

1. The Big Picture

Failure to negotiate O&G resumption threatens renewed escalation

Developments in the oil and gas sector corroborate Whispering Bell's assessment in the past weekly report that sustainable output from key terminals and fields is unlikely in the medium term. Observers were initially bullish at the prospect of a resumption after the National Oil Corporation (NOC) formally lifted force majeure contractual clause on 10 July. The move, however, was soon followed by a Libyan National Army (LNA) statement confirming the blockade orchestrated by eastern tribesmen continues to hold until specific demands are met. As a result, the NOC reinstated force majeure on 12 July, though a tanker was briefly allowed to load approximately 700 k barrels per day (bpd) from stored crude at Es Sider, in the first such export from the east since January 2020.

The LNA's conditions to resume production include the demand recently presented by eastern tribesmen to process revenues via an escrow account under international supervision. In a separate demand, the LNA requested an audit of the Tripoli-based Central Bank of Libya (CBL), a long-standing issue allegedly delayed by multiple stakeholders in Tripoli and beyond.

Temporarily allowing the Kristi Bastion tanker - chartered by Dutch commodity trading company Vitol - to export crude from storage on 10 July was likely aimed at satisfying the United States, which exerted significant pressure and played a major role in recent regional negotiations.

Regardless, the stalemate is set to continue in the medium term. Observers are of the view intent to resume production is low and the LNA under Khalifa Haftar's command is instead looking to recover from military setbacks in the western region by utilizing the strongest card in its deck; oil. First, negotiations over oil have helped strengthen the LNA's posture vis-à-vis local tribes in the eastern region. Officially, the LNA claims it is leading negotiations on behalf of the tribes, which introduced an element of accountability from the tribesmen's perspective.

More importantly, this presents an opportunity for the LNA to secure outcomes that forces were unable to achieve militarily with the offensive on Tripoli, namely unseating the Government of National Accord (GNA) and forming a new unity government. The LNA is more likely to manoeuvre and exploit divisions between major stakeholders involved in the negotiations to strengthen its position. By way of example, if Russia and Turkey were to negotiate, and Moscow pressures the east to strike a deal with the GNA, Haftar can delay the resumption of production and establish parallel negotiations with France, which remains strongly

opposed to any deal that would grant the GNA and Turkey access to O&G proceeds.

For its part, the GNA is unlikely to accept the terms given an escrow account would upend the status quo and directly threaten the legitimacy of the Tripoli-based CBL and NOC. The GNA would maintain the closure by deepening its cooperation with Turkey to offset the economic impact on state budgets. With no solution in sight, the main difference from past disruptions to O&G production is the fact that stakeholders are more involved in Libya today. This is critical because it will enable both the GNA and LNA to sustain the closure for a longer period. In the past, the LNA was unable to sustain the closures and was forced to resume production under international pressure. Today, with Turkey's entrenchment in Libya's west, all stakeholders are raising the stakes too and will likely step in to enable the LNA offset the impact of a prolonged closure.

Overall, in the absence of breakthroughs at the negotiating table to resume production, multiple observers suggest the stalemate would trigger another escalation in the central region amid a military buildup by both GNA and LNA forces.

Ankara dismissed prospects of a ceasefire, confirming that negotiations hinge on a retreat of LNA forces from Sirte and Jufra. In addition, Turkey hinted at a renewed offensive, as highlighted by foreign minister Mevlut Cavusoglu. After the targeting of Al-Wattiyah airbase on 05 July by suspected foreign combat jets in support of the LNA, Turkey finds itself in a position where it is required to flex its military muscle again before eventually returning to the negotiating table. Of note, Cavusoglu confirmed the presence of Turkish military advisors during the airstrikes against Al-Wattiyah. The incident is currently under investigation and the Turkish diplomat warned response will follow. Meanwhile, newly-published satellite imagery corroborates damage from the targeting, though the visible presence of newly-deployed military assets, including an air defence system, would indicate Turkey has not been deterred from expanding at Al-Wattiyah.

