

1. The Big Picture

Uncertainty & complexity amid LNA naval blockade threat

Armed clashes between Libyan National Army (LNA) and Government of National Accord (GNA) forces continued in Tripoli's South with no significant breakthroughs and/or changes to positions on the ground, despite a coordinated LNA push northward on 25 May, planned to coincide with the "20th of Ramadan". On the frontlines, fighting intensified on Airport Road and in the vicinity of Naqliya camp. LNA units gained ground in the Wildlife area between 26-27 May, while GNA forces reported cutting LNA supply lines in Ash Shwayrif, further South.

Ceasefire prospects continue to diminish, epitomized by strong statements from both LNA commander Khalifa Haftar and GNA officials rejecting a ceasefire. GNA and LNA forces are now likely to employ escalation as a strategy to raise fears of what could come next and deter the adversary. Yet the risk of miscalculation is high, as highlighted by this week's threats of a naval blockade and an unattributed airstrike targeting Rixos Hotel in a residential neighbourhood, expanding engagement areas further North.

The risk and uncertainty of a larger scale conflict has thus far acted as a deterrent on both sides, which is why Tripoli's theatre has remained a constant over the past month. The situation, however, could soon change. From a strategic standpoint, as things stand, a calculated escalation would be required by both GNA and LNA forces to break from the current standoff.

As an example of the escalation discussed above and growing complexity in the conflict, LNA Naval Forces Chief of Staff, Maj Gen Faraj Al-Mahdawi, announced a naval ban on access to all seaports in the Western region and the mobilisation of naval forces. It remains unclear whether the notice affects commercial vessels docking at western ports, particularly Misrata port, which is a vital port of entry for goods into the western region. If so, the LNA notice could amount to a military blockade, though it remains unclear whether it will be enforced.

Legally speaking, will an LNA attempt to intercept a vessel off Libya's western coast be considered unlawful from an international maritime law perspective given the GNA continues to enjoy international legitimacy? While the LNA announcement is more likely a warning, a naval blockade could be enforced using airstrikes, which would significantly undermine confidence in Misrata port security. The LNA threat of a blockade is in direct response to a recent Turkish arms shipment. An LNA

airstrike targeting a vessel off Libya's coast could materialize given unconfirmed reports of additional deliveries expected by the GNA in the short term.

The LNA will continue to incrementally increase levels of engagement while carefully ensuring it does not appear to be inviting more conflict by reinforcing its counterterrorism narrative. The LNA's objective in the medium term is not to win the war but to solidify the current situation and LNA gains as a new status quo, at least until a military victory becomes more viable. Even then, winning from the LNA's perspective will not amount to a forced entry into Tripoli as Haftar realizes this is unlikely to bear fruit. By design, the LNA's focus on eradicating terrorism, an intangible objective, gives it the upper hand and choice to terminate the conflict on its own terms.

The GNA, however, is less ambitious in its goals; merely survive and hold positions. The GNA has been reactive and while this has effectively helped maintain a resistance line, it has made it a reactive adversary whose engagement thresholds can be accurately predicted by the LNA. As a result, the LNA can continue to set the pace of the conflict while weakening enemy forces in the long term. The reactive posture of the GNA is resource-intensive even at the tactical level, highlighted by the reported mobilization of riot police on 25 May in response to leaflets in the capital calling for pro-LNA mobilizations which never materialized. The LNA can exploit such rumours to its advantage and divert GNA capabilities.

The GNA is far from being a passive actor, but analysts are of the view that its attempts are "too little too late". The GNA is manoeuvring on the tribal front to break the LNA's supporter base in the West, with a primary focus on Gaddafi supporters. A prominent Zintani figure, Ibrahim Al-Madani, recently appeared in a video stating Haftar opposed a reconciliation project and had ordered him to assassinate Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi in exchange for money and other guarantees. Analysts described the development as a clear attempt by the GNA to win the hearts and minds of Gaddafi supporters. Looking ahead, such manoeuvres are set to increase in frequency and sophistication from both sides.

KEY POINTS

- Controlled GNA/LNA escalation bears risks
- LNA unlikely to enforce naval blockade
- GNA targets pro-LNA Gaddafi supporters



