

# 1. The Big Picture

## Haftar lays out political vision amid shaky GNA coalition

Eastern-based Libyan National Army (LNA) commander Khalifa Haftar laid out his vision for Tripoli post-clashes, in a political proposal countering the peace plan recently announced by his rival Government of National Accord (GNA) PM Fayed Sarraj. Haftar's vision, summarized by its intent to oust the GNA and establish a unity government, comes amid emerging signs of splintering within the GNA coalition and rising threats of disruption to the country's oil and gas revenue streams. While both GNA and LNA political positions have now been made clear, prospects of a negotiated settlement remain uncertain despite multiple attempts by the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) head, Ghassan Salame, to bring parties to the negotiating table.

On the ground, the week was marked by additional GNA attempts to seize Tripoli International Airport (TIP). GNA forces, led by Western Region commander Osama Juwaili (Zintan), mounted a large-scale offensive, allegedly drawing in mercenary forces on 19 Jun. GNA forces initially gained ground and entered the airport at approximately 1415hrs, resulting in a temporary retreat of LNA forces. The LNA then mounted a counter-attack, inflicting heavy losses on the GNA. The development represented a symbolic loss for GNA forces given the strategic importance of TIP and failure to seize it from the LNA over the past month, despite multiple attempts.

On the political front, in an exclusive interview, Haftar stated that the Tripoli offensive will proceed until all militias are disbanded, whilst confirming a transitional period to form a unity government, and later proceed to elections. In response to Sarraj's recently-announced political initiative, Haftar noted it is lacking "seriousness" and resembles Ghassan Salame's discourse, marking a clear opposition to the GNA-sanctioned peace plan. Interestingly, Haftar stated that post-Tripoli liberation, the unity government could operate from Benghazi or any other city if it faces difficulties in Tripoli. Analysts are of the view this statement corroborates intent from the eastern bloc to shift Libya's power base to Benghazi in the long term. Further, Haftar laid out this transitional period's objectives as establishing a new constitutional committee, a referendum law, rebalancing the oil sector and its revenues, addressing local grievances, particularly the liquidity crisis, in addition to unifying parallel state institutions. These elements lend further credence to the assumption that the eastern bloc will place its long-term bets on accessing Libya's oil and gas revenues and anchoring its banking sector to the international banking system.

Yet a key concern in both LNA and GNA proposals is the timeline of execution and whether a halt in fighting is plausible should current conditions persist in the medium term. The two initiatives seem to be at odds and warring factions have made it clear that military operations will continue; finding the middle ground will require significant mediation efforts, beyond those already undertaken by Salame, who recently visited Haftar. While pro-GNA voices expressed discontent at Ghassan Salame's visit, the development has effectively tied prospects of a political resolution to expediting projects in the East. The visit shows that the eastern-bloc now has more leverage over future negotiations. Prioritizing projects in the East and ensuring a fair distribution of Libyan wealth will undoubtedly

be among the main conditions set by Haftar to enter any future negotiation process.

By contrast, the GNA's negotiating leverage continues to be undermined by emerging cracks within its camp. Tensions between Al-Bugra militia and the Special Deterrence Force (SDF) over prisoners have resulted in shells fired at Tripoli's Mitiga International Airport (MJI) and flight disruptions, highlighting the potential for old tensions within the GNA alliance to resurface and undermine cohesion between factions nominally operating under the Tripoli government.

While full-scale GNA splintering is yet to materialize, the LNA can manipulate and inflate such divisions in its favour. The LNA's Dignity Operations Room spokesperson, Khalid Al-Mahjoub, stated that multiple military units inside Tripoli confirmed their desire to join LNA ranks against GNA forces in the Tripoli clashes on 23 Jun. In terms of narrative, analysts suggest the LNA appears to be focusing on Misrata's relationship with Tripoli-based militias by placing greater emphasis on what they describe as Misrata's self-interested aims in Tripoli. The LNA's Dignity Operations Room Media Centre reported disagreements between the GNA's Interior Minister, Fathi Basghagha, and the Western Region commander, Osama Juwaili, over repeated attacks by Misratan forces on TIP. According to the Media Centre, Zintan's Mukhtar Al-Akhdar stated that Misrata is seeking to control the airport and thus remove Juwaili's forces from any significant position in the capital, citing the outcome of the 2014 Libya Dawn operation.

Meanwhile, cautious optimism continues to define the O&G sector amid a widening East/West rift and internal disputes that could have an impact on the positive performance figures so far. Libya's crude liftings have averaged the 960k barrels per day (bpd) mark between early April/mid-June (*IHS Markit data*). However, on 22 Jun, the National Oil Corporation (NOC) expressed concern over recent calls to shut down the country's oil production, noting that the O&G sector remains a vital source of income to the state and Libyans, and should thus remain "de-politicised and uninterrupted" to secure continued basic fundamental services across the country. In a statement, the NOC warned over the ramifications of a deliberate disruption to the sector, including the severe impact on revenue streams, potential breaches of contractual obligations, as well as further fragmentation of the country. The statement also noted that attempts to export oil illegally should be condemned. The NOC statement came in direct response to recent remarks made by the House of Representatives (HoR) head, Aguila Saleh, in an interview with Egypt's ON E TV channel, threatening to halt oil production to prevent the Presidential Council (PC) from "exploiting" oil revenues.

