

1. The Big Picture

Parallel efforts to lift oil blockade; Russia raises negotiation stakes

This week, sources confirmed negotiations to resume oil production and exports have been ongoing over the past few weeks at both grassroots level and high-level diplomatic channels. The oil blockade, enforced since January 2020 by tribesmen loyal to the Libyan National Army (LNA), has cost the Libyan economy 6 billion USD to date according to the National Oil Corporation (NOC). It is questionable how long Libya would be able to continue tapping state coffers and foreign reserves. While negotiations are positive, no hasty conclusions should be drawn as to the outlook of Libya's O&G sector.

There is mounting evidence of more receptiveness to lift the blockade given its economic impact. However, WB assesses under current political and security circumstances, O&G operations, if resumed, will be limited and sporadic – and are likely to have an unsustainable output at least in the near term mainly due to security as well as technical issues after being idle for a prolonged period.

At the grassroots level, calls for resumption gained momentum among eastern tribesmen, namely Senussi Al-Haleeq, head of the Zway tribe and deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Libyan Sheikhs and Elders. Al-Haleeq confirmed on 29 June that reopening the fields and terminals hinges on a fair distribution of O&G proceeds via a bank account under UN supervision, and a reorganization of the NOC administration and Tripoli-based Central Bank of Libya (CBL). Of note, Al-Haleeq previously called for a transfer of the NOC HQ from Tripoli to Benghazi as per a decree issued in 1967.

Similar comments were made on 24 June by speaker of the House of Representatives (HoR) Aquila Saleh. In a local interview, Saleh called for the establishment of a new mechanism to withhold O&G proceeds until an accredited authority is formed to supervise the disbursement of funds. Saleh proposed a new interim government be established in Sirte and the blockade lifted when the international community pledges to equally distribute O&G revenues.

Al-Haleeq and Saleh's calls lend further credence to the prevailing power vacuum in east Libya after setbacks in the western region prompted LNA commander Khalifa Haftar to take a step back and focus on defensive military operations across the central region.

For its part, the NOC confirmed it has been engaged in negotiations with the UN, United States, and other regional stakeholders to lift the blockade. However, it remains unclear whether the NOC-led negotiations intended to produce the outcomes highlighted by Al-Haleeq.

In practice, however, steady oil production and exports will be difficult to achieve in the medium term. While the calls to resume production are being presented by LNA allies as genuine demands from "independent" tribal actors, they will likely be perceived by stakeholders in the western region as political attempts to coerce the Turkey-backed

Government of National Accord (GNA) into negotiations. The GNA could respond to any attempt to lift the oil blockade by exerting pressure on the NOC to maintain force majeure. Reforming the GNA before resuming production is a strong bargaining chip that can be held against Turkey. The developments underline the existing political current against the GNA and Turkey. The tribal element is now being presented as independent of the LNA, increasing pressure on the GNA to form a new government, as emphasized by Tunisian President Kais Saied during his Paris visit on 22 June.

Whispering Bell groups outcomes in two possible scenarios in the medium term, both heavily influenced by military developments in Sirte. First, production resumes under a negotiated settlement by eastern tribesmen and a temporary revenue-sharing arrangement, specifically in the Oil Crescent region. Under a second scenario, production would resume via Turkey-Russia negotiations. Russia has built enough influence on the ground to influence decisions of key tribes by alternating its military support for LNA forces to rein in Haftar.

Both scenarios present likely disruptions and a continuous state of flux, where oil is exported from some parts of the country from time to time, but is bottled up in others, for various reasons. The best-case scenario in terms of sustainability of exports would be if a new unity government is created and a revenue-sharing deal agreed. This scenario is, however, quite remote under current circumstances and political divisions.

In a related development, the NOC condemned the arrival of Russian private military contractors (PMCs) to Sharara, Libya's largest oil field on 25 June. The move by Moscow to physically control oil assets in the south-west came amid a virtual meeting between French President Emmanuel Macron and his Russian counterpart Vladimir Putin. The two sides called for a ceasefire and a return to political dialogue.

The Moscow-Paris rapprochement undermines prospects for a Turkish-Russian alignment over Libya in the short term. However, there is reason to believe parties to the conflict are currently only raising stakes in negotiations and the shift in positions will be temporary. Moscow's intent is to bring about a change in the GNA cabinet and lead tribal negotiations, which runs counter to Turkey's interest to uphold the status quo and by extension its maritime demarcation deal with the Tripoli government. Of note, Turkey's interest in onshore O&G assets in Libya is indirect given it helps contribute to the GNA's financial position and survival prospects. Ankara's main interest lies in offshore drilling in the east Mediterranean.

KEY POINTS

- Russian PMCs deployed in Sharara oil field
- Pressure on GNA to enter ceasefire negotiations
- Sirte escalation remains possible



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2. National Security Map

LNA battalions patrol Sharara oil field, deny NOC reports of Russian PMC presence