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2. National Security Map

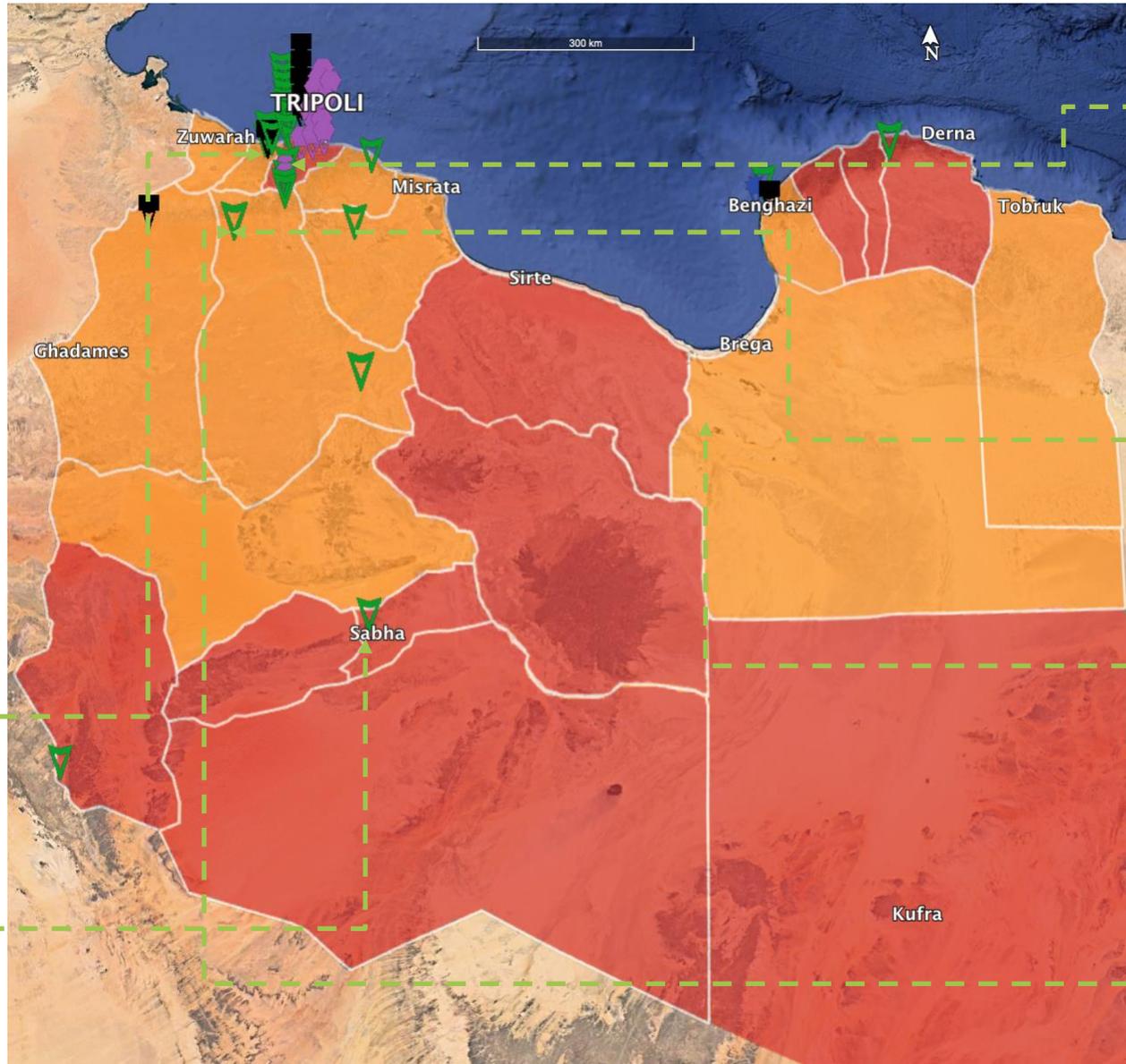
LNA airstrike targets militants southwest Brega; Wershiffanah-Tarhunah tribal tensions

Key

- Severe Threat
- High Threat
- Moderate Thr

EVENT INDICATORS

- ★ IED | VBIED
- ◆ Violent Clash
- Isolated Gunfire
- ▽ Other



On 26 May, the Wershiffanah Council of Elders accused the Tarhuna tribe of the killing the Libyan National Army's (LNA) 26th Brigade commander, Masoud Al-Dawi, and his two companions Anwar Yehya and Ahmed Daw. The statement noted that the Wershiffanah tribe would cease relations with the Tarhuna Social Council until it brings Al-Dawi's killer(s) to justice. The development is the first sign of potential divisions with the LNA camp.

Libya Al-Ahrar TV confirmed the release of its two previously-abducted journalists on 24 May, Mohamad Al-Gurj and Mohamad Al-Chibani, after being held by the Libyan National Army (LNA)-affiliated Al-Kaniat Militia while covering the clashes on 02 May.

Reports suggest the Libyan National Army (LNA) conducted an airstrike targeting a military convoy of approximately 10 vehicles travelling Southwest of Marsa Al-Brega, an industrial area of the Oil Crescent region, in the earliest hours of 26 May. Conflicting reports emerged over the affiliation of the targeted convoy. Some reports suggest the convoy was Islamic State (IS)-affiliated, whilst others suggest it was affiliated with the Petroleum facilities Guard (PFG) former head, Ibrahim Jathran, militias.

Local reports suggest Zintan locals held a protest in support of the Libyan National Army (LNA) offensive on Tripoli, whilst voicing their rejection of Tripoli-based militias controlling the capital city as well as echoing anti-Muslim Brotherhood (MB) statements, on 23 May.

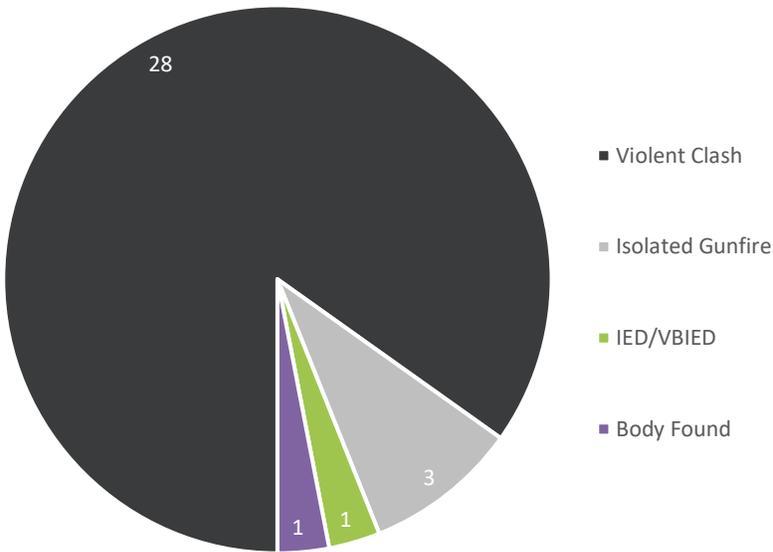
Two pro-GNA militiamen were killed in a drive-by shooting incident in Zawia city on 24 May. Initial reports of a long-standing local dispute between the two victims, who were cousins, and unidentified gunmen. Following the incident, at approx. 2315hrs, heavy explosion was heard South of the city as the deceased men's family members retaliated and attacked the house of the suspected gunmen. Reported use of RPG. No further information.