### KEY POINTS

- LNA intent on establishing unity government
- Salame visits Haftar to find middle ground
- Al-Bugra militia shells Mitiga in dispute w. SDF



### CONTENTS

- 1 THE BIG PICTURE  
Haftar lays out political vision amid shaky GNA coalition
- 2 NATIONWIDE SECURITY  
Events, Analysis and Data
- 3 SECURITY BY NUMBERS  
Charts, Statistics and Analysis
- 4 TRIPOLI REPORT  
News & Neighborhoods
- 5 BENGHAZI REPORT  
News & Neighborhoods
- 6 WHAT'S NEXT  
Forward Looking Expert Opinions

## 2. National Security Map

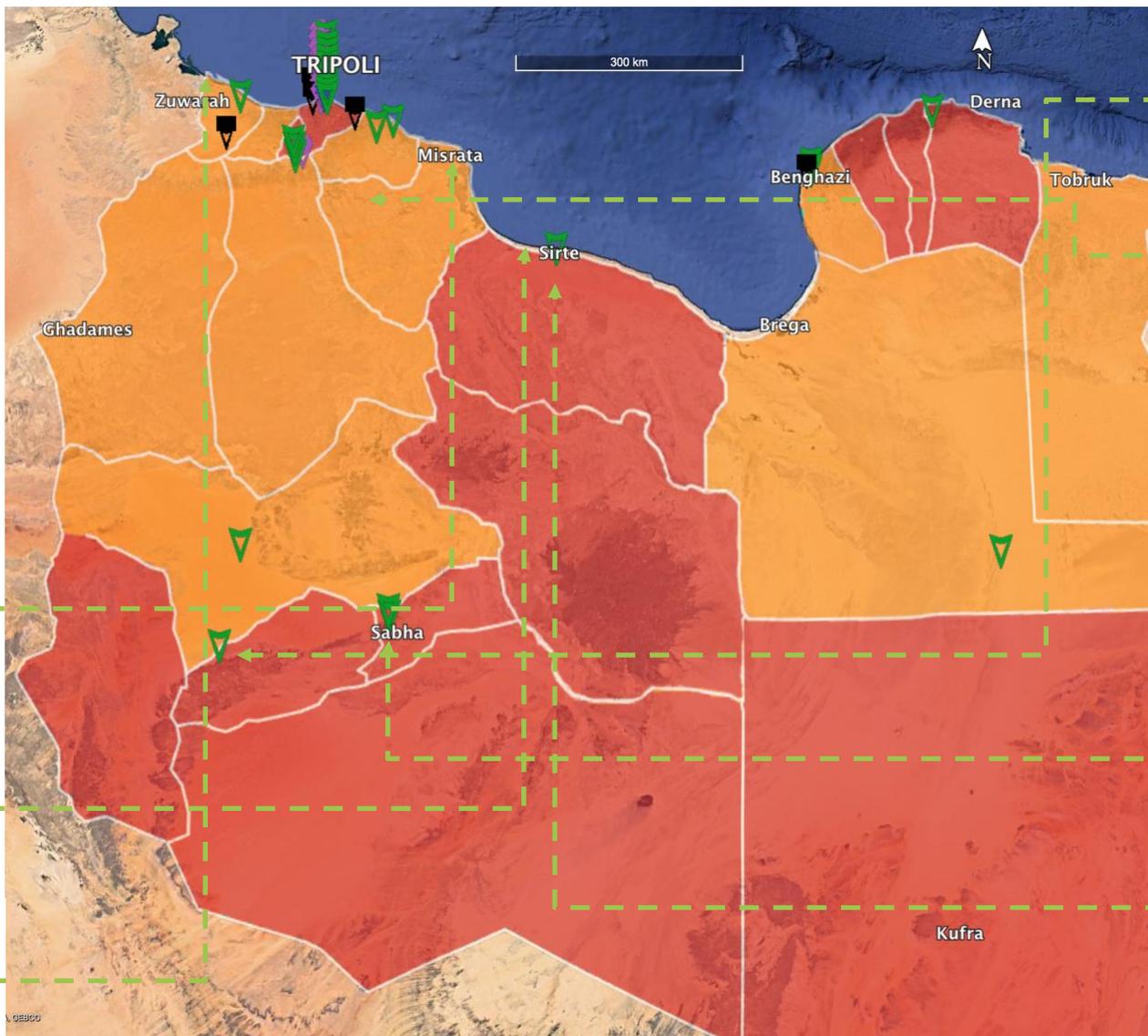
SPF security patrols in Sirte amid tensions; Gunmen steal belongings of Akakus employees in South

Key

- Severe Threat
- High Threat
- Moderate Threat

EVENT INDICATORS

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



Unidentified gunmen stopped and stole all of the belongings of five Akakus Oil Operations (AOO)/Repsol employees travelling between Sharara Oil field and Ubari at approximately 1400hrs on 20 Jun. The gunmen stole a company SUV vehicle, leaving the employees stranded.

LNA Karama Ops Media Centre reported that the Al-Obour Battalion from Bani Waled declared its loyalty to the LNA and pledged to support its forces from Bani Waled until Ash Shwayrif and Tarhunah.

The "Libyan Express", citing an unidentified Central Bank of Libya (CBL) source, denied reports of a physical transfer of the bank's data infrastructure system from its main headquarters in Tripoli to Misrata. On 21 Jun, unconfirmed reports suggested Fayez Serraj accepted the transfer of the CBL's HQ from Tripoli's downtown area to Misrata.

