

1. The Big Picture

Oil crisis to take centre stage amid COVID-19 concerns

While fighting remains limited to bouts of violence and intermittent skirmishes between Libyan National Army (LNA) and Government of National Accord (GNA) forces, reinforcements continue to underline the prospect of an escalation in Libya's west, especially along the Sirte-Weshka-Abugrein engagement axes. Reports of large GNA-aligned Misrata military reinforcements were spotted arriving in Abugrein to join the GNA's Sirte-Jufra Ops Room on 09 March. In response, the LNA's general command mobilised additional resources towards Weshka - Abugrein on 10 March.

The LNA led by Khalifa Haftar continues to claim it is monitoring GNA preparations for a broader offensive across all combat zones. While advances remained somewhat limited since the January truce, LNA forces gained ground this week in Al-Kassarat, increasing the likelihood the GNA-held town of Gharyan will be cut off from remaining GNA forces in Aziziyah and Tripoli.

However, this week's developments were dominated by concerns over the COVID-19 pandemic as both governments in the east and west implemented a series of preventive control measures. While Libya has not publicly declared any cases to date, observers are of the view the healthcare system is ill-equipped to respond to a potential spread of the virus in-country. The COVID-19 outbreak is set to impact Libya, like other countries, in many ways but the most significant impact so far has been limited to travel disruptions after the closure of all entry/exit points and restrictions on foreign nationals entering the country.

At the time of writing, not all measures were being implemented equally. For example, vessels were still anchoring at Misrata and Khoms ports. Cargo vessels with critical goods and supplies are unlikely to be denied entry, although delays in unloading and cargo handling are to be expected.

The COVID-19 situation continues to evolve globally but is unlikely to change the current military environment or prompt GNA and LNA forces to back down. As civilians engage in panic buying, the LNA will continue to emphasise divisions. The situation presents an opportunity for the LNA to reinforce its narrative and sow divisions across the west.

More importantly, the LNA is expected to exploit the situation to strengthen its case for accessing oil & gas revenues. Of note, the blockade on exports orchestrated by pro-LNA tribes continues to deepen with losses now estimated at 3 billion USD according to the National Oil Corporation (NOC). The oil crisis was the centre of Haftar's Paris and Berlin visits. France's diplomacy made it clear this week that Haftar forms an integral part of Libya's future. Haftar met with French President Emmanuel Macron and expressed commitment to abide by a ceasefire if GNA forces comply. Haftar's Paris visit was low-profile and no official communique was released, leading French media to underline the Elysee's low confidence in a resolution.

The LNA is attempting to choke off the Tripoli government's cash flow, but before doing so, it remains to be seen whether Haftar can sustain the blockade in the medium term. The LNA edges closer to an attempt to market crude independently. Haftar's Paris discussions allegedly focused on a mechanism to bypass the Tripoli-based Central Bank of Libya (CBL) in managing oil and gas revenues. However, the LNA is under pressure and this was highlighted by the parallel CBL's announcement that it will no longer provide funds to pay for eastern government expenses, with the exception of public sector salaries. Likewise, the official NOC in Tripoli cut all non-essential expenses due to the ongoing oil blockade and subsequent revenue loss. In a statement, the NOC confirmed it failed to receive its 2020 budget allocation, forcing it to freeze/postpone various contracts, stop overtime pay, and reduce various services along with other measures.

On the tribal front, Haftar continues to rally public support one step at a time. This week, the elders and sheikhs of Al-Nawahy Al-Arbaa Council were received by LNA military figures in Benghazi on 11 March. The visit to the east would come after the tribal elders attributed an intensified shelling campaign against their respective areas to GNA forces, expressing support for the LNA. Of note, Al-Nawahy Al-Arbaa includes areas south of Tripoli, including Qaser Bin Ghashir, Espiaa, Sog Al-Khmies Emsihel and Sidi Al-Sayeh areas.

KEY POINTS

- Nationwide COVID-19 preventive measures
- LNA closer to independently marketing crude
- Oil crisis chokes off GNA & eastern government



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2. National Security Map

LNA downs GNA UAV over Al-Jufra Airbase; combat activity uptick on Sirte-Misrata engagement axes