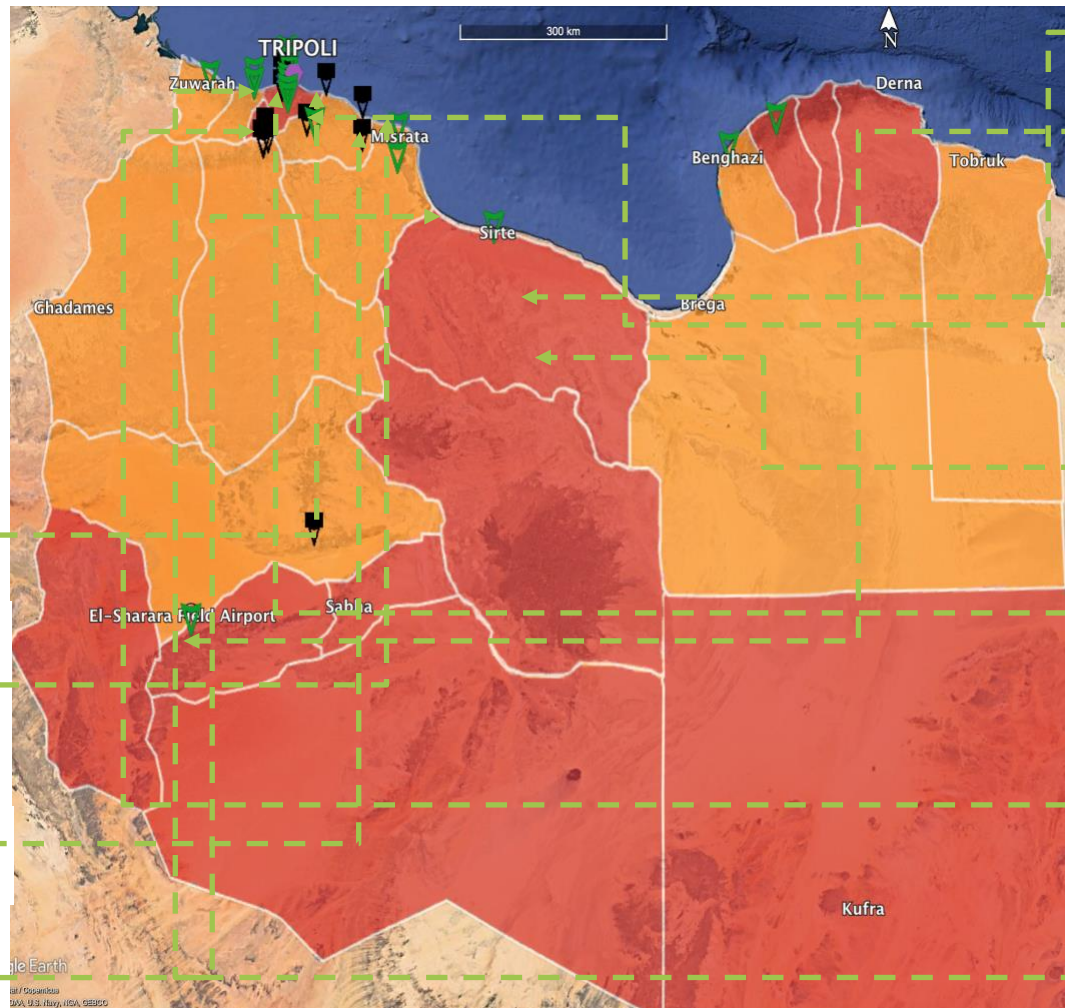
Key

THREAT INDICATORS

- Severe Threat
- High Threat
- Moderate Threat

EVENT INDICATORS

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



On 27 June, LNA 28 Infantry Battalion and 166 Infantry Battalion deployed to the central region on orders of the LNA general command.

A convoy of LNA formations patrolled Sharara oil field on 27 June. The move came in direct response to the National Oil Corporation's (NOC) statement that Russian PMCs entered the field to prevent the resumption of production on 25 June. The LNA forces denied the presence of Wagner PMCs in Sharara.

Reports indicate an armed group affiliated with the 301 Brigade raided a house in Tarhuna and opened fire on an unidentified number of civilians, including a woman, in the afternoon on 26 June.

The LNA's Saiqa Special Forces reported ongoing military patrols aimed at securing oil fields and ports across the Oil Crescent region. The military patrols are conducted by the SF and Petroleum Facilities Guard (PFG) under LNA Air Force (LAAF) aircover.

Sources reported over 1,500 pro-GNA Turkish-backed Syrian fighters, military vehicles, and ammunition arrived at a military camp in Janzour's Sayad area between 23-25 June. Reports indicate the reinforcements come in preparation of an attack on fuel smugglers in Al-Zawiya.

Skirmishes erupted between two local militias over the control of a military camp on Al-Nahda Street in Gharyan's Tgessat area at approximately 1900hrs on 22 June. Reports indicate one of the militias gained control over the camp, while the other militia retreated.

Reports indicate a GNA-operated Turkish unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) strike targeted two fuel trucks south of Al-Zawiya at approximately 1430hrs on 23 June.

Reports indicate Garaboli's Health Services Department and Coronavirus Crisis Committee head, Ibrahim Al-Gadi, was kidnapped in front of his house Al-Ataya area in the evening on 27 June.

Pro-LNA accounts reported unidentified assailants shot dead a man identified as Abdessalam Al-Fitouri in front of his residence in a drive-by shooting in the Dafiniyah area, west Misrata, at night on 27 June. The man is reportedly originally from Benghazi and affiliated with the Benghazi Revolutionaries Shura Council (BRSC).