Reports suggest unidentified gunmen carried out a drive-by shooting targeting a checkpoint manned by a police patrol in Sabha in the afternoon on 23 Jun.

The Sirte Protection Force (SPF), nominally operating under Misrata's Bunyan Al-Marsous (BAM) and GNA, stated it conducted fixed and mobile security patrols east and south of Sirte between 21-22 Jun. The SPF sought to reassure that areas from Abu Grein until Sirte have been secured.

The Misrata-based Libyan Iron and Steel Company (Lisco) chairman, Mohamed Al-Faqih, announced plans to launch a tender worth one billion US dollars (USD) to build two new plants in Jul and increase production in 2019.

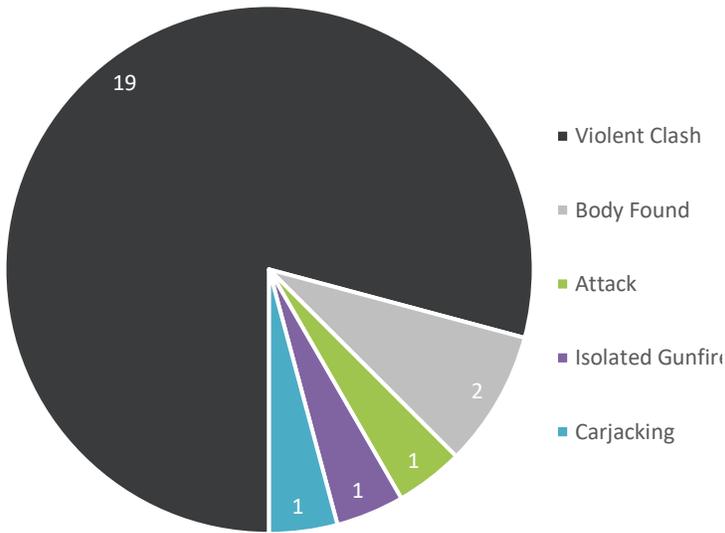
In the evening of 19 Jun, sources reported an increased armed presence of GNA forces at the 30 Checkpoint, 30 kms West of Sirte. Sources reported multiple convoys of armed vehicles travelling along the road as both the LNA and GNA continue to gather their forces East of the city.

WB sources reported an electronic passport system glitch at the Libyan-Tunisian Ras Ajdir border crossing was repaired at approximately 1600hrs on 23 Jun. On 22 Jun, long queues were reported at the border due to the system glitch which resulted in a 20hr closure.

### 3. Nationwide Security Analysis

Over ¾ of nationwide fatalities due to clashes in Tripoli's South

Nationwide fatalities by type of attack (Past week)



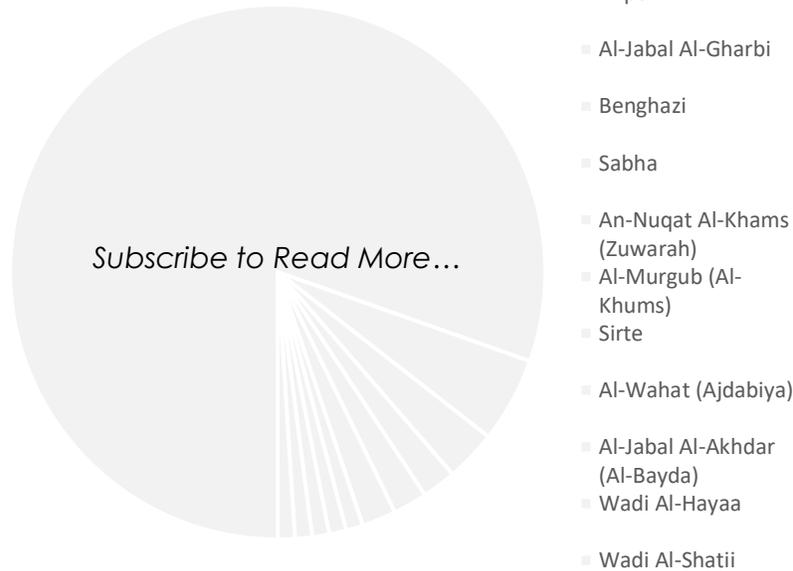
Nationwide incidents by type of attack (Past week)