However, there is mounting evidence to indicate neither Turkey nor LNA backers would favour direct confrontation as the risks are too high; all parties are likely engaged in brinksmanship. It remains to be seen whether parties to the conflict will call each other's bluff.

KEY POINTS

- NOC reinstates force majeure across terminals
- LNA: blockade continues until demands met
- Turkey: no ceasefire before Sirte/Jufra retreat



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2. National Security Map

Turkish strikes allegedly target Russian system; GNA declares MEZ in Sirte

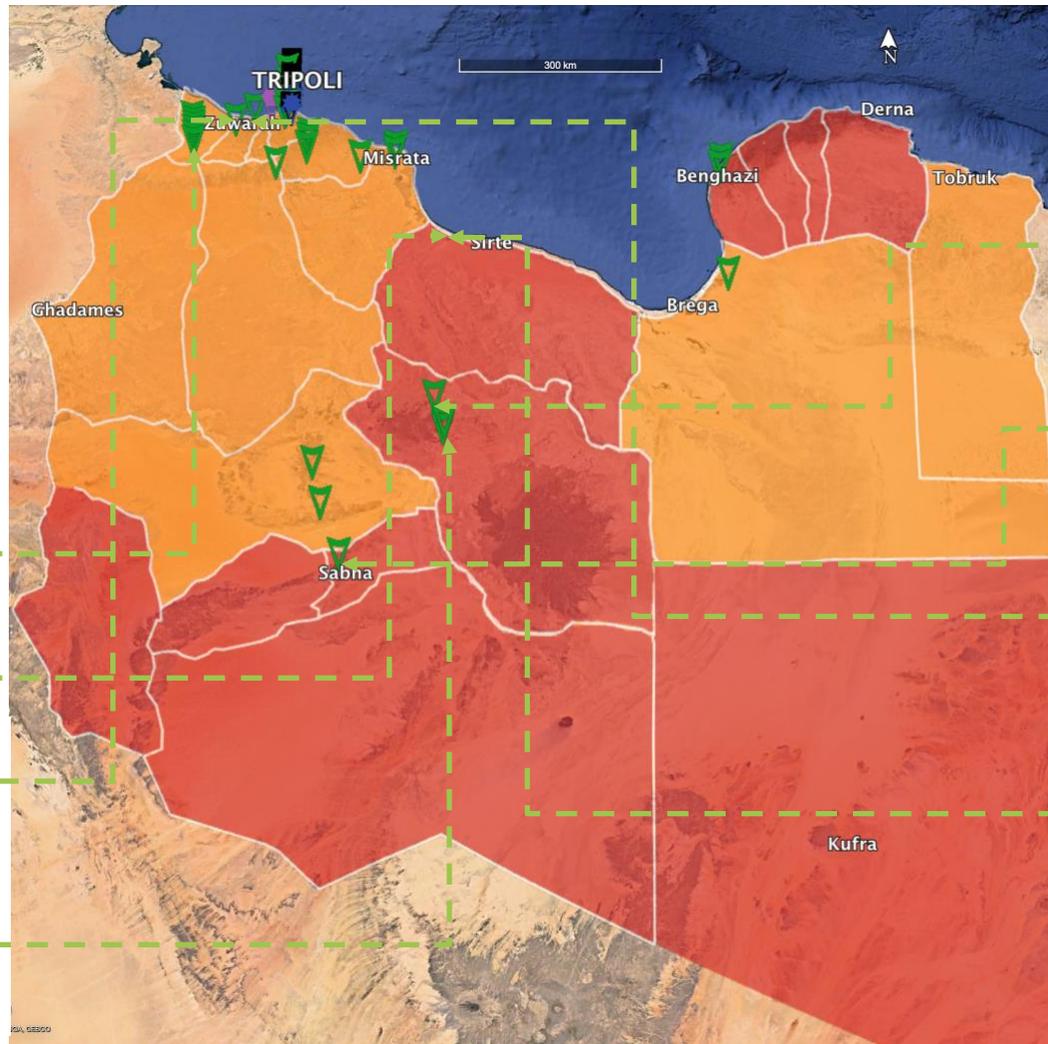
Key

THREAT INDICATORS

- Severe Threat
- High Threat
- Moderate Threat

EVENT INDICATORS

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



The Tripoli-based Civil Aviation Authority (LCAA) extended the closure of air, sea, and land ports for ten additional days effective 07 July. Air ambulance, air freight, official delegation flights, repatriation flights and domestic flights remain exempt.