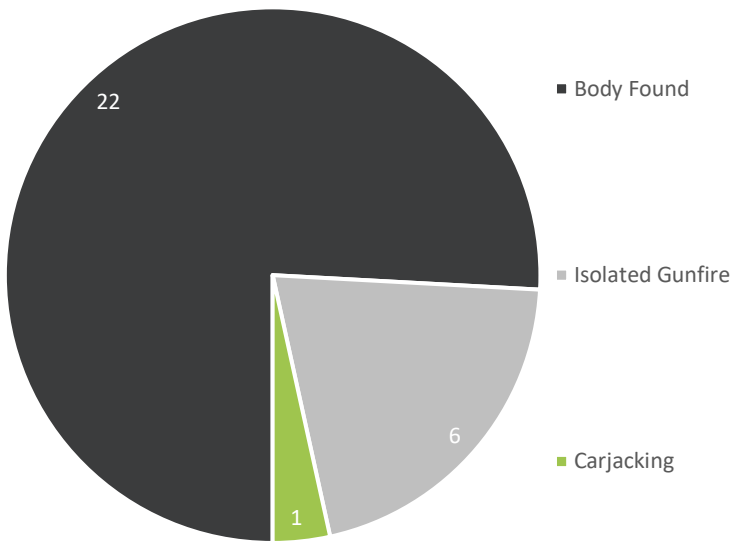
Local reports indicate the male individual shot dead in front of his house in Zliten in the evening of 26 June has been identified as Taher Abdulrahman Senussi.

Pro-LNA accounts reported airstrikes targeting a GNA convoy attempting to advance in the vicinity of Al-Weshka, west Sirte, in the evening on 27 June. Reports indicate the convoy was affiliated with pro-GNA Amazigh (Berber) forces and was heading towards the Buerat area.

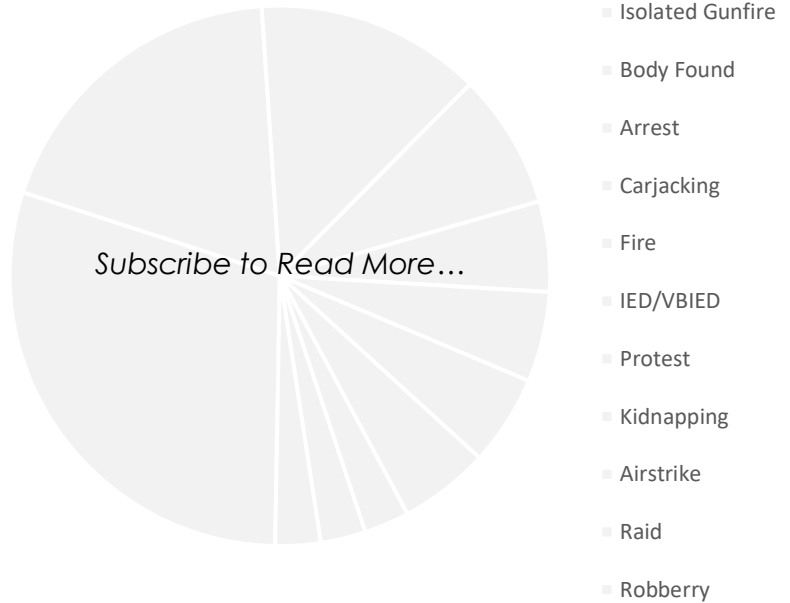
3. Nationwide Security Analysis

Majority of fatalities due to bodies found & gunfire incidents

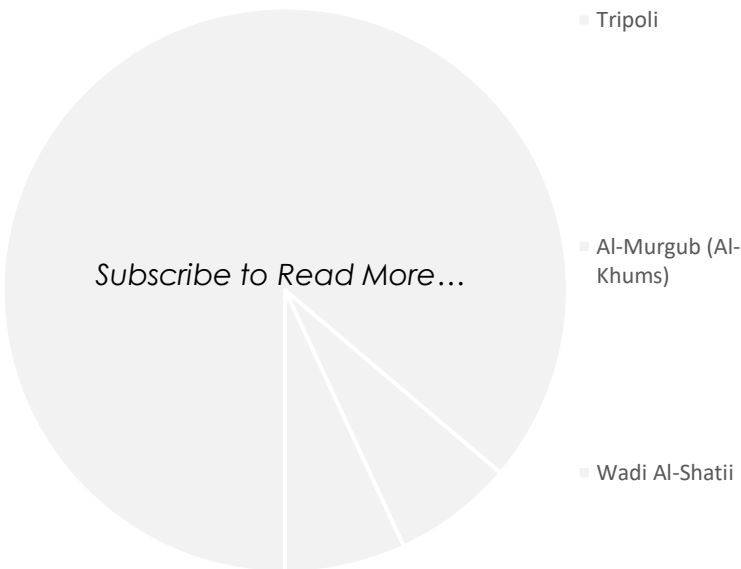
Nationwide fatalities by type of attack (Past week)



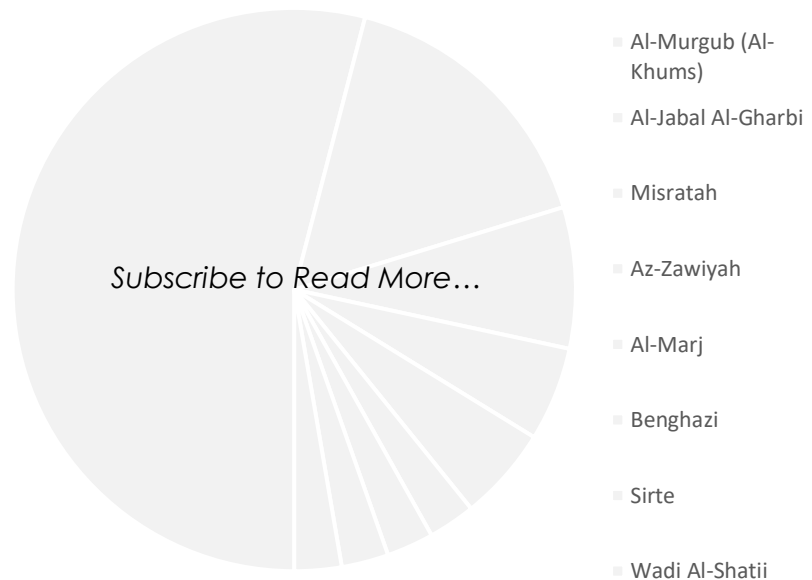
Nationwide incidents by type of attack (Past week)