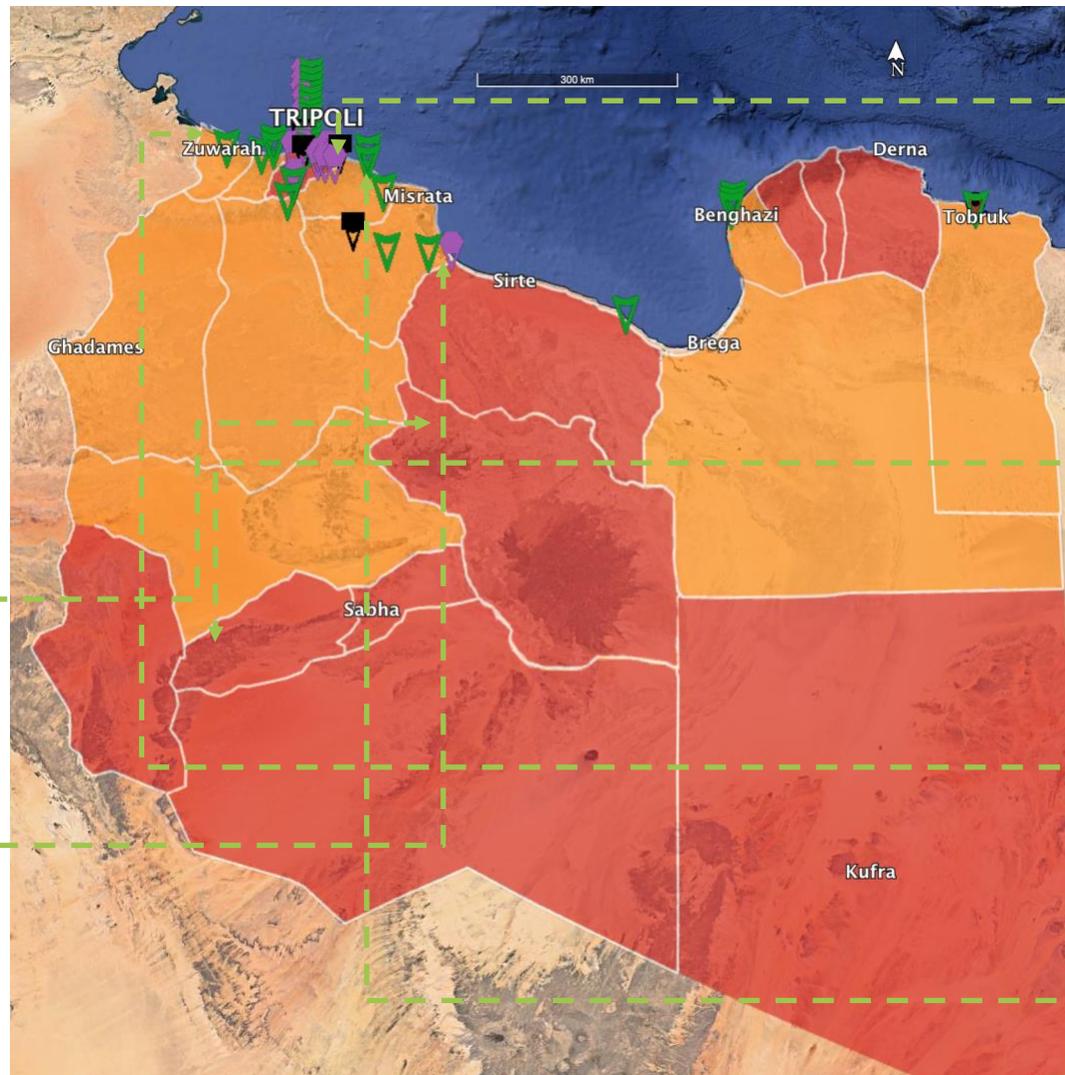
Key

THREAT INDICATORS

- Severe Threat
- High Threat
- Moderate Threat

EVENT INDICATORS

- ★ IED | VBIED
- ♦ Violent Clash
- ▲ Isolated Gunfire
- ▼ Other



Unidentified assailants opened fire on a civilian vehicle carrying two medical staff travelling on the Coastal Road of Garabolli, killing a local doctor and injuring the other passenger on 12 March. Pro-GNA accounts attributed the incident to the LNA's 9th Brigade (Al-Kaniat militia of Tarhuna). In a separate incident, reports suggest GNA forces ambushed a group of Al-Kaniat militiamen on the Coastal Road of Garabolli in the early hours of 12 March, killing one and injuring two other members who managed to escape.

According to the information Office Director of the LNA's Southern Military Zone, Mahmoud Al-Werfalli, the Southern Military Zone commander, Abu Qasim Al-Abaj, ordered greater efforts to secure the Sharara Oilfield. Al-Werfalli stated that the orders came at the request of the LNA's General Command and include intensifying patrols in the Murzuq and Awbari regions. Al-Abaj has been recently very active in the south, including Al-Kufra, as part of attempts to reconcile local factions and expand the LNA's reach in those areas.

The management of the Libyan-Tunisian Ras Ajdir border crossing announced the closure of the border as of 0000hrs on 16 March in line with the GNA's decision to close all land, sea, and air ports as a precautionary measure against the COVID-19 pandemic. The border was closed at 0000hrs on 16 March on the Libyan side, with the exception of Libyan and Tunisian travellers returning back to their home countries.

WB sources reported unidentified gunmen raided the Al-Marqab University Administration's HQ in Khoms, interrupting a meeting held by the university's council, in the afternoon on 10 March. Initial reports indicate the gunmen intended to kidnap a university board member, though he managed to escape.

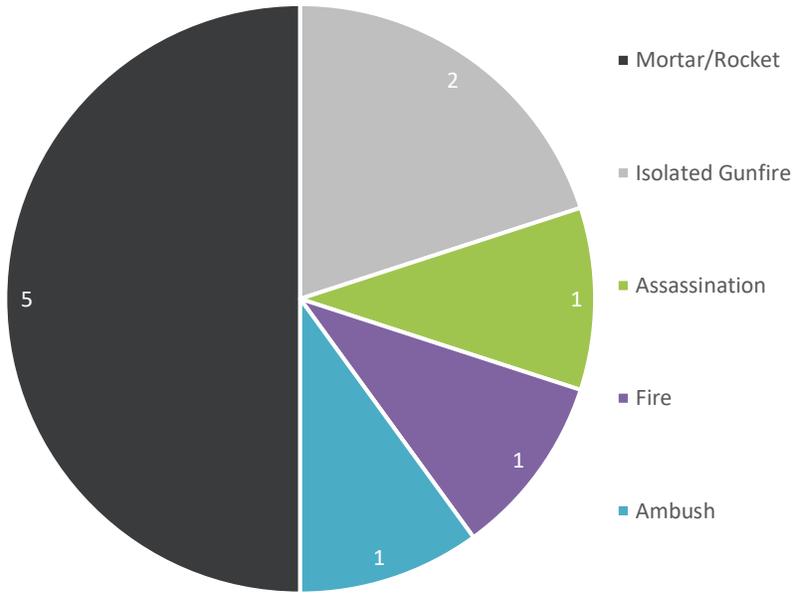
The LNA claimed its air defense systems shot down a GNA-affiliated Turkish unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) conducting a reconnaissance mission over Al-Jufra Airbase on 14 March. Separately, reports indicate heavy explosions in Houn and Waddan located in the Jufra District at approximately 1730hrs on 14 March. Initial reports indicate a GNA airstrike targeted Al-Jufra Airbase.