Reports suggest the "Anger of Fezzan Movement" protested against living conditions in the Southern region (location unknown) on 22 May. The protesters denounced a surge in daily power and water outages as well as gas shortages. The protestors demanded equal treatment by the Libyan government as those residing in the North of the country. These grievances could expose key oilfields in the South to disruptions. The movement has been held responsible for past disruptions to the field.

3. Nationwide Security Analysis

Slight decrease in airstrikes and mortar/rocket shelling incidents in Tripoli

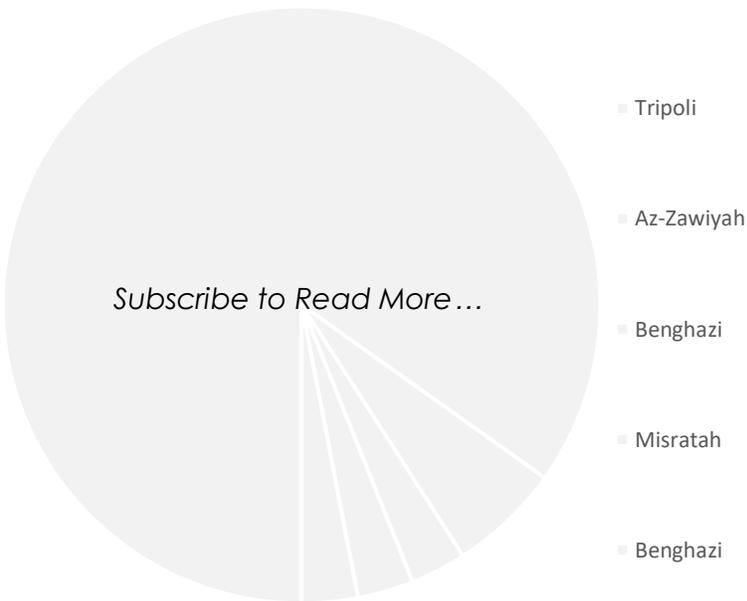
Nationwide fatalities by type of attack (Past week)



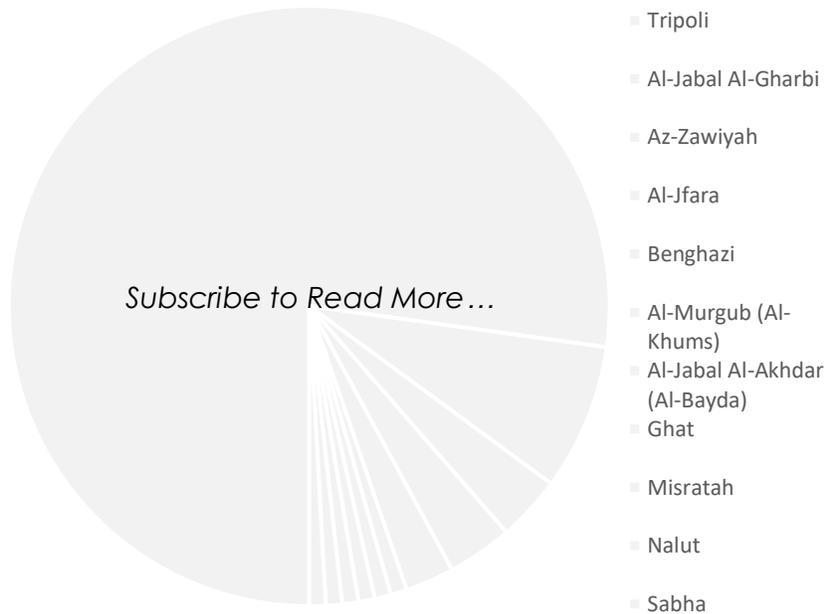
Nationwide incidents by type of attack (Past week)