A Turkish unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) allegedly targeted a Russian-made Pantsir anti-aircraft system in Sawknah resulting in its subsequent destruction and casualties among Wagner Group private military contractors (PMCs) at approximately 1150hrs on 07 July. Conflicting reports denied the airstrikes, suggesting instead Wagner PMCs/LNA forces were testing newly-supplied weapons in the area.

Sources reported heavy clashes between members of Al-Hasawna tribe in Sabha's Hay Al-Fatteh area on 11 July. Sources confirmed the clashes erupted after a killer behind the recent death of two brothers was identified.

Zawiya Security Directorate reported a meeting between its director, Ali Al-Lafi, and commander of Al-Esnad Force "Al-Far militias" Mohammed Bahron, also known as "Al-Far", in his capacity as Zawiya's Criminal Investigation (CID) head on 07 July. During the meeting, a mechanism was established to visit Al-Zawiya prisoners in line with preventive measures against the coronavirus pandemic.

The GNA-affiliated Sirte-Al-Jufra Security Operations Room declared the area from Abugrein to Buerat through Al-Weshka a military exclusion zone (MEZ) on 09 July.

Local reports indicate an unidentified armed group kidnapped an 89-year-old identified as Mosbah Al-Etri from his farm in the Qasr Al-Akhyar area, east of Tripoli at approximately 2200hrs on 07 July. The kidnappers have requested a ransom for the man's release.

Open source satellite imagery corroborated the presence of military assets at Al-Wattiyah Airbase as of 07 July, two days after airstrikes reportedly hit the base. The satellite imagery confirms a defence system is active and emitting signals.

Reports of a heavy artillery exchange between LNA and GNA forces in the areas between Abugrein and west of Sirte in the evening on 11 July.

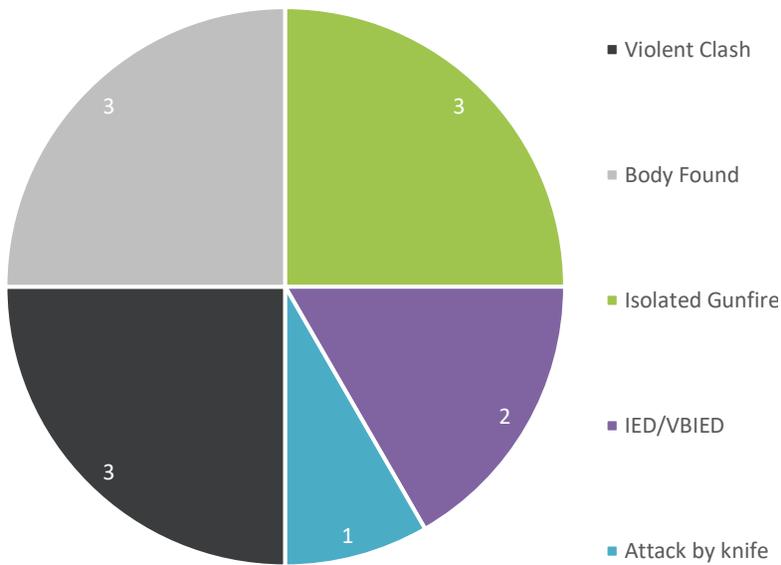
Local reports indicate a dispute over a beach resort in Sabratha escalated into an exchange of gunfire, killing an aide to the Al-Ammo militia leader Ahmed Al-Debashi, also known as "Al-Ammo", on 11 July. Al-Ammo's aide was identified as Abdulghani Al-Aweib Al-Monhadir, also known as "Abdu", and was a commander in the Sabratha Martyrs' Battalion.