Additional LNA reinforcements were reported arriving in Al-Weshka between 14-15 March. Meanwhile, the LNA conducted an airstrike on GNA position in Abu Grein in the early hours of 15 March. LNA forces reported three GNA-operated military vehicles were targeted as they engaged in reconnaissance in the vicinity. Separately, LNA attack helicopter combat sorties were also reported over Qasr Abu Hadi. In the evening of 14 March. Beyond, reports indicate indiscriminate shelling targeted GNA positions in Abu Grein. Pro-LNA accounts claimed its units targeted GNA forces

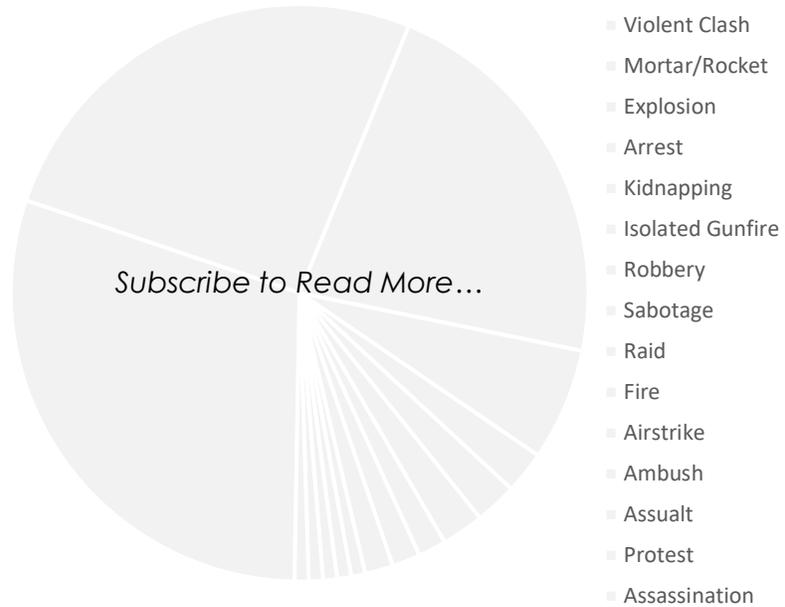
3. Nationwide Security Analysis

All fatalities recorded in Tripoli; majority of security incidents in Libya's west

Nationwide fatalities by type of attack (Past week)



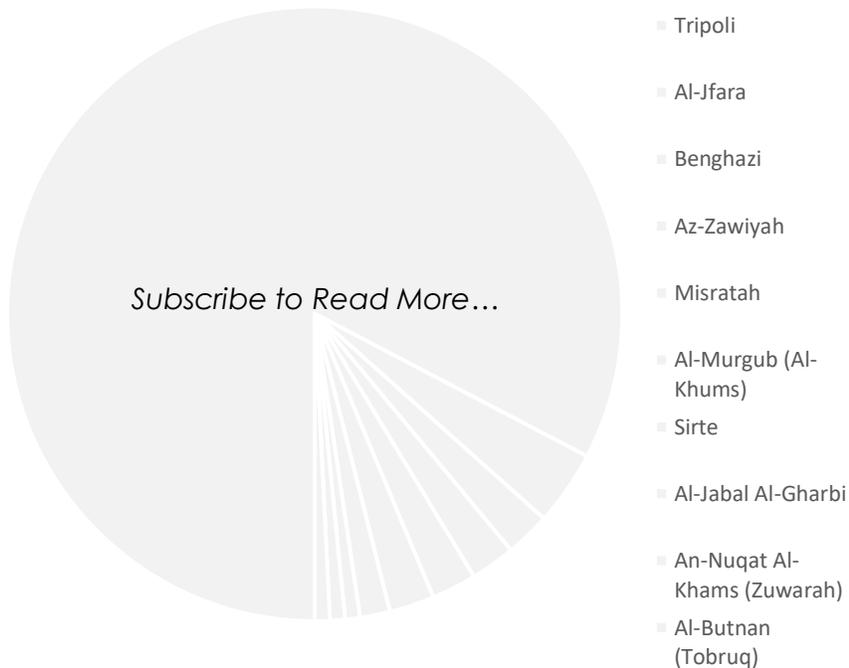
Nationwide incidents by type of attack (Past week)