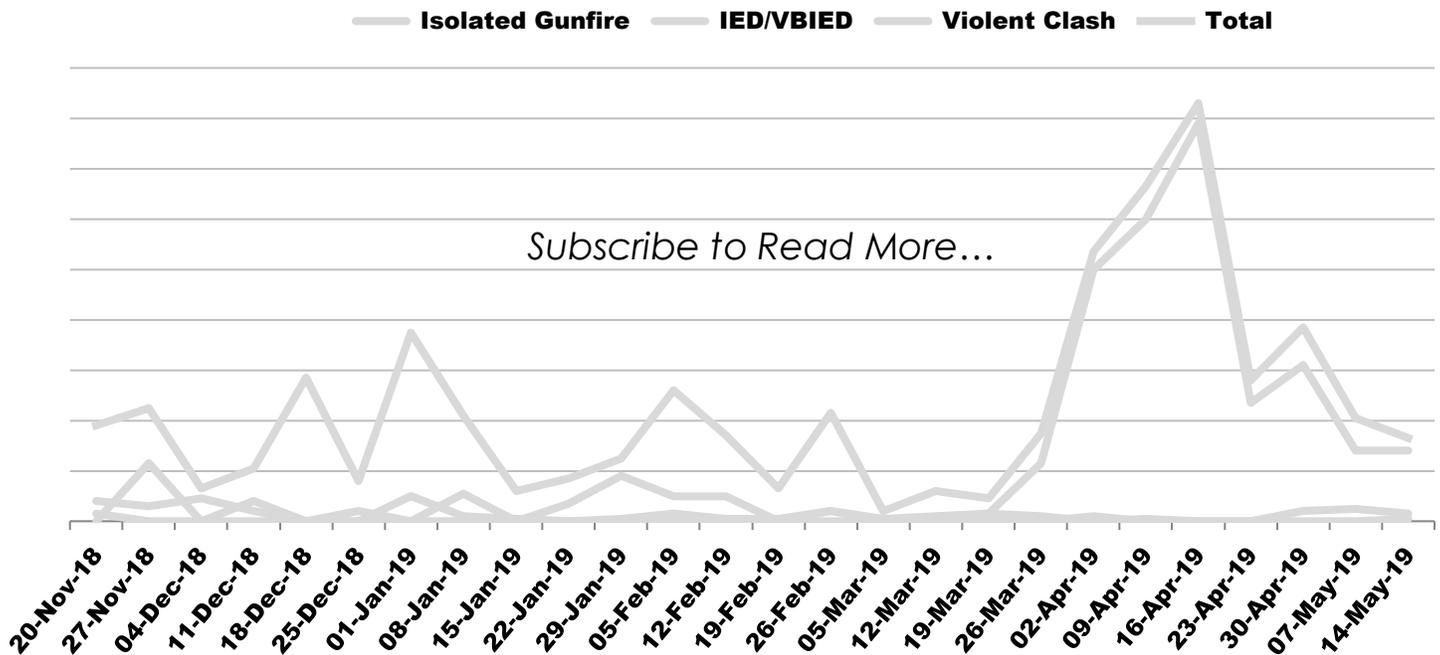
Nationwide fatalities by national district (Past week)



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 33 confirmed deaths in Libya, which compares to 13 deaths reported last week and 77 the week before. This week saw an increase in nationwide fatalities due to an updated casualty toll of the ongoing Tripoli clashes. Since the outbreak of hostilities in Tripoli's Southern areas, the clashes have been dominated by airstrikes, mortar/rocket shelling incidents and explosions. During the course of the reporting period, WB recorded a slight decrease in airstrikes, shelling, explosions and isolated gunfire incidents. Whilst the majority of security incidents remain dominantly in Tripoli, followed by the wider Western region, WB recorded security incidents in both the Eastern and Southern regions. Several security incidents were reported throughout the country including, 28 airstrikes, 28 violent clashes, 20 explosions, 14 mortar/rocket shelling incidents, 7 cases of isolated gunfire, 4 robberies, 3 fires, 3 protests, 1 attack and 1 assassination attempt.

In Western Libya, WB recorded a total of 108 incidents, including 88 incidents in the capital city, Tripoli, marking a decrease in Tripoli-related incidents in contrast to last week. Whilst clashes in the South of Tripoli continue to dominate the overall security environment in the Tripoli district, WB recorded sporadic incidents beyond the military escalation. The National Oil Corporation (NOC) reported an outbreak of fire at the NOC-affiliated clinic, Oil Sanatorium, on 24 May. NOC Chairman, Mustafa Sanallah, arrived at the scene to assess damage to infrastructure, as per an NOC statement on Twitter on 24 May. While the cause of the fire remains unknown, initial reports indicate a medical storage facility caught fire with no further information. Separately, WB sources reported two unidentified assailants broke into a local cafe and looted the site on Tripoli's Al-Sour Road in the morning on 22 May. Beyond, sources reported two separate vehicle thefts on 24 May. A White Hyundai Elantra was stolen while parked near Edraiby area. Meanwhile, a Black Volkswagen Jetta was stolen while parked in front of a bakery in Gorje area at approx. 1630hrs.

In the wider Western region, two pro-GNA militiamen were killed in a drive-by shooting incident in Al-Zawiya on 24 May. Initial reports of a long-standing local dispute between the two victims, who were cousins, and unidentified gunmen. Following the incident, at approx. 2315hrs, a heavy explosion was heard South of the city as the deceased men's family members retaliated and attacked the house of the suspected gunmen. Reported use of RPG. No further information.

Meanwhile, on 21 May, Khalifa Hanish, the individual accused by the Government of National Accord (GNA) of interrupting water flow to Tripoli, appeared in a videoed statement officially claiming responsibility for disrupting water pumping from the Great Man-Made River (GMMR) site in the village of Ash Shwayrif. Hanish confirmed he interrupted water flow to pressure the GNA to release his brother, Mabrouk Hanish, held by the Special Deterrence Force (SDF).

Turning to Southern Libya, the "Anger of Fezzan Movement" protested against deteriorated living conditions in the Southern region in Ghat on 22 May. Locals protested a surge in daily power and water outages, as well as gas shortages. The protestors demanded equal treatment by the Libyan government as those residing in the North of the country. The protest would come amid reports suggesting a recent heat wave in the South resulted in up to five deaths, in large due to the absence of air conditioning caused by the daily power cuts.