Local reports indicate a protest was sparked by the killing of a young man identified as Tariq Al-Houni, allegedly under torture in an LNA-controlled military prison ten days after his arrest in Houn on 11 July.

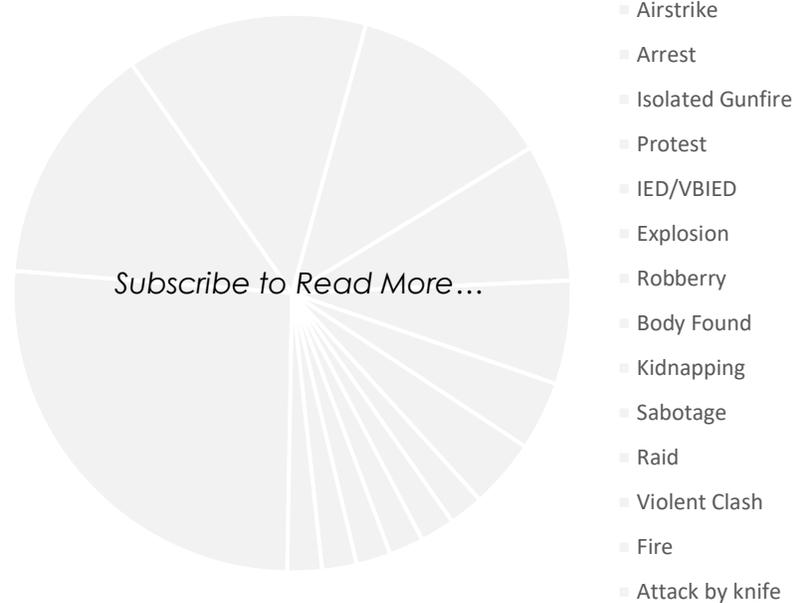
3. Nationwide Security Analysis

13 alleged airstrikes across western, central & southern regions

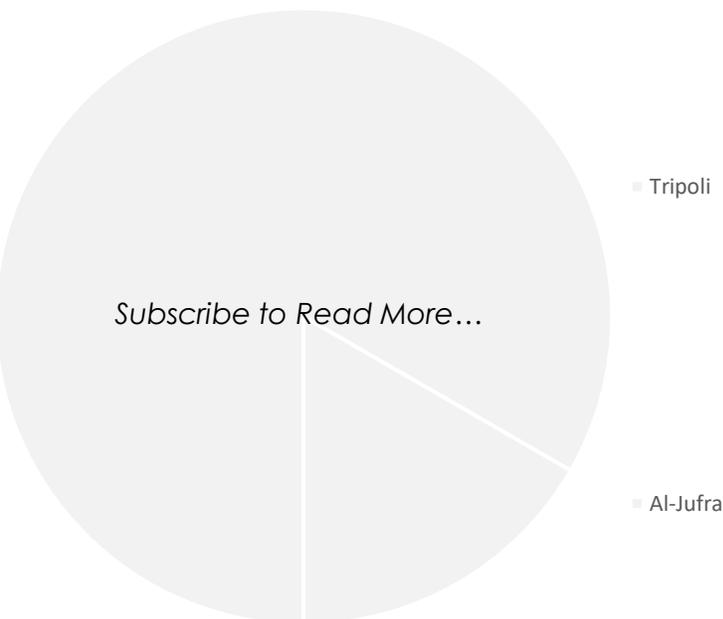
Nationwide fatalities by type of attack (Past week)



