



Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Visit to UAE and Oman: An Appraisal

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Prime Minister Narendra Modi made a three-day visit to four nations of West Asia (Jordan, Palestine, UAE and Oman) on 09-12 February 2018. On his first leg, Prime Minister Modi spent a few hours in Jordan and later went to Ramallah, headquarters of the Palestinian Authority. He visited the UAE from 9 to 10 February and it was his second visit to the UAE. Earlier he had visited the UAE in 2015 and that was the first visit paid by an Indian Prime Minister in 34 years, which laid the foundation of a new template for bilateral relation between the two nations. Both visits of Prime Minister Modi were in pursuance of India's Look West policy with an aim to expand and diversify India's traditional engagement with the Arab world.

The first visit of Prime Minister Modi to UAE was reciprocated by the first ever three-day state visit of His Highness General Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the UAE Armed Forces to India in February 2016. During the visit of the Crown Prince, both sides had signed 16 agreements of which the nuclear cooperation agreement was India's first with any West Asian country. Again in January 2017, the Crown Prince was in Delhi as the chief guest on the eve of Republic Day in January 2017.

This time Prime Minister Modi was received by the Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi along with prominent members of the royal family at the airport, which was positive response to Prime Minister Modi's own gesture in the past. The new presidential palace in Abu Dhabi was also inaugurated by organizing a banquet for Prime Minister Modi. Various buildings in Abu Dhabi were lit with the Indian tricolor as the city was decked up to receive the Prime Minister of India, a new-found strategic partner. Of late, in addition to remittance and Diaspora, a major component of the relationship hitherto, new pillars of economy and defense security have been added during a series of high-level visits between the two countries.

The GCC nations are home to nine million Indians and GCC has emerged as the biggest strategic and commercial partner. The six GCC countries account for almost 20 percent of

bilateral trade and by far they are the largest regional trading blocks, for India i.e. about \$100 billion of trade, and out of that oil is a very small portion, contrary to what many people might think that oil is the major portion, but this is not the case. Under the newly-developed vision of SAGAR and Blue Economy, India requires a strong partnership with the GCC nations. India is already a big market for GCC oil economies. The GCC's requirement of cheap labor and technology has already engendered new labor laws and amendment in existing rules. The introduction of e-migrant system to stop the practice of offering false contract and other incidents of duplicitous is one of them.

Among all the GCC nations, UAE has always held a special place in Indian foreign policy as it is the third largest partner and in 2014-15, the total trade between two nations was to the tune of US \$59 billion. India has the highest number of expatriates in the UAE (2.6 million) and UAE is the biggest investor in India among all the Arab nations. The trade volume in non-oil products between two nations was to the tune of US \$ 36 billion in 2016; and, in 2016-17, UAE's export to India was around US 45 billion and India's export to UAE was US \$ 23 billion.¹Not only this, UAE among all the GCC countries has become the largest foreign direct investor in the country and the Emirati investment in India is now valued at almost \$10 billion. When Prime Minister Modi had visited UAE last time in 2015, both sides had signed an agreement to take the value of total UAE investment in India to US \$ 75 billion. Today India tops the list of investors in Dubai real estate and, in the last five years, they have invested to the tune of US \$ 22.6 billion.²

In his address to members of the Indian community, Prime Minister Modi described UAE as his second home and appreciated the acknowledgment of India's role on part of the UAE not only in building the UAE but also in contributing to its economic prosperity with their diasporas' hard work and honesty.

In addition to the joint statement and signing of the MoUs, the inauguration of the first ever temple on the soil of the Dubai and PM's address to the sixth World Government Summit on Technology for Development as the guest of honor were other major highlights of the visit.

Joint Statements and the MOUs: In the joint statement, both the leaders reaffirmed their commitment to further deepen the mutual strategic partnership and both sides noted that the institutional mechanism of UAE-India strategic dialogue established in 2017 (during the visit of the crown prince) has proved very useful. On the issue of combating terrorism, both sides acknowledged the religious and cultural plurality of each other's society which brings them further close to combat terrorism. The Crown Prince highlighted the inspiring approach of both UAE's founder Sheikh Zayed and India's Mahatma Gandhi. He acknowledged UAE and India as two major forces of stability and development in the region and the world; and, that both countries are playing an important role in bringing about peace and confronting extremism, terrorism and violence.