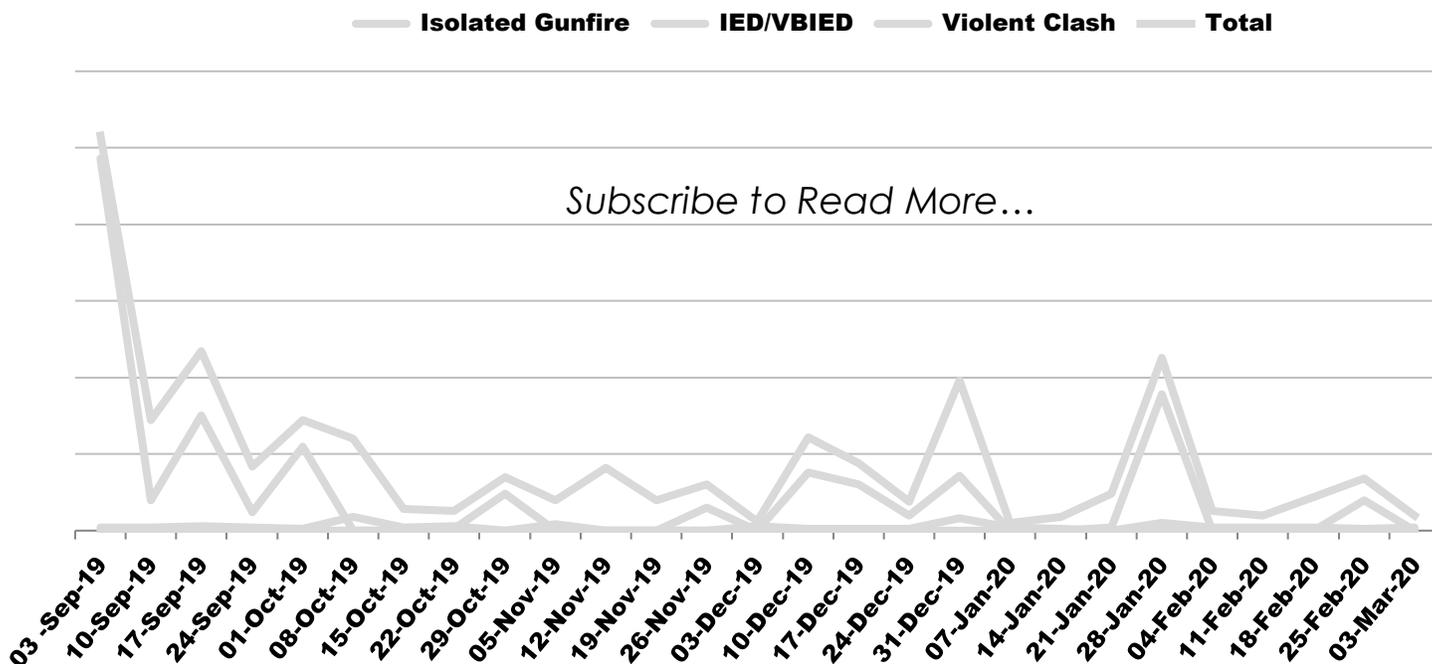
Nationwide fatalities by national district (Past week)



Nationwide incidents by national district (Past week)



Nationwide Fatalities by Type of Attack (Past 27 Weeks)



Data Analysis

WB recorded this week a total of 10 confirmed deaths in Libya, which compares to 24 deaths reported last week and 10 the week before, marking a decrease in the number of fatalities recorded in contrast to the previous week largely due to an absence of a verified casualty toll from the ongoing clashes across the western region. Unlike the patterns witnessed in the previous weeks where fatalities were spread across the entire country, this week WB recorded 10 fatalities in Tripoli alone. In relation to combat operations in the capital city, WB recorded five fatalities as a result of an ongoing shelling campaign. Meanwhile, the remaining fatalities came as a result of isolated gunfire cases, an assassination, and a house fire. Similarly, the highest number of security incidents remained in Tripoli, though this week saw a significant drop in the number of shelling incidents recorded across the city. In addition, no airstrikes conducted by the Libyan National Army (LNA) or Government of National Accord (GNA) were recorded in Tripoli throughout the reporting period. However, LNA airstrikes were conducted in the Abu Grein area located between the Misrata and Sirte districts. The airstrikes came amid an uptick in combat activity on the Sirte-Misrata axes. Meanwhile, beyond military activity, sporadic criminal acts remained frequent across Tripoli and the western region throughout the week. Besides the western region, a fire and a violent clash were recorded in the Sirte district, with clashes erupting between LNA and GNA forces on the Al-Weshka frontline. In the eastern region, WB recorded four arrests, including three in Benghazi and one in Tobruq. Several incidents were recorded throughout the country including 73 mortar/rocket shelling incidents, 28 violent clashes, 10 isolated gunfire cases, 5 robberies, 5 kidnappings, 3 airstrikes, 1 assassination & 1 carjacking.

In western Libya, WB recorded a total of 122 incidents, including 105 in Tripoli, marking an overall decrease in security incidents recorded in Tripoli, largely due to a drop in the number of mortar/rocket shelling incidents which went down from 75 incidents last week to 33 this week. In Tripoli, and beyond the clashes, reports indicate a group of gunmen affiliated with the Janzour Security Directorate raided the Janzour Tourist Village supposedly housing internally displaced persons (IDPs) at approximately 1400hrs on 09 March. Initial reports indicate the gunmen threatened the IDPS to evacuate the site due to the demolition of chalets. The gunmen arrested two IDPS following a verbal altercation between them. Of note, a similar incident was reported on 28 Feb. Meanwhile, in relation to military activity, indiscriminate shelling targeted Souq Al Jum'aa's Shurfat Al Malāha area in the Mitiga International Airport (MJI) vicinity. The shelling resulted in the death of two men and the injuries of five others after shells landed on several houses in the area, specifically near Al-Ansar School.