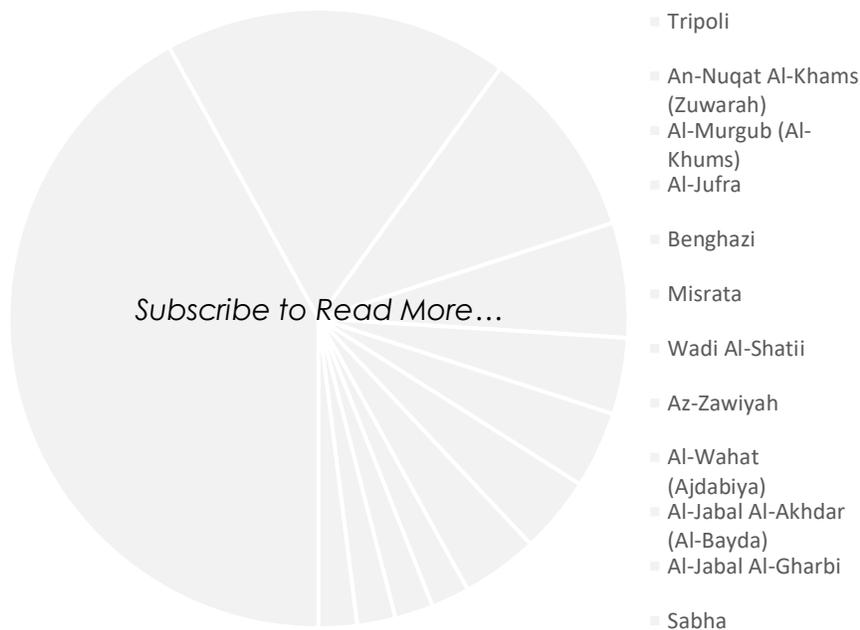
Nationwide incidents by type of attack (Past week)



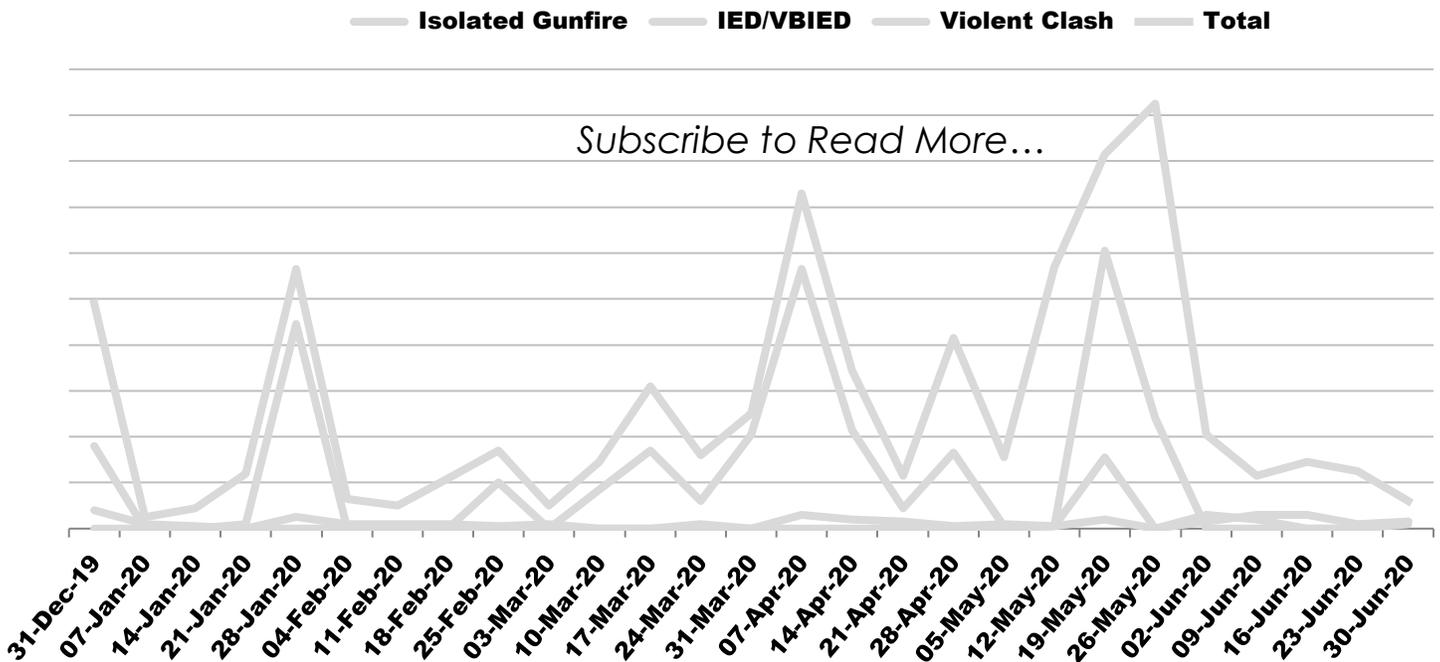
Nationwide fatalities by national district (Past week)