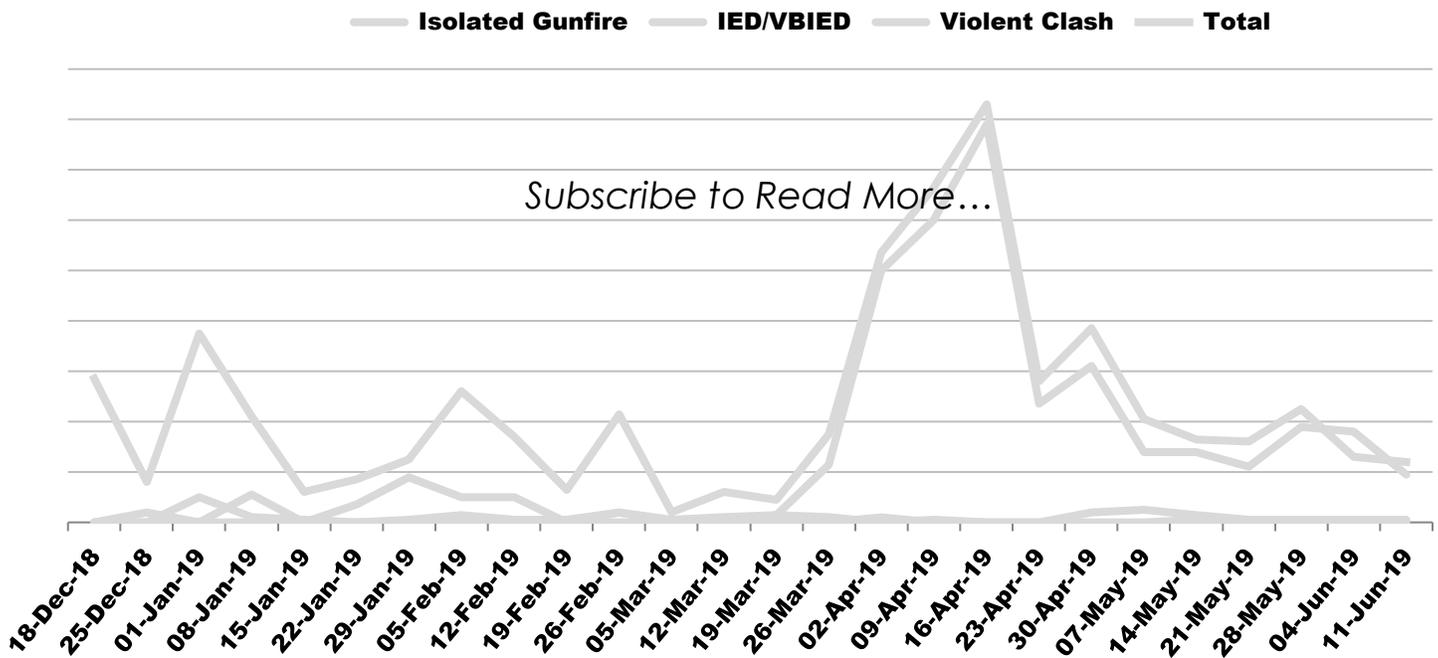
Nationwide fatalities by national district (Past week)



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 24 confirmed deaths in Libya, which compares to 26 deaths reported last week and 45 the week before. Despite obtaining an updated Tripoli casualty toll this week, the total number of nationwide fatalities remains relatively low in contrast to the clashes first weeks. Similar to previous weeks, violent clashes in Tripoli resulted in the highest number of fatalities, followed by an attack, a carjacking, a body found and an isolated gunfire case resulting in a total of four fatalities. This week, WB recorded a significant decrease in airstrikes in contrast to last week, whilst mortar/rocket shelling incidents, explosions heard, fires, and number of violent clashes remained relatively the same. This week, however, did witness a slight increase in arrests recorded across the country. Whilst the highest number of security incidents remains in Tripoli as the clashes protract, WB recorded sporadic incidents across Libya's Western, central, Southern and Eastern regions. Several security incidents were reported throughout the country including, 19 airstrikes, 19 violent clashes, 17 explosions, 11 fires, 10 arrests, 8 mortar/rocket shelling incidents, 5 cases of isolated gunfire, 2 attacks, 2 cases of bodies found, 1 carjacking, 1 protest, 1 robbery & 1 IED/VBIED removed.

In Western Libya, WB recorded a total of 87 incidents, including 78 incidents in the capital city, Tripoli, marking a decrease in incidents recorded in the region in contrast to last week. In Tripoli, WB sources reported a drive-by shooting targeting a police vehicle on Tripoli's Al-Wadi Street at approximately 0000hrs on 17 Jun. The sources reported a group of gunmen in a Mercedes with tinted windows was behind the incident. The police vehicle then chased the car and arrested the gunmen near Alqods Mosque Roundabout. No casualties recorded. Separately, the National Oil Corporation (NOC) confirmed that an airstrike targeted a warehouse owned by its subsidiary, Melittah Oil Gas Company (MOG), resulting in its destruction and minor injuries of three MOG workers, in the evening on 18 Jun. In a statement, the NOC noted that the fire was quickly contained, though material losses from inside the warehouse were significant. In the wider West, reports suggest a military convoy entered the town of Msallata at approximately 0530hrs on 17 Jun. Initial reports indicate that the convoy is affiliated with the Government of National Accord's (GNA) Central Military Region, where they arrested approximately six locals accused of supporting the Libyan National Army (LNA).