Both reiterated their resolve to promote the values of tolerance and inclusiveness and to combat extremist ideologies. There was special mention of the interfaith dialogue which could be

of great significance to counter the menace of terrorism. They were appreciative of the efforts of Hidayat Center (Guidance) and Shabab center (Youth) in the UAE for countering violent extremism and the false notions that are being spread about Islam. The joint statement condemned terrorism in all forms irrespective of the cause of its origin, identity of its perpetrator and motivation. The statement was also critical of use of terrorism by states as a policy tool. Both the leaders also expressed their concern over giving religious and sectarian color to politics and allowing use of their territory for terrorism against other states.

On the economic front, both sides were happy that bilateral trade has reached US \$ 53 billion in 2016-17. Today India tops the list of investors in Dubai real estate and in the last five years, Indian companies have invested to the tune of US \$ 83.65 billion.³ The decision to open the office of Confederation of Industry and office of Dubai Chamber of Commerce in Mumbai was welcomed by both sides. India's proposed decision to participate in Dubai Expo 2020 was welcomed by UAE leader which was also appreciative of economic reform in India which would render the task of doing business with India easy. The ranking of both in terms of facilitating trade has gone up in the latest report of the WB which would help enhance trade and investment. India expressed its happiness over the UAE's proposed investment of US \$ 75 billion in development of infrastructure in India. The Crown Prince exhorted Indian IT and associated companies to invest in UAE and use it as a hub to expand the business in the region. The achievement of the UAE-India High Level Task Force to monitor bilateral trade and investment also came in for appreciation, and both sides urged the task force to explore the opportunities of investment through looking at India's flagship initiatives like Make in India, Digital India, Skill India, Smart India, Clean India, and Start-Up India.⁴ There was special mention of the need to conclude the ongoing Bilateral Investment Treaty in order to provide the necessary legal framework for boosting the pace of the trade and investment plan.

One agreement and four MoUs were signed. The most significant was the MoU signed between the consortium of Indian companies led by the OVL (ONGC Videsh Limited, IOC and BPRL) and Abu Dhabi National Oil Company. Under this India has been offered ten percent stake for forty years in the purchase of oil (first of its kind with the GCC nations). Sixty per cent of participating interest will be retained by ADNOC, ten percent by India and the rest thirty per cent will be awarded to other international oil companies.⁵ Under the same agreement, India will receive 2.2 million tons of oil for forty years at a concessional price. An oil reserve agreement has also been signed by which 6 million barrels of oil from ADNOC will start flowing to India's Mangalore oil reserve craven. The agreement and special treatment will secure India's oil supply⁶.

Under another agreement, India will help UAE technologically in laying the 2,117 KM. long railway track between UAE and Saudi Arabia which is expected to be ready by year 2021.⁷ On the economic and trade front, traders from both countries can do trade in their respective national currency; and, to stop money laundering, a new agreement has been signed. The first agreement between Mumbai and Dubai Stock Exchanges was another sign of growing economic collaboration between India and the UAE. To promote the educational exchange program, IIM Ahmadabad and Manipal institute will open their overseas branches in towns of the UAE.

On the defense front, there was a novel addition to an already existing set of bilateral agreements. Under the agreement signed this time, for the first time, both nations would hold joint naval exercise off coast of the UAE. The UAE is already a buyer of India's defense product and India in the near future is likely to raise its overall defense export to \$ 2 billion in the next two years from the present volume of \$ 330 million annually and UAE could emerge as a major destination of Indian arms in near future. India is seriously contemplating manufacture and supply of ammunition to UAE for which detailed talks were held when the UAE Crown Prince was in Delhi in 2016.

Hindu Temple in Dubai: One of the major highlights of the visit of Prime Minister Modi was unveiling the first ever Hindu temple in UAE. While unveiling the biggest and first ever temple in Abu Dhabi, the Prime Minister said that erection of the temple is a testimony to India's deepening socio-cultural relationship and growing cultural proximity with this Muslim Gulf nation of the UAE. He also asserted that the erection of a new temple is living evidence of India's role in the economic prosperity of the UAE and whole-hearted acknowledgment of the hard work of Indians to make the UAE of today.⁸ After the inauguration of the temple, doors were opened for thousands of Hindu devotees who are working and residing there for decades. Certainly it is a great honor for the Indian community and sign of special respect for the Indian diaspora community. This could not have been possible without the positive contribution of Indians working there.