In the wider western region, reports indicate LNA airstrikes targeted GNA-aligned Misrata armed factions in Abu Grein between 12-13 March. Of note, reports indicate the LNA's general command mobilised military reinforcements toward Al-Weshka - Abu Grein frontline on 10 March. The development came after large reinforcements from Misrata arrived in Abu Grein to the GNA's Sirte- Jufra Operations Room. Meanwhile, WB continued to record clashes & subsequent tensions in the Garaboli vicinity, including on the Coastal Road. Further, according to a media official from the Bani Walid General Hospital, the hospital's ambulance and emergency department suspended operations after an armed group sabotaged the building in the afternoon on 09 March. Of note, the targeted department recently reopened after the hospital's administration completed maintenance works. Local outlets circulated pictures inside the ER department showing bullet holes and ambulances exposed to gunfire.

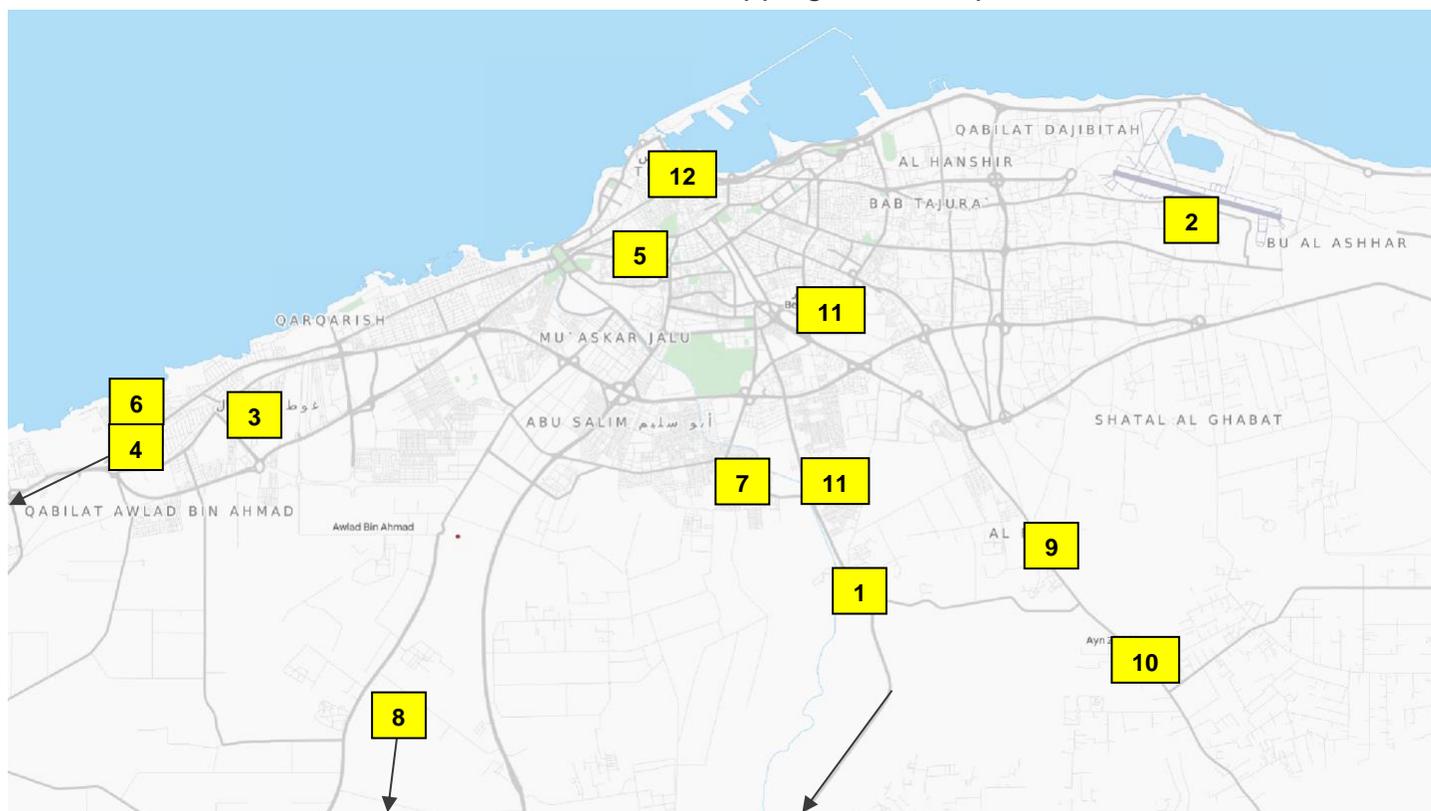
Turning to the central region, violent clashes between LNA units and GNA-aligned forces were reported on the Al-Weshka frontline. WB recorded an uptick in military activity on the Sirte-Misrata axes over the past week.

In the southern region, WB recorded no significant security incidents across the region throughout the reporting period.

In the east, arrest campaigns continue to dominate the overall security environment. WB recorded three arrests in Benghazi and one arrest in the city of Tobruq.

4. Tripoli Neighborhood Report

Ghneiwa militia-sanctioned kidnappings; inflated prices amid COVID-19 fears



KEY INCIDENTS

1. (07 Mar) Body of Misrata field commander found dumped near Salah-Aldin traffic lights
2. (08 Mar) Shelling in Shurfata Al-Mulaha in the Mitiga Vicinity kills two & injures five others
3. (08 Mar) Gunmen conduct drive-by shooting killing owner of electronics shop in Ghut Shal
4. (09 Mar) Janzour Security Directorate affiliated gunmen raid Janzour Tourist Village
5. (09 Mar) Gheiwa militia kidnaps mosque trustee following dawn prayers in As-Sarim
6. (10 Mar) Gunmen raids pharmacy & robs female pharmacist in Janzour
7. (11 Mar) Ghneiwa militia kidnaps five civilian men in Al-Hadba Al-Ghasi area
8. (13 Mar) LNA claims GNA attack on Al-Ramla axis repelled
9. (13 Mar) Shells land on Nasser University in Ain Zara resulting in three injuries
10. (14 Mar) Unconfirmed LNA airstrike targets Ain Zara
11. (14 Mar) Municipality Guards & SDF close several shops and pharmacies for inflating prices amid COVID-19 fears
12. (15 Mar) SDF-affiliated masked gunmen raid parallel currency trading market & close various shops against rising dollar price