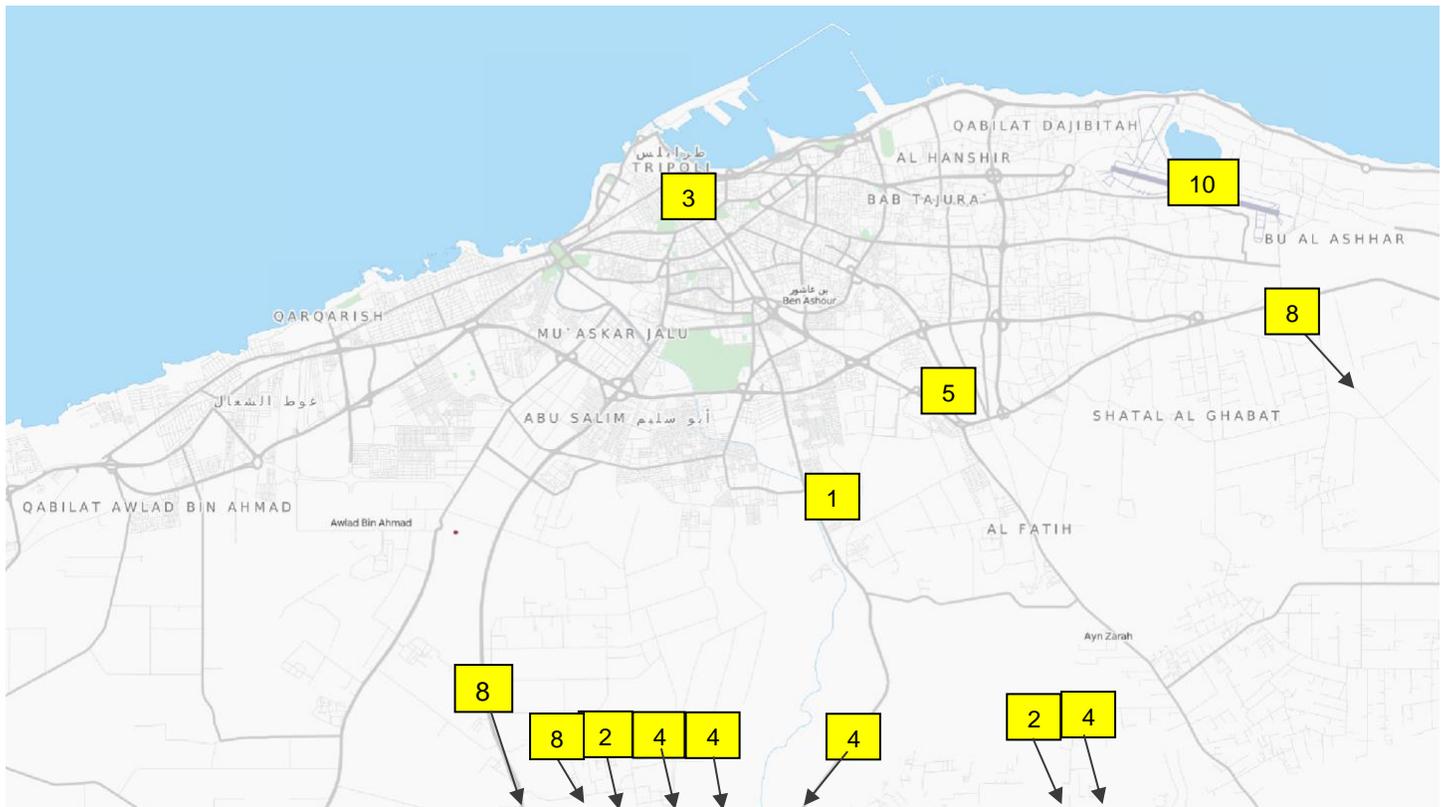
In the central region, The Sirte Protection Force (SPF), nominally operating under Misrata's Bunyan Al-Marsous (BAM) and GNA, stated it conducted fixed and mobile security patrols east and south of Sirte between 21-22 Jun. The SPF sought to reassure that areas from Abu Grein until Sirte have been secured. The SPF recently declared it had received information a group of illegal migrants had infiltrated the Sirte national district, prompting the force to carry out an armed raid and arrest the migrants. The SPF remains on high alert after recent rumours and mounting rhetoric that an LNA offensive on the city was imminent.

Turning to Southern Libya, reports suggest daily power cuts, coinciding with high temperatures in Libya's Southern region, resulted in the death of three individuals. The Eastern-based Interim Government sent electrical towers to replace the recent stolen ones. Separately, the Libyan National Army (LNA)-affiliated Sabha Security Directorate transferred several convicted criminals to the Qarnadah prison, South of Shahat, via Tamanhint Airbase on 17 Jun.

In Eastern Libya, reports emerged over tribal conflict resulting in the resignation of Mayor & municipal members in Tobruk on 18 Jun. Separately, indiscriminate gunfire reportedly resulted in the injury of a 23-year-old Palestinian man, identified as Muhannad Eid, in Benghazi's Al-Fateh area on 19 Jun. Muhannad was indiscriminately shot in the leg whilst standing in front of a shop.

## 4. Tripoli Neighborhood Report

### LNA repels large-scale GNA attack on TIP; Al-Bugra militia shells MJI



#### KEY INCIDENTS

1. (14 Jun) Man found killed inside vehicle near OYA clinic
2. (16-17 Jun) No changes; GNA claim arrival of additional reinforcements
3. (17 Jun) Drive-by shooting targets police vehicle; gunmen arrested
4. (17 Jun) Body pulled out of underground house water tank
5. (17 Jun) Moi distributes new Toyota FJ cruiser vehicles to Tripoli & Misrata Security Directorates
6. (17-18 Jun) No changes; parallel HoR members unanimously vote to abolish LNA general command post
7. (18-19 Jun) Airstrikes increase as LNA/GNA threaten escalation
8. (18 Jun) LYCAA establish conflict zone b/w Tripoli & Misrata
9. (19-20 Jun) Clashes intensify ivo TIP; LNA repels large-scale GNA offensive
10. (20-22 Jun) GNA airstrikes increase; Al-Bugra militia shells MJI