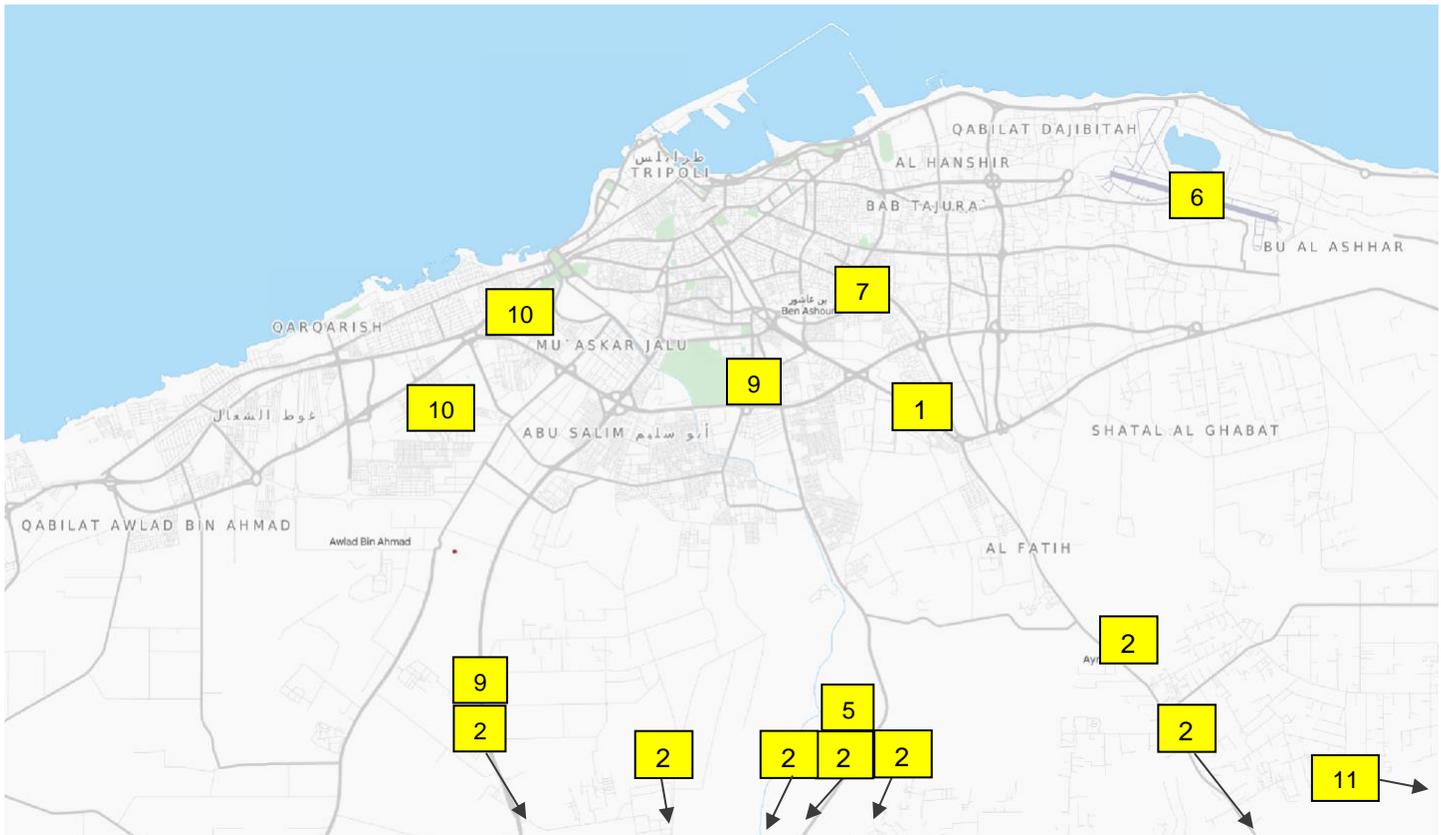
In Eastern Libya, sporadic security incidents continued in Benghazi. Meanwhile, a criminal gang was arrested in Shahat.

Libya Weekly Political and Security Update

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4. Tripoli Neighborhood Report

Rixos airstrike expands engagement area; LNA/GNA rule out ceasefire



Clashes intensify on Airport Rd; Rixos targeted

Armed clashes intensified between Government of National Accord (GNA) and Libyan National Army (LNA) forces throughout 23-25 May. Clashes were reported to be the heaviest on the Airport Road front and in the vicinity of Tripoli International Airport (TIP). The LNA's War Information Division reported advances on all fronts, while Brigadier General Faouzi Mansouri, field commander on the Ain Zara front, reported advances towards the Naqliya Camp. At the time of publication, clashes were ongoing across multiple fronts with sounds of heavy explosions in Zawiyat Al Dahmani and Souq Al Jum'aa areas. On 24 May, clashes erupted South of the Airport Road near The Wildlife Garden area, at approx. 2330hrs. Meanwhile LNA airstrikes continued throughout the day with a reported airstrike in Ain Zara at approx. 2330hrs and an airstrike targeting Hamza Camp at approx. 1030hrs. Separately, at least three GNA airstrikes were reported primarily in Qasr Bin Ghashir. Further, at approx. 1030hrs, an LNA airstrike targeted Rixos Hotel in Bab Bin Ghasier and An Nasr Forest areas. The airstrike, condemned by the GNA, did not result in any casualties beyond physical damage. The Tripoli-based House of Representatives (HoR), who holds meetings at the hotel, condemned the airstrike and described it as a significant escalation. The airstrike has expanded engagement areas northward. The latest reports indicate the LNA's Karama Operations Media Centre denied accusations of involvement in the airstrike, stating the hotel is not considered a target by the LNA. On 23

May, the LNA's 26th Brigade commander, Masoud Al-Dawi, was killed with another militiaman on the Al-Aziziya front during engagement. The incident is significant given Masoud Al-Dawi was the brother of Moamer Al-Dawi, the pro-GNA militiaman and commander of Wershiffanah's Dawi militias. Conflicting reports continue to emerge of Al-Dawi's cause of death, with unconfirmed reports claiming he was assassinated by Tarhunah's Al-Kaniat militia.