Body of Misrata field commander found dumped

The body of a Misrata field commander identified as Mohammed Rfaida was found dumped near Salah Eddien Traffic Lights on 07 March. Rfaida was reportedly in charge of handling the Syrian fighters supporting GNA forces on the Salah Eddien engagement axis. Pro-LNA accounts allege the Nawasi Brigade is behind Rfaida's assassination. Rfaida was reportedly close to GNA Interior Minister Fathi Bashagha. While details behind the incident are scarce, Rfaida was likely assassinated in relation to recent tensions involving multiple Tripoli-based militias, including the Nawasi Briagde, against Bashagha, after the latter took a bold stance to eliminate militias and reform the security sector across the West.

Drive-by shooting kills electronics shop owner

Reports indicate a group of gunmen driving a white Toyota Hilux conducted a drive-by shooting killing a man driving the same car model near Al-Quds Market in Tripoli's Ghut Shaal area at approximately 1900hrs on 09 March. Initial reports indicate the gunmen are affiliated with Zintan armed factions and the victim owned an electronics shop in the area.

SDF arrest gunman behind robbery of pharmacy

A masked gunman driving a grey KIA Optima raided a pharmacy and stole the belongings of the pharmacist in Tripoli's Janzour area in the afternoon on 10 March. CCTV footage circulated showing the female pharmacist handing over her belongings to the gunman, after which he reached for the cash register. The pharmacist was unharmed. The unidentified criminal was later spotted driving away in a vehicle. The perpetrator was arrested by the Special Deterrence Force (SDF) on 14 March.

Ghneiwa militia-sanctioned kidnappings

Reports indicate the GNA-aligned Ghneiwa militia kidnapped a man on As-Sarim Bridge in Tripoli's As-Sarim area in the morning on 09 March. Initial reports indicate the victim is a trustee of Abo Menjel Mosque and was kidnapped upon leaving the mosque following dawn prayers. The kidnapping is likely related to a local dispute between the targeted individual and a Ghneiwa militiaman who lives near Abo Menjel Mosque. Separately, WB sources reported the Ghneiwa militia kidnapped five civilian men in Tripoli's Al-Hadba Al-Ghasi area at approximately 2100hrs on 11 March. Initial reports indicate the men were kidnapped near Al-Sahaba Mosque following evening prayers. no further details available on the motive.

Shops & pharmacies closed due to inflating prices

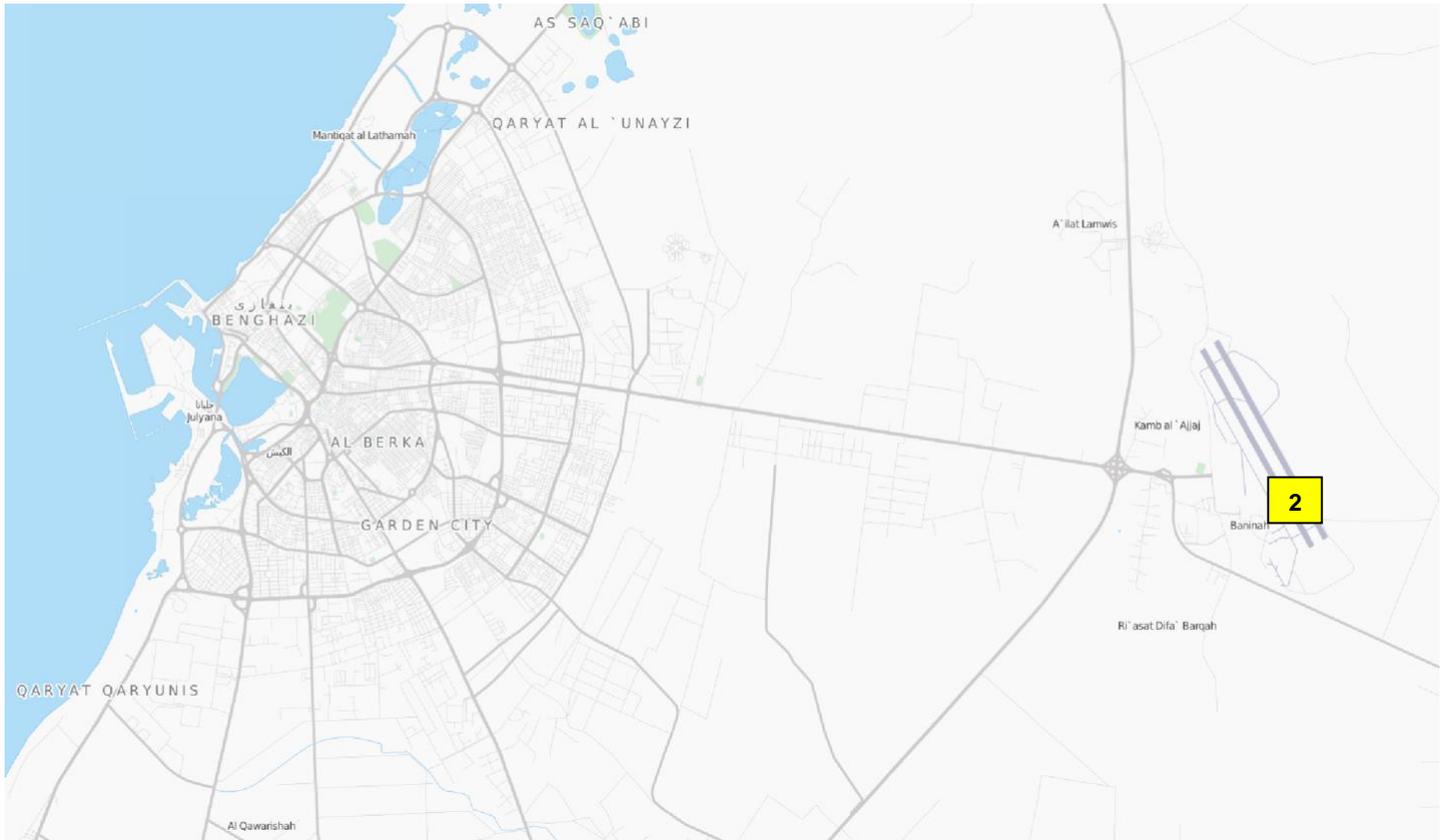
At approximately 1330hrs on 14 March, several vehicles affiliated with the Municipality Guards were spotted in several areas across Tripoli, including Abu Sittah and Ben Ashour ,in anticipation of local complaints on soaring prices of cleaning products by pharmacies and shops following the closure of land, air, and sea ports to mitigate the spread of COVID-19. The Municipality Guard closed down two pharmacies in the Ben Ashour area. In addition, the GNA-aligned Special Deterrence Force (SDF) closed multiple pharmacies in Al-Hadba Al-Sharqiya area at approximately 1930hrs on 14 March. The closures were due to pharmacies increasing the price of antiseptic products and gloves. Soaring prices of essential goods are expected to raise local grievances, fuelling potential unrest across the capital city.