#### LNA repels GNA attack on TIP

Sources reported some advances by Government of National Accord (GNA) forces as they entered and subsequently controlled large parts of Tripoli International Airport (TIP) in a renewed offensive that was largely thwarted by the Libyan National Army (LNA) in the evening on 22 Jun. The GNA forces launched an attack from two fronts, including the Northern front (main gate of TIP), and the Southern front (Al-Twaisha area). The latest reports indicate the LNA regained control of a large area of TIP, whilst GNA forces remain in control of only small parts of the airport as of the morning of 23 Jun. Meanwhile, the LNA's 73rd Infantry Brigade Media Office reported that its units positioned in and around TIP thwarted the GNA's attack on the airport, including an attack on the Airport Bridge led by Abubakr Al-Souki from Al-Zawiya. Meanwhile, the LNA captured several forces in the GNA ranks in TIP.

Separately, the LNA's Military Information Division (MID) reported that a GNA-affiliated battalion has defected and joined LNA ranks on 18 Jun. According to the MID, the 185 battalion under the command of Colonel Mohamed Muftah Al-Ghedwi, and under the GNA's 2nd Infantry Brigade, has joined the LNA's ranks. The 185 Battalion appeared in a videoed statement affirming their loyalty to the LNA. While LNA media described the development as a sign of growing disintegration within the GNA camp, reports indicate the 185 battalion had never taken, part in recent combat operations against the LNA

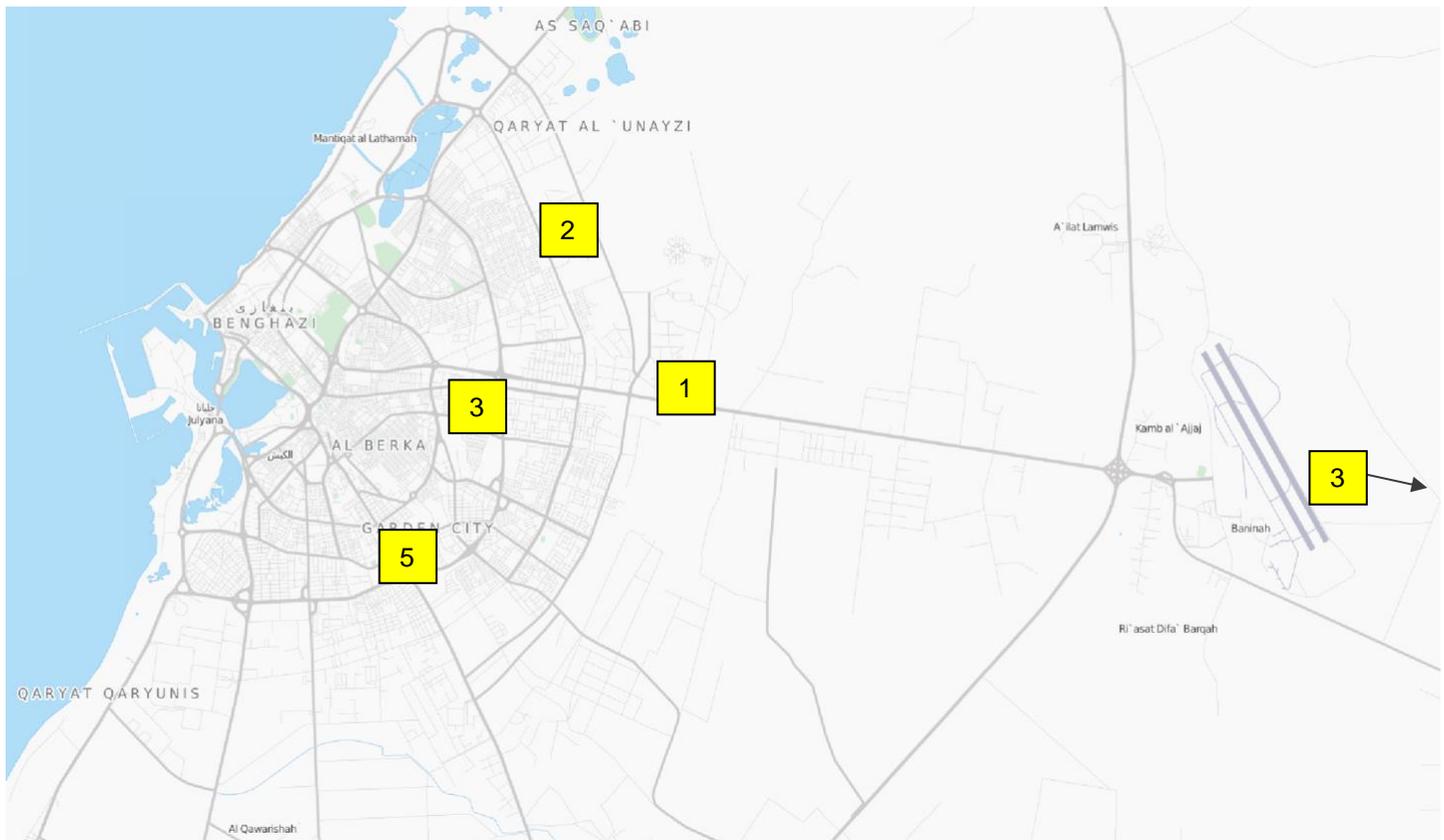
and was always considered relatively independent from other larger GNA factions. The development would therefore not amount to a defection from GNA ranks in the technical sense of the term. Separately, the LNA Karama Ops Media Centre reported that the Al-Obour Battalion from Bani Waled declared its loyalty to the LNA and pledged to support its forces from Bani Waled until Ash Shwayrif and Tarhunah.