It is worth mentioning here that the land for the temple was granted by the UAE government when PM Modi had made his maiden visit in 2015 and the total cost incurred on the construction of the temple is around DH 400 million (699 crore Indian rupees.)⁹. The erection of the temple is also a sign of respect for Indian religious plurality and existence of religious freedom in the UAE. As one of the Indians said, "We do not have any problem in practicing our religion and celebrating the Hindu festival".¹⁰ The construction of the temple is sign of growing popularity of the Indians residing there, admiration of India's cultural past and approval of India's religious heritage; and, it elevates India's economic stature

PM Modi's Address to Sixth World Government Summit: The participation of Prime Minister Modi as the guest of honor in the Sixth World Government Summit was another highlight of the current visit to the UAE. Prime Minister Modi accompanied by a large delegation hailing from different economic sectors of the country participated in the Summit. In his address, PM Modi conveyed the essence of India's economic policies when he said that India wants to diversify the template of its ties further in the fields of trade, commerce and investments.¹¹ He hailed Indian youth who would be the future of the Indian economy and said that India is trying to utilize the energy of the youth for the economic progress of the country. He also talked of the growing strength of India in digital technology and said that India could not be part of the industrial revolution but it has become an integral part of the digital revolution.¹² On the occasion, a list of new Indian legislation removing various red tapism and other hurdles in the way of trade and investment and to make the investment in India more attractive and easy was also presented.

On the sidelines of the Summit, PM Modi met UAE's prime minister, economic minister and foreign minister in addition to senior officials. India's choice as guest of honor was an acknowledgment of India's rising economic stature, its technological advancement, demographic asset and its democratic credentials. The UAE's economic minister acknowledged that India is the second biggest nation in terms of population and the fastest growing economy in the world.¹³

Visit to Oman:

The Prime Minister's visit to the UAE was followed by a one-day trip to Oman. It was his first visit to Oman as Prime Minister. PM Modi had made several visits to Oman in the past as the chief minister of Gujarat and it can be mentioned here that there is strong Gujarati diaspora in Oman.

In the capital town of Muscat, Prime Minister Modi was received by one of the longest serving rulers of Oman -- Sultan Qaboos bin Said al Said. During his stay, Prime Minister Modi met the Sultan and two Deputy Prime Ministers of Oman, interacted with CEOs of different companies and addressed members of the Indian community who have been staying there since long. He also visited the Sultan Qaboos mosque and Shiva temple in Muscat and spent some time with the religious leaders there. It is worth mentioning here that the current ruler of Oman has a close association with India. He spent his early student days in India and had been taught by former President Shankar Dayal Sharma in Pune.

In a joint statement, both sides emphasized the historicity of the relationship and the declaration said that both nations were open to the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, and maritime trade and cultural exchange between the two can be traced back to ancient times. The statement also called for expansion of the UNSC and supported a permanent seat for India in the UNSC and exhorted the UN to reform.¹⁴ The statement expressed satisfaction over the progress made in the field of defense cooperation based on the deal signed in 2015 and renewed in 2016; and which has provided a new framework to deepen the defense and security cooperation between India and Oman. The joint statement also thanked India for popularizing Yoga across the world and making it the part of the UN's program.

Eight agreements were signed and important among them was the MoU under which Indian Navy can have direct access to Duqm port and avail the logistic facilities there. This agreement will help Indian Navy to reach the wider West Asian region and eastern Africa.. Indian naval ships regularly visit Salalah and Duqm port for operational turnaround while engaging in anti-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden.

Other MoUs signed were aimed at expediting cooperation in the field of trade and investment, energy, defense and security, food security, legal and judicial matters, health, tourism and outer space. An institutional-level MoU was also signed between India's Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis and Oman National Defense College.¹⁵ The Adani ports and Duqm Special Economic Zone Authority have already signed an agreement in 2017 to promote trade between the two. There is total Indian investment of US \$ 1.8 billion in two major projects being run in Duqm

Special Economic Zone Authority.¹⁶ The mutual trade between the two nations is already to the tune of US \$ 5.5 billion annually and this is likely to grow under the Oman 2020 Vision, which promises more trade with the outside world and FDI into Oman. India already has detailed understanding with Oman for collaboration in the field of disaster management and combating the threat emanating from piracy and terrorism. During the visit, Oman also announced in principle its joining the International Solar Alliance.¹⁷