SDF-affiliates raid parallel currency trading market

Sources reported SDF-affiliated masked gunmen raided Souq Al-Musheer (parallel currency trading market) and closed several exchange shops against the inflating price of the dollar against the Libyan dinar at approximately 1400hrs on 15 March.

5. Benghazi Neighborhood Report

Benghazi-based CBL stops lending to Interim Government



KEY INCIDENTS

1. (11 Mar) LNA figures receive Elders & Sheikhs of Al-Nawahy Al-Arba Council (Qasr Bin Ghashir, Espiaa, Sidi Al-Sayeh, Sog Al-Khmies Emsihel)
2. (14 Mar) CID arrests criminal gang following local complaint
3. (14 Mar) Bushnaaf orders diversion of flights from Ras Lanud & Brega Airports to Benina International Airport (BEN)

CID arrests criminal gang

The Criminal Investigation Department (CID) under Benghazi's Security Directorate arrested a criminal gang hours after a citizen filed a complaint against unidentified assailants who kidnapped him, threatened him with death, and stole his vehicle and mobile phone. According to the Directorate, the CID ambushed the criminals while they were attempting to sell the stolen vehicle. The suspects confessed to the possession of narcotics, firearms, and white weapons.

CBL to no longer lend to Interim Government

The Benghazi-based Central Bank of Libya (CBL) stated it will no longer lend cash to the eastern-based Interim Government, calling on the government to seek alternative sources of funding, in the latest sign of the evolving banking crisis in the East. The bank confirmed this would not affect government borrowing to cover public sector wages, though the parallel bank urged the government to provide it with data. The Eastern CBL noted that it currently pays all public sector salaries in the east, refuting claims by the Tripoli-based CBL that public sector salaries across the country are paid for employees enrolled prior to 2014. The development would shed light on the existing financial problems in the east.

COVID-19 preventive measures

The Interim Government's Interior Minister, Ibrahim Bushnaaf, issued a decision to suspend operations at Marsa Al-Brega and Ras Lanuf Airports (Petro Air flights) as a preventive measure to control the global spread of COVID-19 in Libya. Bushnaaf noted that all flights from the two airports will be diverted to

Benghazi's Benina International Airport (BEN) until further notice. Meanwhile, authorities closed a number of petrol stations for failing to implement instructions to prevent residents from filling up their own tank. For its part, the LNA general command ordered the establishment of a field hospital at BEN in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. The hospital will reportedly be funded by the LNA. In addition, 100 beds were reportedly added to Benghazi's Huwary Hospital.

6. What's next

Fighting picks up across frontlines amid skirmishes between pro-GNA factions

POLITICAL FORECAST

The COVID-19 pandemic will indirectly impact political stabilization efforts in Libya, undermining the prospect of an imminent resolution of the conflict. As European capitals respond to the outbreak, efforts to solve the Libyan crisis are expected to be temporarily paused. Of note, a meeting of the Berlin Conference's International Follow Up Committee due to be held in Rome on 19 March was postponed. The first challenge on the political front is to ensure continuity within the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL). Following Ghassan Salame's resignation, UN Secretary-General (UNSG), Antonio Guterres, assigned Stephanie Williams as the acting special representative and head of UNSMIL. Williams has good working knowledge of the Libyan crisis and has conducted extensive meetings with tribes when attempting to facilitate Tripoli security arrangements prior to the April 2019 offensive. Regardless, Williams faces an uphill struggle to gain the trust of Libyans. Meanwhile, the former Algerian Foreign Minister, Ramtane Lamamra, is a likely contender to permanently replace Salame, according to multiple diplomatic sources. Of note, Lamamra served as Algeria's Foreign Minister from 2013-17 and as African Union (AU) commissioner for peace and security from 2008-13. Lamamra has also been a mediator in several African conflicts, notably in Liberia. Meanwhile, observers continue to ask whether the deal struck between Ankara and Moscow over Syria's Idlib will have repercussions on the Libyan conflict and help establish a permanent ceasefire. Separately, GNA Interior Minister Fathi Bashagha, who recently visited London, is scheduled to meet his French counterpart on 16-18 March Christophe Castaner. Bashagha will reportedly complete a deal to acquire French Airbus helicopters. If confirmed, the acquisition of military hardware from France would come as a surprise given the Elysee's established support to Haftar, although French diplomacy continues to claim it is neutral in the Libyan conflict.