#### Al-Bugra militia shells MJI

Reports suggest the Tajoura-based Al-Bugra militia fired mortar shells towards Mitiga International Airport (MJI) as it attempted to release prisoners held by the Special Deterrence Force (SDF), suspending flights for approximately two hours between 1845hrs and 2045hrs on 21 Jun. Some flights were temporarily diverted to Misrata International Airport. Flights later resumed with no further security incidents reported. While prisoners held by the SDF at Mitiga prison have been at the source of a long-standing dispute, the development is now more significant given the clashes in Tripoli's South between GNA and LNA forces. The incident highlights the potential for old tensions within the GNA alliance to resurface and undermine cohesion between factions nominally under the GNA. It is worth mentioning that Al-Bugra militia has joined the clashes against the LNA under a militia alliance from Tajoura called "Katibat Rihbat Al-Duro'o". However, reports indicate the SDF has been more conservative in its involvement in the clashes, with the exception of some forces led by Dawi Nezlem.

## 5. Benghazi Neighborhood Report

### Salame visits Benghazi to meet with political/social figures inc. Haftar



#### KEY INCIDENTS

1. (13 Jun) Suspect accused of murder arrested in Buatni
2. (17 Jun) Suspect accused of armed robberies arrested
3. (19 Jun) Indiscriminate gunfire injures Palestinian man
4. (22 Jun) UNSMIL head meets Haftar & other officials
5. (22 Jun) Attorney General Office suspends & transfers 17 Benghazi Medical Centre officials

#### Arrest campaigns

Local reports indicate a probe into the murder of a young man in Benghazi's Buatni area on 17 Jun resulted in the arrest of the perpetrator. The victim's body belonging to Ahmed Al-Dinali, was found on 13 Jun. According to reports, the 24-year-old perpetrator carried out the crime in a black BMW vehicle with no license plates after he opened fire on the victim, after which he fled to an area in the East of Libya. The suspect was arrested upon entering Benghazi and admitted to the crime during interrogation. The suspect claimed that he was drugged prior to committing the crime and noted animosity between himself and the victim for six months. Separately, the General Investigation Department of Benghazi's Security Directorate arrested a suspect accused of armed robberies in Benghazi on 17 Jun. The department received reports of armed robberies, including food supplies, in Benghazi's Shabneh area. The suspect was identified via surveillance cameras driving a Nissan vehicle. The suspect attempted to flee after security forces arrived at his residence, though he later confessed to carrying out armed robberies, including the theft of 21,000 Libyan Dinars (LYD) from a car dealer, in addition to other crimes. Several grenades and ammunition were reportedly seized at the suspect's residence.

#### Indiscriminate gunfire

Local reports suggest indiscriminate gunfire resulted in the injury of a 23-year-old Palestinian man, identified as Muhannad Eid, in Benghazi's Al-Fateh area on 19 Jun. Muhannad, a resident of the Kwayfiiyah area, was indiscriminately shot in the leg whilst standing in front of a shop.

#### Salame meets Haftar & other Eastern officials

The United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) reported a meeting between its Special Representative to the Secretary General (SRSG), Ghassan Salame, and the Libyan National Army (LNA) head, Khalifa Haftar, in Ar-Rajmah on 22 Jun. The meeting discussed circumstances that led to the Tripoli clashes, as well as the capital's humanitarian situation and ways to accelerate the transition towards reaching a political solution. The meeting would come as part of Salame's visit to Benghazi to hold talks with a range of political and social figures, as well as civil society and notables from the region. Salame also met with the Benghazi's Municipal Council head Al-Saqr Boujwari, Benghazi Security Directorate head, municipality members, in addition to the heads of the Communication Committee for Development, Benghazi Project Office & Libyan Relief Commission. The meeting discussed cooperation between the UN and Benghazi Municipality on development projects in the city. Beyond this, Salame met with House of Representatives (HoR) officials, in which he reaffirmed the UN and its agencies' plans to strengthen its presence and operations in Benghazi and thus provide the needed support to the city and region.

## 6. What's next

### Possible escalation; LNA to attempt push to consolidate territorial gains

#### POLITICAL FORECAST

As discussed in WB's previous report, the GNA's peace proposal has prompted Haftar to present his own counter political initiative. Meanwhile, prospects for Salame's efforts to bring Sarraj and Haftar to the negotiation table remain bleak, as both political proposals appear to be at odds. Meanwhile, Turkish support for the GNA became more pronounced this week after Turkish President Erdogan statements confirming and justifying shipments of weapons to the Tripoli government. Erdogan's statements could prompt the LNA's foreign backers to deepen their involvement in support of Haftar, especially given the fact that the LNA is now required to expand and maintain territorial gains before potentially executing its political plan to establish a unity government. On the international front, in his opening statement, newly-appointed US Ambassador to Libya Richard Norland affirmed that stopping fighting "through an immediate ceasefire" is "the principal task" ahead. Norland emphasized the importance of a political solution and praised the US counterterrorism partnership with the GNA and "important contributions" of the LNA. Meanwhile, regionally, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Corporation, Sheikh Abdullah Bin Zayed Al Nahyan, met with the Egyptian president, Abdelfattah Al-Sisi, and discussed regional issues of mutual concern, particularly the situation in Libya and common understanding of supporting counter-terrorism efforts. The two sides stressed the need to restore stability to Libya and pave the way for securing the constitutional rights of the Libyan people.