Oman is known for maintaining neutrality and today it is well reflected in its good relationship with all nations in the region, while other nations are part of one alliance or another and entangled in crisis one way or other way. Oman has kept its options open in the intra-GCC conflict with Qatar, stayed neutral in the Yemen conflict, has close links with Iran and had hosted most of the negotiations on the Iran nuclear deal. Oman is considered to be one of the nations closet to India among the GCC nations, and India has always maintained good strategic ties with it. India enjoys several other facilities with Oman e.g., Salalah port in Oman offers operational turn round (OTR) facilities to Indian ships.¹⁸

India has useful defense cooperation with Oman. The Indian naval force has been training its counterpart in Oman and there have been a series of MoUs between the two nations in the past in this regard. The traditional maritime cooperation between the two was further reinforced when the joint statement issued at the end of the present visit of PM Modi focused on maritime cooperation between the two countries.¹⁹

Conclusion:

No doubt the nature of the bilateral relationship between UAE and India in the recent years has changed drastically and has transcended traditional confines. A series of new templates have entered into India-UAE bilateral ties which have redefined and changed the horizon of the bond. The emergence of new factors in the relationship is marked by the common concern towards growing terrorism and religious radicalization. The UAE has been at the forefront of combating religious radicalism both regionally and globally. The growing concern for internal and regional securities entwined with ascendancy of non-state actors in the respective region among the policy makers of both the countries have brought them further closer to collaborate closely in the sphere of defense and security. A new urge on their part to evolve a advanced mechanism to strengthen maritime security is likely to deepen India's relation with its extended neighbors and this will particularly expand India's connection with the Oman.

The relationship between UAE and India has moved from the confines of buyer and seller and a new level of economic engagement has begun. Both sides are showing keen interest to engage economically in a more robust manner and the growing investments from both sides in different sectors are also indicative of new economic additionalities in bilateral relations. India's investment in the field of oil and gas and likewise its entry into the defense sector of the UAE are a successful part of the story of growing economic partnership. In addition, new focus on

diasporas and growing concern for their well being and subsequent new legislation and laws in this regard are providing new spur to the relationship.

The diversification of India's relations with the UAE and growing proximity is well reflected in India being offered ten percent stake for forty years in the exploration of oil off the coast of UAE. The invitation to Prime Minister Modi as the guest of honor at the government Summit was another sign of the growing importance of India among the ruling family of the UAE; and, in a way, it is the same honor accorded to India in the Janadriyah festival in Riyadh this year where also India was invited as the guest of honor. Certainly these efforts will help deepen the ties between two nation in coming years and decades. The frequent visit of leaders from both the countries is testimony to their political will to engage more closely in the economic, political and strategic spheres. The construction of the Hindu temple is a sign of each other's faith in coexistence, moderation and harmony and their belief that these common values can take their nations and ties forward.

The relationship between India and the UAE has entered a forward looking era and a new vision has been added to the template after both nations became strategic partners in 2017. The acknowledgement of India's growing economic stature and digital advancement is no more confined to the markets and Silicon Valley alone but it is being recognized among the policy makers and this identity of India, has further brought the two nations closer. India's economic integration has been constantly deepening with the UAE and new elements of culture, tradition and values are likely to further consolidate the ties with the UAE.

What has brought the two nations (India and UAE) closer includes the commonality in their views about terrorism. The joint statement on the eve of Prime Minister Modi's visit to the UAE was very critical of the use of terrorism by states as a policy tool. The leaders of both countries also showed their concern over giving religious and sectarian color to the politics and allowing use of their territory for terrorism against other states. One does not need to go deep to understand the behavior of India's neighbor who is involved in such exercises and, of course, the joint statement would expose and weaken those who claim to create a new bloc in the name of religion, ignoring the pragmatism of world politics. India has good working relationship with the Hidayat center (Guidance) of UAE which is devoted to counter false notions about Islam or other misleading ideologies abetting extremism and terrorism. The relationship with the UAE is on the right path and is likely to acquire a comprehensive character if past agreements and MoUs are implemented and the pace is maintained.

Indo-Oman ties have always remained steady and stable, and both nations have entered into new domains of relationship including defense and maritime. What helps both the nations to maintain good ties are the similarity and commonality in the pursuit of principles of their foreign policies as mentioned earlier.

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Disclaimer: The views expressed are that of the Researcher and not of the Council.

Endnotes

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