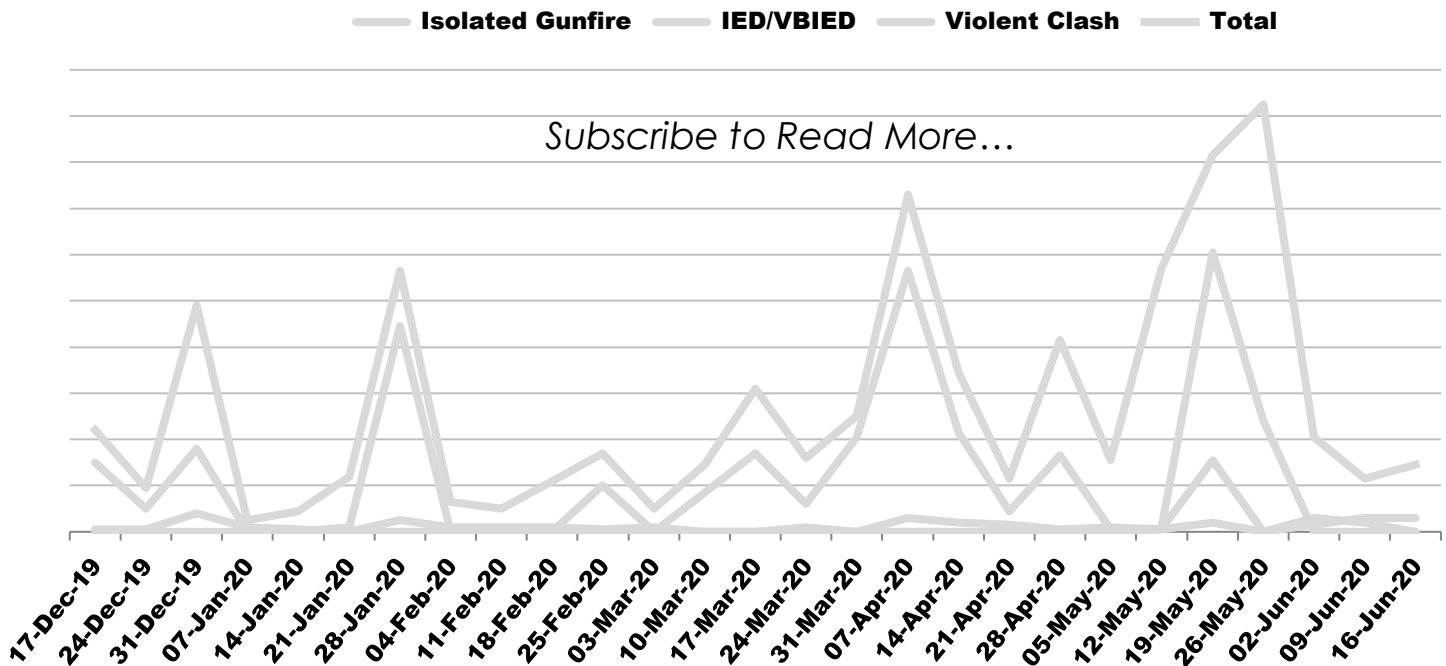
Nationwide fatalities by national district (Past week)



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 29 confirmed deaths in Libya, which compares to 23 deaths reported last week and 41 the week before. WB recorded seven separate cases of bodies found amounting to 22 fatalities, while six fatalities came as a result of gunfire-related incidents across Tripoli, the wider western region and the Wadi Al-Shatii district in the south. An additional fatality was recorded as a result of a carjacking in Tripoli. In Tripoli, WB recorded seven cases of bodies found, three carjackings, two landmine explosions, three isolated gunfire cases, two protests, one kidnapping, one robbery and one arrest.

In the wider western region, WB recorded ongoing sporadic opportunistic crime across Al-Murgub, Az-Zawiyah, Al-Jabal Al-Gharbi and Misrata districts. Reports indicate a drive-by shooting targeting the Qasr Al-Akhyar area near a petrol station resulted in the death of a man positioned near the station in the evening on 26 June. Separately, reports indicate three gunmen carjacked a grey Hyundai and killed its driver in the Al-Rawajeh area south of Garabolli at night on 23 June. The Garabolli Security Directorate reported the gunmen were arrested the following morning. In Al-Zawiya, reports indicate gunfire was audible in Al-Zawiya in the early hours of 28 June. WB sources reported skirmishes erupted between local militias after the GNA's the Joint Operation Room - Western Region, accompanied by the pro-GNA Al-Esnad Force "Al-Far militias", raided a fuel smuggling hideout in the city. Separately, the Mayor of Gharyan Municipality, Yousef Badiri, reported a group affiliated with the GNA Western Military Region opened fire on the Municipality's headquarters resulting in the injury of a policeman securing the building on 23 June. In addition, the armed attack resulted in physical damage, particularly to the emergency committee department. In a statement, Badiri noted the attack was carried out based on allegations that the Municipality played a role in restructuring the Gharyan Military Council. Meanwhile, the Libyan Red Crescent Tripoli Branch located twelve bodies and handed them over to the LRC Bani Walid branch in order for them to be received by their families on 23 June. In addition, the Tripoli LRC branch located an unidentified female body on the coast on 23 June.