Unclear GNA visa ban on foreigners

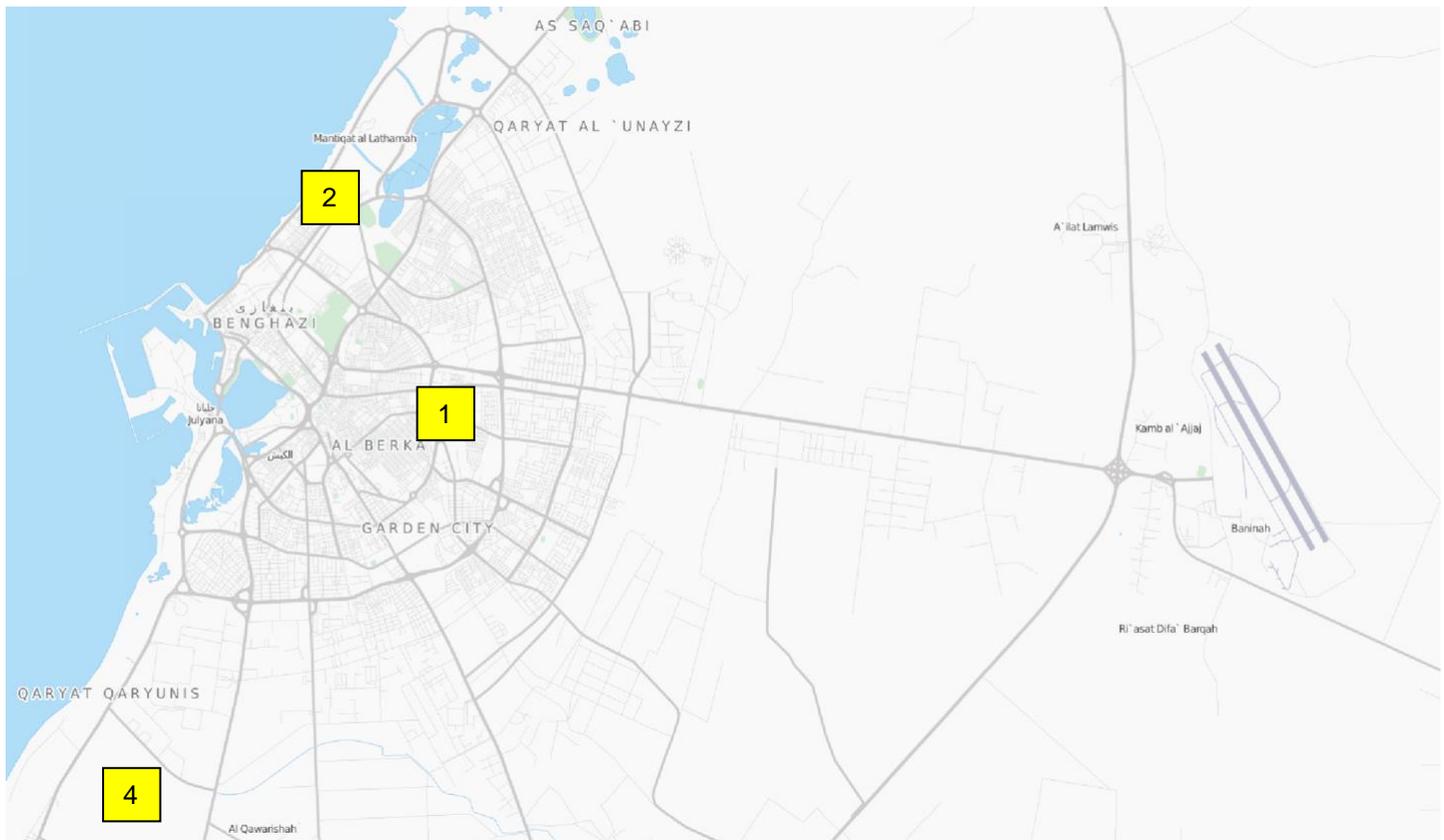
On 22 May, the GNA Ministry of Interior Passports & Nationality Authority announced a ban on the issuance of all entry visas to Libya for foreigners, with the exemption of expat workers in the medical and oil and gas sectors, until further notice. WB learned that foreigners currently holding a Libyan residency permit are exempt from the ban. Sources received reports of foreigners being denied entry at Tripoli's Mitiga International Airport (MJI) on 22 May. Information related to the decision, its impact, and precise motive remains limited. The decision will likely be temporary and enforcing it will remain difficult given flights continue to operate between Benghazi and Tripoli. There is a possibility the development is a follow-up on the GNA's recent threats to suspend operations of 40 foreign companies, most of whom are related to French energy giant Total. The development would amid growing allegations of foreign mercenary involvement by both GNA/LNA forces.

