first hand-holding episode at the White House, and certainly before the media started reveling in painting the pattern of holding hands as a bizarre ritual. Perceptively, though, Wilson framed his article by noting the close links between the Brexit vote and Trump's election, particularly in terms of the new president's links to Nigel Farage. Farage and Trump are linked by their similar charismatic styles as populist politicians (Moffitt 2016) who campaign and sell themselves on breaking the status quo and taking down the political elite. Their genius lies in their abilities to do this convincingly whilst being part of the very elite that they proclaim to despise.

Farage has been a thorn in May's side since she assumed office. A consummate showman, he has repeatedly attacked the prime minister as 'betraying' Brexit and sought to undermine the prime minister's authority (Farage 2019). He has achieved this most obviously by repeatedly ingratiating himself to the US president in tones that often echo the transatlantic bromance between Bush and Blair.

Months before May spoke at the Republican Party conference, Farage addressed the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio, and met with senior party operatives (O'Toole 2016). In August 2016, Farage addressed a Trump campaign rally in Jackson, Mississippi, having been given a rousing introduction by the candidate.[6] And, as mentioned above, on the night Trump was elected, and while May was waiting patiently by the phone, Farage cuckolded May by gatecrashing Trump Tower in New York to tweet photographs of himself with the president-elect in a gaudy gold elevator (a 'buddy-photo' described by the

Guardian's art critic Jonathan Jones as being 'somewhere between a Martin Scorsese film and a scene from the heyday of the Third Reich' [Jones 2016]). The next day, Trump called on May to appoint Farage as UK ambassador to the US (Wilkinson and Alexander 2016).

Farage has been the prime mover in this mutual love affair. He is by turns apparently besotted by the president (his homoerotic summary of Trump's final debate with Hillary Clinton: 'He looked like a big gorilla prowling the set. He is a big alpha male' [Mahdawi 2016]) and acutely aware of the politics of the romance. In a *New Yorker* profile, Farage discussed Trump as 'the leader of the pack', but one who was vulnerable because everybody around him wanted something from him. 'I'm not threatening [to him] in any way at all', said Farage. 'I think he sees somebody who has been through similar kinds of battles, and he is just happy to talk to me' (Knight 2016). This mischievous projection of intimacy is indubitably an attempt to construct a union shorn of the awkwardness that defines Trump and May's relationship, and something that was taken to a nauseating extreme on Trump's birthday in June 2017 when Farage channeled Marilyn Monroe's famous serenading of Jack Kennedy by tweeting a photo of his holding a bottle of Trump wine with the caption 'Happy birthday Mr. President'.[7]

<https://twitter.com/nigel_farage/status/875067723939753986?lang=en>

This relationship is played out knowingly and with a wink to the audience. Both Trump and Farage are adept at manipulating large swathes of the media into sympathetic representation, and those parts of the media who attack them simply serve to maintain their profiles. The media is so keen to reproduce images of Trump and Farage together because they make the special relationship something of a joke while also reinforcing its cultural importance. And herein lies the rub for the special relationship as it currently stands, and as it has stood since at least Reagan and Thatcher: if so much media coverage is going to persist in the trivialising process of reducing politics to spectacle, and to gauge the health of these countries through focusing on the personal interactions of two leaders, then the so-called special relationship will continue, whether those leaders love each other, hate each other, or bounce between the two. But it doesn't tell us anything really profound about whether the ships on which we are travelling are actually going to sink.

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~~NOTES~~'PT' NOTES

[1] A referendum on continued UK membership of the EU took place on 23 June 2016, resulting in 51.9% of voters ~~being~~ in favour of leaving the European Union. On 29 March 2017, the UK invoked Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union, giving the European Council formal notice of the UK's withdrawal from the EU at midnight on 29 March 2019. The cleavage between those who wish to leave the EU (commonly referred to as 'Leavers') and those who wish to remain in the EU (commonly referred to as 'Remainers') threw the UK into political crisis and exposed deep cultural divisions across UK society. After Article 50 was invoked, UK and EU negotiators struggled to agree a deal which would provide

continuity once EU law – including Single Market and Customs Union access – ceased at the time of the UK's exit. Anxiety about a 'no deal' scenario increased exponentially in the lead up to the deadline.

[2] The sinking ship is only one of myriad disaster metaphors that Brexit has inspired. Perhaps the most prominent has been the idea of a 'no-deal' Brexit being akin to the UK walking off a cliff edge. A front cover of *The New Yorker* in June 2016, featuring a character doing a Monty Python-inspired 'silly walk', is a particularly powerful example of this trope (Mouly 2016).

[3] Nigel Farage is a British politician, radio talk show host, and anti-EU campaigner. A Member of the European Parliament (MEP) since 1999, Farage is best known as the erstwhile leader of the UK Independence Party (Ukip) and as a figurehead for the campaign for Brexit. Farage garnered widespread media attention when Donald Trump paid him some attention in the lead up and aftermath to Trump's election. As of March 2019, Farage is Vice-Chair of the pro-Brexit organisation Leave Means Leave and a member of The Brexit Party.

[4] Arron Banks is a British businessman and political donor, who rose to prominence after his large donations to Ukip and the Leave.EU campaign fronted by Nigel Farage. Leave.EU funds were subject to an investigation by the National Crime Agency and MPs subsequently investigated allegations of Banks's links to Russia (Martin 2019).

[5] Melania Trump's refusal to hold hands with her husband on certain occasions – widely seen as a rebuke or expression of her supposed unhappiness – also informs this discourse (see Fredericks 2018).

[6] On the stump, Trump described Farage as 'the man behind Brexit and a man who brilliantly led the United Kingdom Independence Party… and won against all odds', <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oj4K9fr_WgY> (last accessed 5 March 2019).

[7] See <https://twitter.com/nigel_farage/status/875067723939753986?lang=en>, (last accessed 5 March 2019).