Meanwhile, in the central region, the security environment remains fluid in Sirte and nearby vicinities. Reports of military reinforcements arriving in support of the warring sides continue to circulate. Pro-LNA media accounts reported ongoing LNA patrols/gatherings in the Sirte and Al-Jufra areas. Meanwhile, the GNA's Ministry of Defense confirmed its intention to advance towards Sirte and Al-Jufra. The latter was echoed by the Turkish presidential spokesman Ibrahim Kalin. Separately, the LNA spokesman Ahmed Al-Mesmari reaffirmed the LNA's will to continue with its battle against "terrorism, mercenaries, and Turkish ambitions to invade Libya." Separately, LNA 28 Infantry Battalion and 166 Infantry Battalion deployed to the central region on orders of the LNA general command on 27 June. Beyond a military build-up in the area, local reports indicate the former Sirte Security Directorate head, Al-Siddiq Bin Saud, was released following approximately ten days in detention on unknown charges. While the party behind the arrest remains unclear, LNA involvement remains likely as it continues to maintain control over the city. Of note, Saud headed the Directorate from 2017 until December 2019 before heading Sirte's Traffic and Licensing Department.

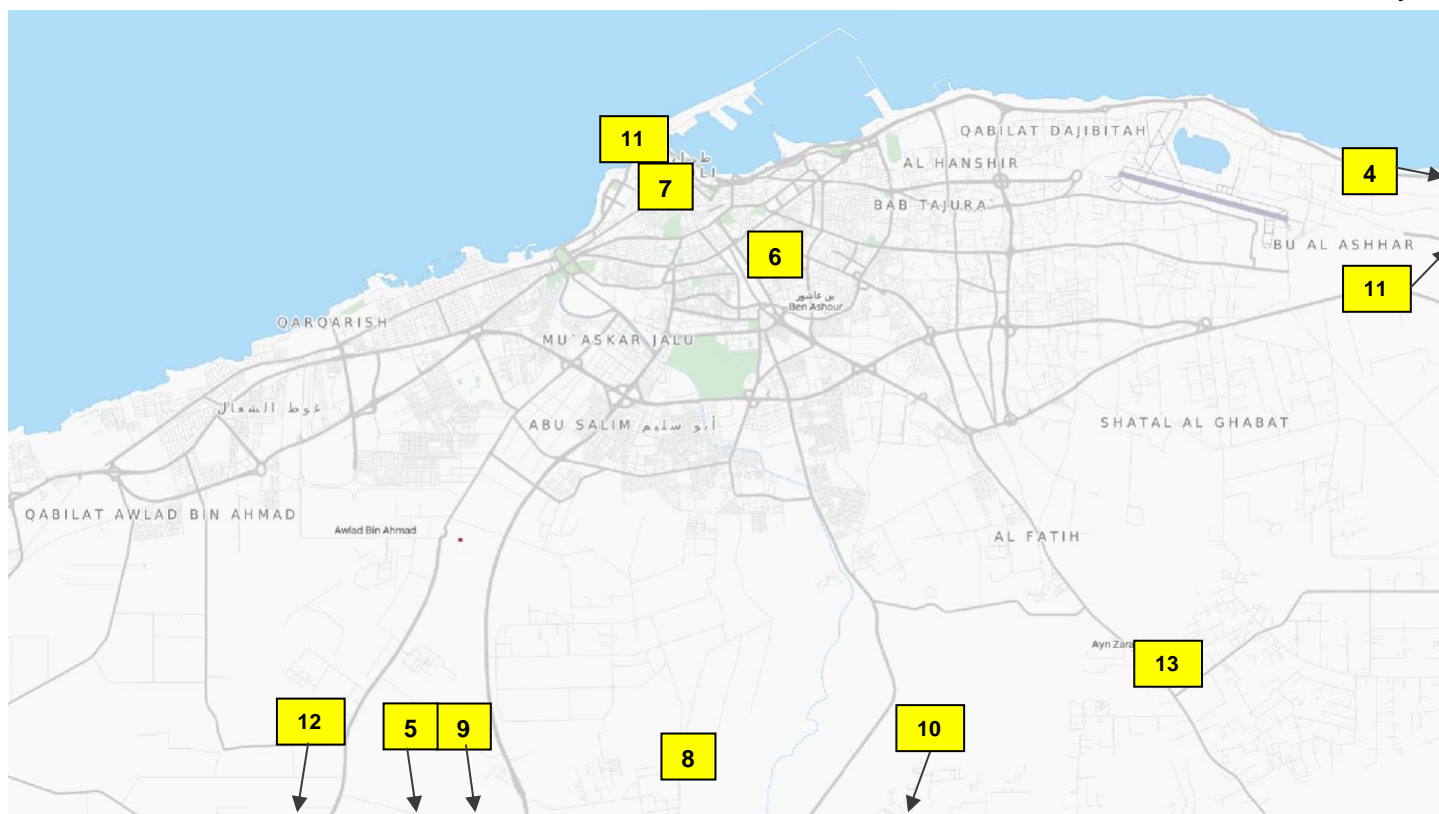
Separately, two alleged Russian Wagner private military contractors (PMCs) were spotted at a local shop in Sawknah on 26 June. The local who published video footage has been reportedly arrested by pro-LNA battalions.

Turning to the south, WB recorded a gunfire incident in the Wadi Al-Shatii district. Reports indicate two brothers were shot dead in a verbal altercation with locals in the Gardah village in the Wadi al Shatii District in the evening on 17 June. The motive behind the dispute remains unclear. Separately, the LNA's Subul Al-Salam battalion operating in Kufra intercepted 18 smuggled vehicles on their way to Sudan on 27 June. Cross-border vehicle smuggling is common in the area, though local reports indicate COVID-19 movement restrictions have helped smugglers gain legitimacy at a local level to carry out their activity given it is a primary source of income. Further, this week was dominated by a convoy of LNA formations patrolling Sharara oil field on 27 June. The move came in direct response to the National Oil Corporation's (NOC) statement that Russian PMCs entered the field to prevent the resumption of production on 25 June.