#### WHAT OTHER EXPERTS SAY

Samuel Ramani, for *The Diplomat*, explores China's nonalignment policy visa-a-vis Libya, arguing that vested economic interests in the GNA, Beijing remains cautious and is unlikely to get involved significantly in conflict resolution. He writes "Although China's support for a political solution in Libya aligns closely with its positions on other protracted conflicts, like the Yemeni civil war and war in Afghanistan, Beijing's official policy of nonalignment in Libya differs markedly from its handling of the 2011 Libyan civil war. During that conflict, Chinese companies were accused of negotiating arms sales to Muammar al-Gaddafi's forces, and Beijing criticized NATO's imposition of a no-fly zone and subsequent military intervention to overthrow Gaddafi." The author further argues "China's official policy of nonalignment in Libya should not be equated with complete detachment from the conflict, however, as Beijing has vested interests in ensuring the UN-recognized Government of National Accord (GNA) possesses control over Tripoli. China's partiality toward the GNA can be explained by its pursuit of commercial opportunities with entities aligned with Prime Minister Fayez al-Sarraj. In May 2018, Chinese state-run oil company PetroChina signed a major contract with Libya's National Oil Corporation (NOC) aimed at helping Libya increase its oil production. Although the NOC has maintained a working relationship with Haftar as the LNA controls critical oil facilities in eastern Libya, the institution plays a vital role in financing the GNA. The NOC's deals with China also paved the way for al-Sarraj's decision to join the Belt and Road Initiative in July 2018. Since expressing interest in the BRI, the GNA's diplomatic outreach toward China has intensified and broadened. In September 2018, al-Sarraj openly called for an expansion of Chinese investment in Libya, and at the February 2019 Munich Security Conference, GNA representatives lauded Libya as a potential gateway for Chinese economic influence in central Africa."

#### SECURITY FORECAST

In the absence of an LNA offensive northward, GNA forces will likely continue attempts to seize TIP in the short term. Meanwhile, sporadic shelling ivo Tripoli's Mitiga International Airport (MJI) threatens to undermine the GNA coalition's cohesion and confidence in central Tripoli's security environment. Local disputes between GNA factions are possible in the short to medium term. GNA factions are susceptible to disagree over military tactics in facing the LNA, procurement of military hardware and split of resources amongst them, as well as internal divisions over perceived betrayals/alignment with the LNA. Meanwhile, WB recorded unconfirmed reports suggesting a new shipment of weapons will arrive from Turkey to Misrata in the coming days, with no further information available. Given the emphasis placed by the LNA on ports in the West and recent threats to enforce a naval blockade, there is a possibility that vessels suspected of carrying weapons and/or other vessels travelling off the western coast will be intercepted. LNA Dignity Operations Room spokesperson Khalid Al-Mahjoub reaffirmed in a recent statement that Tripoli militias continue to utilize civilian facilities such as MJI and Tripoli Port for military purposes. In the Sirte national district, the SPF remains on high alert after recent rumours and mounting rhetoric that an LNA offensive on the city was imminent. In the South, particularly major cities such as Sabha, the GNA will continue to claim it conducted mobile patrols in an effort to project policing capabilities over areas with a prevailing security vacuum. This helps the GNA reassert its presence in areas that had previously fallen under LNA control.

#### LIBYANS AND THE ARAB STREET

Interviewed by Isa Abdul Qayum in *The Libyan Address*, Haftar lays out his political vision of Libya's stabilization path. When asked about the environment post-liberation of Tripoli, Haftar states "Generally and naturally, we will enter a transitional period that is, this time, both clear and disciplined. It is important that during this transitional period several basic tasks are accomplished, in order to prepare the ground for the permeant phase. For example, the dismantling of all militias, disarming them, and giving guarantees to those who cooperate in that regard. The dismantling of all bodies generated by the Skhirat Accord, which has not only expired and failed in finding an exit from the crisis but actually created several other crises." Haftar further declares "I mean preparing for a phase that is permanent and normalized, and upon which the State can stabilize, so it can launch into reconstruction, development, and the removal of the debris of long years of stagnation. Amongst the tasks of such a phase are the formation of a new constitutional committee, and a proposed referendum law, rebalancing the oil sector and its revenues, addressing the challenges facing people, and making their lives easier, and especially addressing the liquidity crisis, and commencing the unification and proper management of state institutions, after years of chaotic divisiveness caused by previous bodies, through their illegal struggle for power, and their reneging on commitments, and their being manipulated by militias from before and after the 'Fajr Libya' terrorist operation that was launched by the Muslim Brotherhood. The whole world now knows that it was that operation that divided the institutions of the state, and led to the catastrophes that Libya has been suffering." The LNA commander further described this phase as "a transitional phase that will be managed by a national unity government that will immediately start working upon liberating Tripoli. And if, for any temporary logistical and security reasons, it has difficulties, it may also start working from any other city like Benghazi, or any other stable and secure city in the West, East, or South, until Tripoli is ready for moving in."

# About Whispering Bell



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