WHAT OTHER EXPERTS SAY

Gönül Tol, the Director of Turkey Program at the Middle East Institute (MEI), explores in a piece the extent to which a Syria deal between Turkish President Recep Erdogan and his Russian counterpart Vladimir Putin may be replicated in Libya. The author argues that because Erdogan's position is limited and weak vis-à-vis Russia, Ankara's hopes that Putin may scale down the presence of Wagner Group private contractors are unfounded. Tol writes "Erdogan still expects Putin to withdraw Wagner mercenaries from Libya, but he is likely to be disappointed. Russia hopes to secure access to the country's energy resources and ports as well as leverage over Europe through its involvement in the conflict. It is unlikely to give that up. Russia deployed mercenaries to Libya in 2019 to back Hifter and is pursuing a sophisticated strategy of playing all sides in the conflict. Despite its financial and military support for Hifter's forces, Moscow has also engaged the Tripoli government, hosting the GNA Prime Minister Fayeze al-Sarraj at a summit in Sochi last October. Russia is also talking to the Gadhafi family, which would undermine Hifter if it manages to become a political force in the country once again. Russian efforts to sow further discord in Libya are deeply concerning to a Europe still deeply traumatized by the 2015 refugee crisis, which sent thousands of people fleeing the conflict in Libya to Europe. That fear provides Russia with leverage, which Moscow is trying to use to ease the EU sanctions imposed after Russian intervention into Ukraine in 2014. Russia has already gained a seat at the Berlin conference on Libya." The author concludes by arguing that the presence of Wagner mercenaries, albeit limited, continues to grant Moscow enough influence over Europe and Turkey. As a result, Moscow is unlikely to restrict its presence in Libya as expected by Erdogan.

SECURITY FORECAST

The military build-up in the western region signals the possibility of intensified combat in the short-medium term. The military build-up continues across the Sirte-Abugrein-Weshka engagement axes and Tripoli's southern frontlines. However, GNA forces are yet to engage in offensive operations. Meanwhile, LNA advances continue to be slow but steady. LNA and GNA forces could capitalize on the current context of fears over the COVID-19 virus to advance their interests. In Tripoli, no further developments have been documented in relation to the tensions between GNA Interior Minister Fathi Bashagha and Tripoli-based armed factions. However, the Ghneiwa militia continues to operate with little to no oversight, in further evidence of the group's loose command hierarchy. Meanwhile, the closure of air, land, and sea ports due to COVID-19 concerns could result in LNA attempts to block/target any incoming vessels with supplies on the basis Turkish military assets are unloaded. In the central region, the recently-documented presence of the Tawergha Martyrs Company, a military formation led by Tawergha tribesmen, highlights LNA intent to advance towards the town of Tawergha in the Misrata district. To expand its reach, the LNA could bank on the support of Tawergha tribesmen and the long-standing tensions between Tawergha and Misrata. In Zawiya, the risk of infighting remains high. The LNA announced the head of the Zawiya Military Zone, Major General Mohamed Al-Theish, handed over his duties to Major General Abdullah Nouredine Al-Hmali on 14 March. The LNA's moves in the area would come amid brewing tensions along the coastal road between and an uptick in politically-motivated kidnappings. In Garabolli, flashpoints are likely in the medium term. Incidents in the area are now gradually shifting from low-level activity to more frequent skirmishes between GNA forces and LNA forces aligned to the 9th Brigade Tarhunah ("Al-Kaniat").

LIBYANS AND THE ARAB STREET

Amid bleak ceasefire prospects in Libya, analysts are of the view Moscow is one of the few players capable of bringing Haftar back to the negotiating table and compelling him to accept an agreement. Another scenario that would significantly alter the equation on the ground would be Turkey doubling down on its support for the GNA. However, Ankara faces an uphill struggle in-country and is therefore unlikely to deepen its involvement. This makes the relationship between Ankara and Moscow crucial to the Libyan crisis. With this context in mind, *Arab News*' Editorial analyse the potential ramifications of Turkey's Syria deal with Russia on the Libyan conflict. The *Arab News* piece quotes Aydin Sezer, an analyst based in Ankara who says "Russia considers all armed groups in Idlib as terrorists and this approach also reflects on the Libyan battleground in terms of the Turkey-backed Syrian fighters who were sent there," said Aydin Sezer, an Ankara-based Middle East expert. "Before initiating a political settlement in Libya, Putin would do his utmost to eradicate jihadists in Libya as he aimed to in Idlib," he told *Arab News*. According to Sezer, the cease-fire deal between Turkey and Russia requires cooperation between the two countries against terror groups in Idlib, but also in Libya. "As long as Turkey doesn't want to break ties with Russia, it would take steps for revising its policy in Libya as well because Russia doesn't seem to be tolerant of any commitment that is unfulfilled in terms of fighting terrorism in the region," he said."

About Whispering Bell



Contact Whispering Bell at: +971-4-448-6690 or at ras@whisperingbell.com

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