In the eastern region, the area remains relatively stable in contrast to the rest of Libya's regions. This week WB recorded one arrest in Benghazi and a fire in the city of Al-Marj due to a heatwave across the country. Separately, Tobruk's Governing Council announced the closure of the city's entrances from the Ain El-Ghazala Gate in the west to 50 South Gate for seven days effective 25 June. The decision comes amid a recent surge in coronavirus cases across the eastern region with other cities/towns resorting to similar measures as a result.

4. Tripoli Neighborhood Report

Ghneiwa militia assassinate member; Tunisian AQ affiliate arrested in Old City



KEY INCIDENTS

1. (27 June) Several SDF-manned CPs & patrols crackdown on curfew violators
2. (27 June) Landmine explosion injures two
3. (26 June) GNA extends curfew (2000-0600hrs) for additional ten days from 27 June
4. (26 June) SDF reportedly arrests approx. 60 pro-GNA Syrian mercenaries on robbery charges
5. (24 June) Elderly man kidnapped near Taiba Mosque & later freed by 301 Brigade
6. (24 June) Anti-GECOL protest against ongoing power cuts in front of PM Office
7. (23 June) CT Force arrests Tunisian AQ affiliate in the Old City
8. (23 June) Ghneiwa militiamen assassinate member in Al-Hadba Al-Mashro' area
9. (23 June) Carjacking on Sedi Saleem Road
10. (23 June) Three bodies found in Khallat Furjan
11. (23 June) Road closure due to MoI parade
12. (22 June) Locals capture African worker during attempted robbery on Al-Kaneesa Street
13. (22 June) Landmine explosion injures mother and son near Red Summer House in Ain Zara
14. (21 June) Body found on Tajoura beach

SDF reportedly arrests Syrian mercenaries

Pro-LNA accounts reported the Special Deterrence Force (SDF) arrested approximately 60 pro-GNA Syrian mercenaries in an unidentified area in Tripoli on 26 June on charges of stealing ammunition from Al-Bugra militia's Rahma Camp in Tajoura's Ghut Al-Romman area. Reports indicate the Syrian mercenaries were released later that afternoon.

Discontent over presence of Syrian mercenaries

WB sources reported pro-GNA Syrian mercenaries continue to inhabit houses belonging to internally displaced persons (IDPs) who abandoned their houses due to heavy clashes in the areas of Ain Zara's Al-Kahili area, south of the Airport Road, Al-Swani and Al-Ramla. Of note, some of the areas remain inaccessible to IDPs due to the security threat posed by explosive remnants of war (ERW) yet to be fully cleared. Sources reported some of the Syrian mercenaries are cooperating and allowing house owners to return, though locals remain dissatisfied with the current situation.

Landmine explosion

Pro-GNA accounts reported a landmine exploded injuring two Nigerien labourers in an unidentified location in southern Tripoli on 27 June. Unconfirmed reports suggest the landmine exploded in Ain Zara's Al-Kahili area.

Man shot dead ivo Ghut Shaal

Reports indicate unidentified assailants aboard a black Nissan Tiida shot dead a man in Tripoli's Ghut Shaal area at approximately 1800hrs on 25 June. There are no further details available, though opportunistic crime remains prominent in Ghut Shaal.

Elderly man kidnapped & later freed

WB sources reported a criminal gang aboard a green Toyota Tundra kidnapped an elderly man aboard his white Toyota Camry in Tripoli's Wali Al-Ahd area near Taiba Mosque at approximately 1430hrs on 24 June. At approximately 1530hrs, the 301 Brigade arrested the perpetrators in the Airport Road area near Al-Fakhama Wedding Hall after receiving a report by eyewitnesses residing near Taiba Mosque. The victim was subsequently freed.

Carjacking on Sedi Saleem Rd.

WB sources reported two gunmen aboard a white Hyundai Elantra carjacked a grey Hyundai Avante on Tripoli's Sedi Saleem Road in the morning on 23 June.