KEY INCIDENTS

1. (18 May) Armed man shot dead inside vehicle near Al-Furnaj roundabout
2. (19 May) Clashes remain in South; no airstrikes/shelling recorded
3. (20 May) Airstrikes & shelling resume as clashes continue
4. (21 May) Allegations of ceasefire unfounded as clashes continue
5. (22 May) Increased military activity in Khallat Al-Furjan; 6 GNA airstrikes
6. (22 May) Unclear GNA visa ban on foreigners; health/O&G exempt
7. (22 May) Local café looted on Al-Sour Rd
8. (23 May) LNA increases overnight airstrikes; Haftar rules out ceasefire
9. (24-25 May) Clashes intensify on Airport Rd; Rixos strike expands engagement area
10. (24 May) Two separate vehicle thefts in Gorje & Edraiby areas
11. (24 May) Civilians injured in dispute

5. Benghazi Neighborhood Report

Assassination attempt against CID officer; protest reports discredited



KEY INCIDENTS

1. (18 May) Man shot dead in dispute with police officer in Al-Hadaeq
2. (19 May) Civilians injured in gunfire incident at auto-repair workshop
3. (21 May) Assassination attempt on Investigation & Arrest Unit
4. (23 May) Landmine explosion kills young girl in Bousnib area
5. (25 May) Reports of protest calling for end to Tripoli war discredited

Protest against Tripoli war discredited

Reports of the "Ramadan 20 Movement" blocking the Coastal Road of Bresis checkpoint in Eastern Benghazi in protest against the Tripoli offensive and a call for the Libyan National Army (LNA) to return to their former positions on 25 May, were later discredited. The pictures of the alleged protest were reportedly taken in 2018 when Benghazi residents staged sit-ins due to various issues. Some reports suggest the circulated pictures were of LNA Al-Saiqa Forces demanding the release of their imprisoned commander, Mahmoud Al-Werfalli. A WB inquiry found that pictures of alleged protests were used by multiple media outlets and publications in 2018.

Landmine explosion kills young girl

According to the Libyan National Army's (LNA) Dignity Operations Room, a landmine explosion resulted in the death of a young girl identified as Elham El-Fetouri while she was playing near her residence in Benghazi's Bousnib area. The Dignity Ops. Room stated that the landmine was planted by residual militants who they claim are now fighting alongside the Government of National Accord (GNA) against the LNA in Tripoli by after being defeated in Benghazi.

Assassination attempt

Reports emerged over an assassination attempt targeting an Investigation and Arrest Unit member in Benghazi at approximately 0430hrs on 21 Apr. Reports suggest the incident involved three vehicles and could be a drive-by shooting. There is no further information available.

Gunfire incident at auto-repair workshop

Local reports suggest three civilians were injured in a gunfire incident at an auto-repair workshop in Benghazi's Sabri area on 19 May. According to reports, the victims were setting up a sign in front of the workshop near Al-Tahadi Club, when a gunman in a vehicle approached them and indiscriminately opened fire resulting in their subsequent injuries. The victims suffered injuries to the face, chest, pelvis and abdomen. The motive behind the incident remain unknown.

Man shot dead in dispute with police officer

Reports suggest a man was shot dead in a dispute with a police officer in Benghazi's Al-Hadaeq area on 18 May. There is no further information available.

6. What's next

GNA/LNA attempt controlled escalation to strengthen posture

POLITICAL FORECAST

Confidence in a political settlement in the short to medium term is at its lowest since the clashes erupted on 04 Apr. Yet despite the dim prospects, sources indicate US-led reconciliation efforts are underway. In an interview with France's *Le Journal du Dimanche*, Haftar makes it clear that there will be no political agreement until militias are expelled from Tripoli. In addition, Haftar directly accused UNSMIL's Ghassan Salame of "bias", while offering amnesty to fighters who lay down their weapons. For his part, Salame briefed the UN Security Council (UNSC) on 21 May. Salame warned that "the damage done to Libya will already take "years to mend" but unless fighting around the capital Tripoli stops, the country risks "descending into a civil war which could lead to the permanent division of the country". He further noted that the current skirmishes on Tripoli's outskirts are just the beginning of a "long and bloody war" threatening the security of Libya's neighbours and the Mediterranean at large. On the domestic front, the Tobruk-based House of Representatives (HoR) National Security and Defence Committee announced it will soon publish a list of individuals and organizations attributed to the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) in Libya. The list will aim to officially designate those individuals and organizations as terrorists. The HoR recently passed a law designating the MB as a terrorist group. On the international front, GNA PM Fayez Sarraj has a scheduled meeting with Maltese PM Joseph Muscat in Malta on 27 May. Meanwhile, US publication *Politico* reported the Haftar-led Libyan National Army (LNA) hired a Washington-based lobbying firm on a one-year contract priced at 2 million US dollars, closely following at least two documented PR deals secured by the GNA.