AQ affiliate arrested

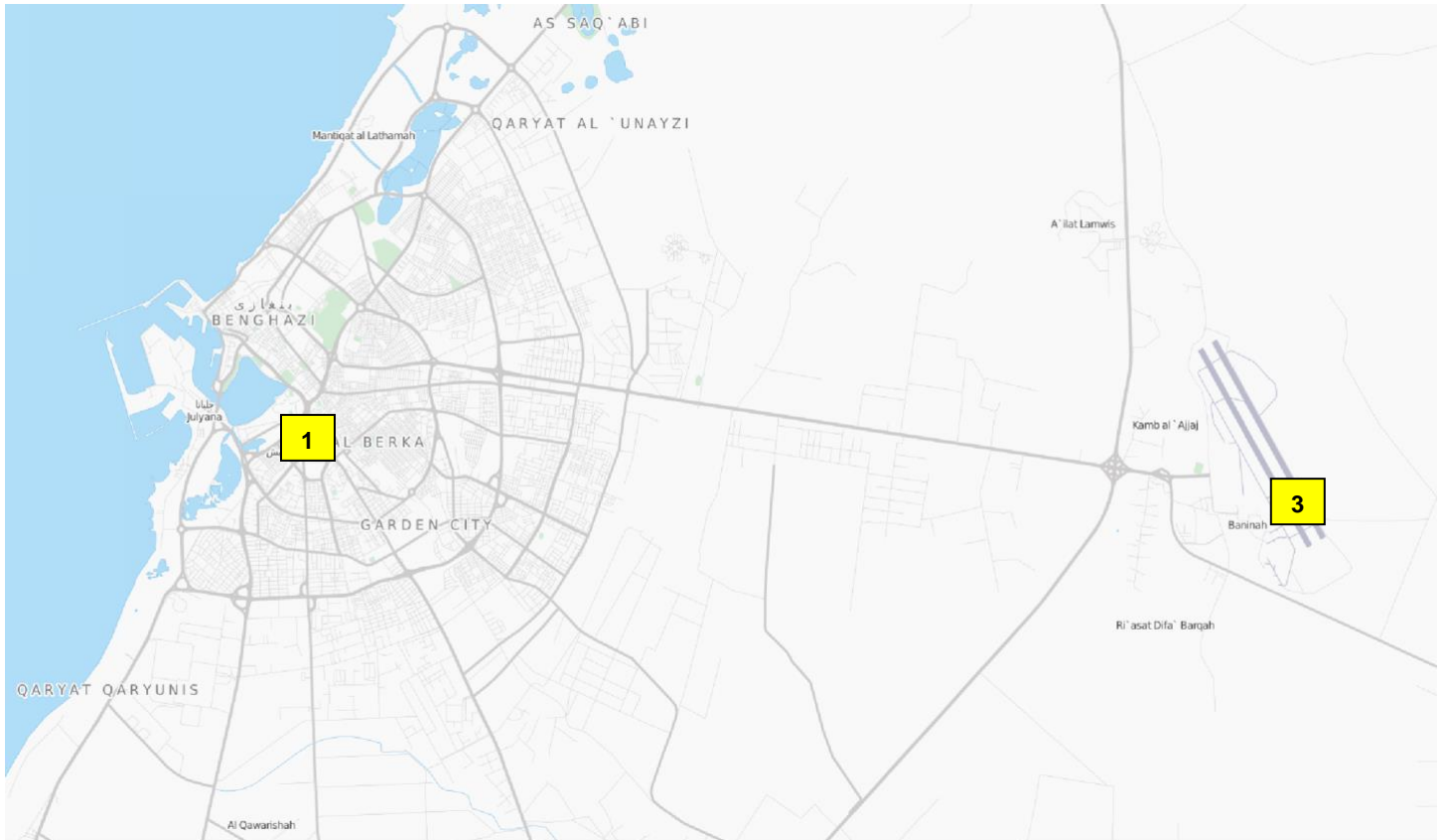
Pro-GNA accounts reported the Joint Security Operations Room's Counter-Terrorism (CT) force arrested a Tunisian Al-Qaeda (AQ) affiliate in Tripoli's Old City area in the early hours of 23 June. The incident has not been reported across credible platforms. WB continues to closely monitor the presence of extremist elements in the capital city.

Ghneiwa militiamen assassinate member

WB sources reported Ghneiwa militiamen assassinated one of their members in Al-Hadba Al-Mashro' area near Rabish Crossroads at night on 23 June. There are conflicting reports over the motive behind the assassination. Some reports indicate a verbal altercation, while other reports suggest the militiaman was targeted due to his dissatisfaction over the presence of pro-GNA Syrian mercenaries in the area. Of note, the incident closely follows reports of growing local discontent over the presence of Syrian mercenaries occupying private properties in previous engagement areas.

5. Benghazi Neighborhood Report

Benghazi Security Directorate arrests three suspects on murder charges



KEY INCIDENTS

1. (05 July) Anti-Turkey/GNA demonstration scheduled
2. (27 June) Benghazi Security Directorate arrests three suspects on charges of murder
3. (26 June) Repatriation flight from Alexandria lands at BEN

Anti-Turkey/GNA demonstration scheduled

A popular demonstration is scheduled for 05 July in Benghazi's Al-Keesh square at 1700hrs. The planned demonstration will denounce the GNA and Turkey under the banner "large popular demonstration against Turkish colonisation". Travellers are advised to factor the demonstration in business travel plans across Benghazi and temporarily avoid the area.

Two bodies found in separate areas

The Benghazi Security Directorate reported the arrest of three suspects involved in the assassination of two locals from the Tsawah Wadi Otbah area in the south on 27 June. The suspects were caught in possession of large amounts of cash. The arrest came after the Tsawah Police Station received a complaint from a father regarding the killing of his son and nephew in their vehicle in front of the Tsawah Municipality building. Investigations revealed the three suspects fled to Benghazi from Murzuq and resided in a farm in Benghazi's Sidi Khalifa area. The suspects confessed to the charges against them.

BEN receives stranded nationals

A flight carrying 94 stranded nationals arrived at Benina International Airport (BEN) from Alexandria Borg El Arab Airport on 26 June. Of note, there has been a surge in coronavirus cases recorded in the eastern region, including among repatriated nationals.