WHAT OTHER EXPERTS SAY

Writing for *Chatham House*, Emad Badi & Tim Eaton analyse the future implications of the GNA/LNA standoff and resolution prospects. Badi & Eaton write "Left unaddressed, Libya's third civil war threatens to dismantle the fragile modus vivendi of rival administrations in the east and west. The economic interdependence of these two administrations has been underscored by LNA control of oil infrastructure and the Government of National Accord's distribution of oil revenues. There are already signs that eastern institutions are seeking to test whether they can sell oil directly to cut Tripoli out of the loop. The social divisions that are being sown by this violence will also be difficult to undo, amid a real threat that the war will inflame long-standing tensions. On the other hand, the prospect of one side 'winning' is remote. It has been demonstrated that no one can control Libya by coercion alone. Haftar is unlikely to be able to enter Tripoli and control the state by force. He would be perceived as a usurper by powerful military factions who would continue to oppose his rule. This would be no recipe for 'stability'. On the other hand, Haftar's defeat could lead to the unravelling of his coalition. The prospect that Libya faces is thus perpetual instability. This will be disastrous for Libya, providing fertile ground for groups such as the Islamic State." The authors then argue "Worryingly, it is difficult to see what will bring this fighting to a close. Haftar has committed his reputation to this offensive and appears to be at a point of no return. Any retreat or deal will be perceived as failure, or worse, weakness. On the other hand, his opponents cannot be seen to be cowed by Haftar's power grab. So, while there is talk of returning to the Abu Dhabi parameters, this is likely to be a non-starter. In the lull, opportunities for other powers such as Russia may emerge. While Moscow restricts western countries' window for engagement, epitomized by its opposition to the UK-proposed ceasefire resolution at the Security Council, some speculate that Russia might launch an initiative in Libya similar to the Astana Process that sidelined the UN and the western powers in the Syria endgame. Indeed, western leaders' compulsion to hedge their bets through non-intervention, especially after Trump's call to Haftar, leaves a vacuum for others to fill."

SECURITY FORECAST

Military activity is set to increase and intensify immediately following the end of Ramadan, possibly within the first days of Eid celebrations. Opportunistic attacks by militants affiliated to the Islamic State (IS) militants and /or Ibrahim Jathran are possible, coinciding with public Eid celebrations and capitalizing on the element of surprise. Sources reported a heightened threat of attack in crowded areas as locals begin to shop ahead of the Eid celebration period. Travellers are advised to avoid large gatherings and crowded public areas where the risk of attack is more acute. Meanwhile, tit-for-tat attacks and assassinations could begin to replace the modus operandi of factions on the ground in coming weeks, especially in towns where allegiances are mixed such as Gharyan and Zawiya. An offensive into Zawiya from nearby Surman/Sabratha could unfold after unconfirmed reports the LNA's Kufra-based Subul Al-Salam Brigade entered Surman, a pro-LNA town, in preparation to "liberate" Al-Zawiya from Abu Abaida militia. The incident, if confirmed, would open a new front. On the tribal front, Zintanis continue to be divided over support for the LNA, though there is mounting evidence to corroborate a pro-LNA shift in the past month. Several Zintani Dignitaries and Sheikhs visited Tarhuna wounded forces in the Hospital of Tarhuna on 26 May. The visiting delegation reaffirmed its support for Tarhuna forces fighting alongside the LNA on Tripoli's frontlines. In a gathering with LNA commanders, tribal head of Tarhunah's Social Council, Saleh Al-Fendi, declared that tribesmen from Tarhunah, Bani Walid, Warshaffana, and the "four regions" are all supporting the LNA in its offensive against the GNA in Tripoli. It is worth noting that the four regions include areas in Tajoura, Qasr Bin Ghashir, Sidi Essayeh, Sog El-Khmies Emsihel, Espiaa, and southern Ain Zara.

LIBYANS AND THE ARAB STREET

The Los Angeles Times staff foreign correspondent, Nabih Bulos, provides a firsthand look at daily life in Tripoli as he mingles with residents amid an ongoing war on the capital's outskirts. After spending a week covering the unfolding situation on the ground in Tripoli, Bulos writes "It's Ramadan in Tripoli, and come midnight the streets around the Kabir public garden are a melee of bumper-to-bumper traffic. In the park, families hold post-fasting picnics, as teenagers roam in energetic clumps amid a panoply of kebab stands, gelato trucks and inflatable bounce houses. Occasionally, a loud thud overpowers the dance-beat thumping from speakers ("That's a Grad rocket," says one passerby, cocking a discerning ear to the sky); it's one of the few signs in downtown Tripoli that the enemy is at the gates. That enemy, in the eyes of many here, is renegade Gen. Khalifa Haftar, who seeks to rule Libya via his self-declared Libyan National Army. "The first days of the clashes the streets were empty. But now? Look around you," said Abu Bakr Shibani, 38, a furniture maker sitting with his wife and two children in the Kabir garden, as he gestured toward the late-night crowd. Shibani is from Abu Salim, a south Tripoli district that was shelled last month. "This morning I heard another boom. We don't know from where, we don't know who fired it. It's just something you don't understand," Shibani said. "We're just trying to have a normal outing, and yet we have a war." In the upscale Andalus district, Usama Fergiani, owner of the famed Dar El-Fergiani bookstore, ushered out his last customers and began to lock up for the night at 2 a.m. "We Libyans are used to these battles," he said. "No fuel? No electricity? We have immunity to these things. The sound of bombs doesn't terrify us like before." That attitude continues even closer to the front line. "What you're hearing now is far away, so it's fine right now," said Farid Baroni, 35, as the whine of a Grad rocket reverberated through Khillet al-Nour, where he runs a cigarette shop. Haftar's gambit has divided residents between those hoping he'll bring an end to the post-revolution chaos, and those who fear in him the return of the military-style dictatorship they endured for 42 years under Kadafi. There are those in Tripoli who would agree. "We're not optimistic about Haftar's army, but at least it'll be better than the guys we have here," said Moammar Omar, a 48-year-old sales manager".

About Whispering Bell



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