6. What's next

GNA responds to lifting of oil blockade by maintaining force majeure

POLITICAL FORECAST

The GNA and Turkey are under pressure to enter negotiations, return to UN-led ceasefire negotiations, and engage in reforms. In a joint statement issued on 25 June, France, Germany, and Italy called on the warring sides to cease fighting and for external parties to stop interfering in the country to pave way for a return to political dialogue. However, the 5 + 5 Joint Military Commission (JMC) are unlikely to yield results because a permanent ceasefire under the UN Berlin Conference track stipulates a complete withdrawal of mercenary forces from Libya. Turkey and Russia are unlikely to abide by this clause and will instead enforce an alternative agreement based on mutual understanding. In a best-case long-term scenario, Turkey and Russia will negotiate a buffer zone in Sirte and Jufra, with the possibility of a peacekeeping operation to enforce the ceasefire. Meanwhile, the week was marked by renewed diplomatic engagement from Washington. On 22 June, US Africa Command (AFRICOM) commander General Stephen J. Townsend, accompanied by US Ambassador to Libya Richard Norland, met with the GNA Prime Minister Fayez Al-Serraj and other GNA commanders in Zuwara on 22 June. In a separate development, the GNA Interior Ministry resumed militia demobilization talks with the US government. The GNA Mol's security-sector reforms and disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration (DDR) sparked local rumours some militia groups will be targeted. While the precise roadmap taken by the GNA Interior Ministry to enact security-sector reforms is unclear, similar local allegations will likely intensify in the next few weeks. Further, Governor of the Tripoli-based Central Bank of Libya (CBL) Sadik Al-Kabir met with his Turkish counterpart, Murat Uysal, in Istanbul Turkey on 26 June. The meeting involved delegations from both central banks. Details of the meeting are limited, though it would follow the high-profile visit of a delegation headed by Turkey's FM, Mevlut Cavusoglu, on 17 June.

WHAT OTHER EXPERTS SAY

Metin Gurcan, writing for *Al-Monitor*, explores the prospects of a Turkey-led intervention to capture Sirte. Gurcan argues Ankara is intent on pressing on with the offensive "In terms of intentions, Ankara appears fully resolved to press ahead. The prevailing thinking in Ankara is that Egypt could conduct some token military exercises and border patrols at its Libyan frontier but could never brave a conventional military intervention." However, Gurcan caveats the statement by delving further into Turkey's military capabilities and the challenges it would face in Libya confronting Egypt. The author argues that Turkey will be incapable of utilizing medium and high-altitude air defense systems, which are vital to capture Sirte-Jufra. The author writes "Hence, Ankara has to plan an offensive without medium- and high-altitude airspace control, a constraint it has already experienced in Syria. This would be a very risky business if Moscow and Cairo stand their ground." Turkey also faces challenges related to the GNA's command hierarchy, according to the author. "Another potential constraint stems from Government of National Accord deficiencies in terms of an effective high command and staff officers. The deployment of Turkish generals and staff personnel to Libya appears to have largely filled the vacuum, but an offensive to capture Sirte and al-Jufra would require closer coordination between drones and ground elements, increased capabilities in intelligence, surveillance, target acquisition, reconnaissance and command and a precision strike capability."

SECURITY FORECAST

Military activity gradually decreased across Sirte engagement areas, though a major escalation cannot be ruled out as of 29 June. If the oil blockade is lifted from the eastern region, Turkey and the GNA would be compelled to physically control oil assets. However, taking control of assets in the east is high-risk while the southwest now entails a direct confrontation with Russia-backed Wagner Group PMCs, forcing Ankara to favour the diplomatic solution instead. Turkey's formal stance is that it will not engage in negotiations until the LNA withdraws from Sirte and Jufra, in line with 2015 positions. As negotiations proceed with Russia, the United States, and Italy, Turkey may resort to military posturing in the vicinity of Sirte to achieve intended outcomes and raise the stakes in negotiations. Ankara is amenable to concessions on Sirte and Jufra if it is guaranteed military bases and commercial stakes in the western region. Separately, Turkey's focus on the coastal road west of Tripoli in the past few weeks is further evidence that major offensives against Sirte and Jufra will be limited in the medium term. By expanding its influence west of Tripoli, an irregular migration hotspot, Turkey will be able to exert pressure on the European Union (EU) by controlling migratory flows in the long term, countering France and Greece in Libya. In addition, Turkey's control west of Tripoli enables it to strengthen its position with Italy which relies on the Greenstream pipeline and Mellitah Oil and Gas (MOG) complex, operated under joint venture between the NOC and Italy's Eni. There is mounting evidence to indicate Turkey is actively supporting a local security operation in Zawiya and Zuwara to eliminate prominent figures involved in human and fuel smuggling, including "Al-Qasab", "Al-Beidja" and notorious Sabratah-based commander "Al-Ammu". Of note, Al-Beidja took to Facebook this week to denounce calls for his arrest, threatening to expose officials allegedly involved in smuggling operations.

LIBYANS AND THE ARAB STREET

The Secretary-General of the Arab League, Ahmed Aboul Gheit, reaffirmed that a political solution remains the only way forward to settle the Libyan conflict, noting that military means will not result in victory for any side nor bring peace or stability to the country. Gheit's remarks came during a virtual emergency Arab League meeting called by Egypt to discuss the latest developments in Libya. Meanwhile, on the domestic front, the House of Representatives (HoR) speaker Aguila Saleh, stated that Libyans will formally request Egypt to intervene militarily should GNA forces cross the "red line" (Sirte-Jufra frontline referred to by Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi), thus putting Libyan and Egyptian national security at stake and prompting the need for "self-defense." In an interview with Egyptian news agency Middle East News, Saleh noted an advance by GNA "militias" on Sirte would result in the HoR formally requesting the Egyptian army to support LNA forces and thus intervene militarily to protect both Libya's national security and Egypt's own western borders in a move considered to be "legal and constructive." Saleh added that the HoR has consulted various segments of Libyan society who stand as unanimous in supporting al-Sisi's ceasefire efforts, whether via implementing the Cairo initiative and the resumption of intra Libyan dialogue or through Egyptian military intervention to support Libyans in safeguarding their wealth from foreign interests.

About Whispering Bell



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