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 12 confirmed deaths in Libya, which compares to 25 deaths reported last week and 29 the week before. This week armed militia clashes in the Janzour vicinity resulted in at least three deaths. In addition, WB recorded two separate cases of bodies found in the wider Tripoli district. Meanwhile, an isolated gunfire incident resulted in two deaths among LNA forces in Jufra's Houn, while a gunfire incident accounted for one fatality in Tripoli's Zanatah area. Beyond, two brothers were killed by a landmine explosion in the Ain Zara vicinity. Further, a Sub-Saharan African worker was stabbed to death in Al-Hae Al-Senaea. In Tripoli, WB recorded 5 isolated gunfire cases, 4 IED/VBIED incidents, 3 arrests, 2 cases of bodies found, 2 protests, 1 explosion, 1 fire, 1 attack by knife, 1 robbery and 1 violent clash.

In the wider western region, this week WB recorded a total of nine airstrikes targeting Al-Wattiyah Airbase in the An-Nuqat Al-Khams district. Reports suggest a Turkish unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) strike targeted a Russian-made Pantsir anti-aircraft system in Sawknah resulting in its subsequent destruction and allegedly killing and injuring an unidentified number of Wagner Group private military contractors (PMCs) at approximately 1150hrs on 07 July. Meanwhile, conflicting reports denied the airstrikes, suggesting instead Wagner PMCs/LNA forces were testing newly-supplied weapons in the area. Separately, pro-LNA accounts reported an unattributed airstrike targeted Sabratah at night on 08 July. No further details. Beyond airstrikes, local reports indicate an unidentified armed group kidnapped an 89-year-old identified as Mosbah Al-Etri from his farm in the Qasr I-Akhyar area, east of Tripoli at approximately 2200hrs on 07 July. The kidnappers have requested a ransom for the man's release. No further details. Meanwhile, on the counter-terrorism front, the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) of Zawiyah's Security Directorate reported the arrest of an Islamic State (IS) sleeper cell planning to carry out attacks on 06 July, according to the Government of National Accord's (GNA) Interior Ministry. The arrest came after the CID monitored the cell's movements over an extended period. The Ministry did not disclose any further information. Additional sporadic security incidents including theft, protests, raids and acts of sabotage were recorded across the region over the course of the reporting period.

Meanwhile, in the central region, there were no reports of security incidents recorded in Sirte throughout the reporting period. However, Domestically, the LNA spokesman, Ahmed Al-Mesmari, stated that a Turkish attack on Sirte and Al-Jufra is imminent, corroborated by LNA intelligence. Al-Mesmari noted that forces are prepared to deter any possible attack. The spokesman reiterated forces are solely carrying out defensive operations to prevent an advance by the warring side amid no indications of them accepting a ceasefire and moving towards negotiations. Al-Mesmari's statement on the likelihood of a GNA-aligned Turkish attack on Sirte and Al-Jufra came amid reports of a heavy artillery exchange between LNA and GNA forces in the areas between Abugrein and west of Sirte in the evening on 11 July. Failure to resume oil and gas production has raised the prospect for a military escalation.

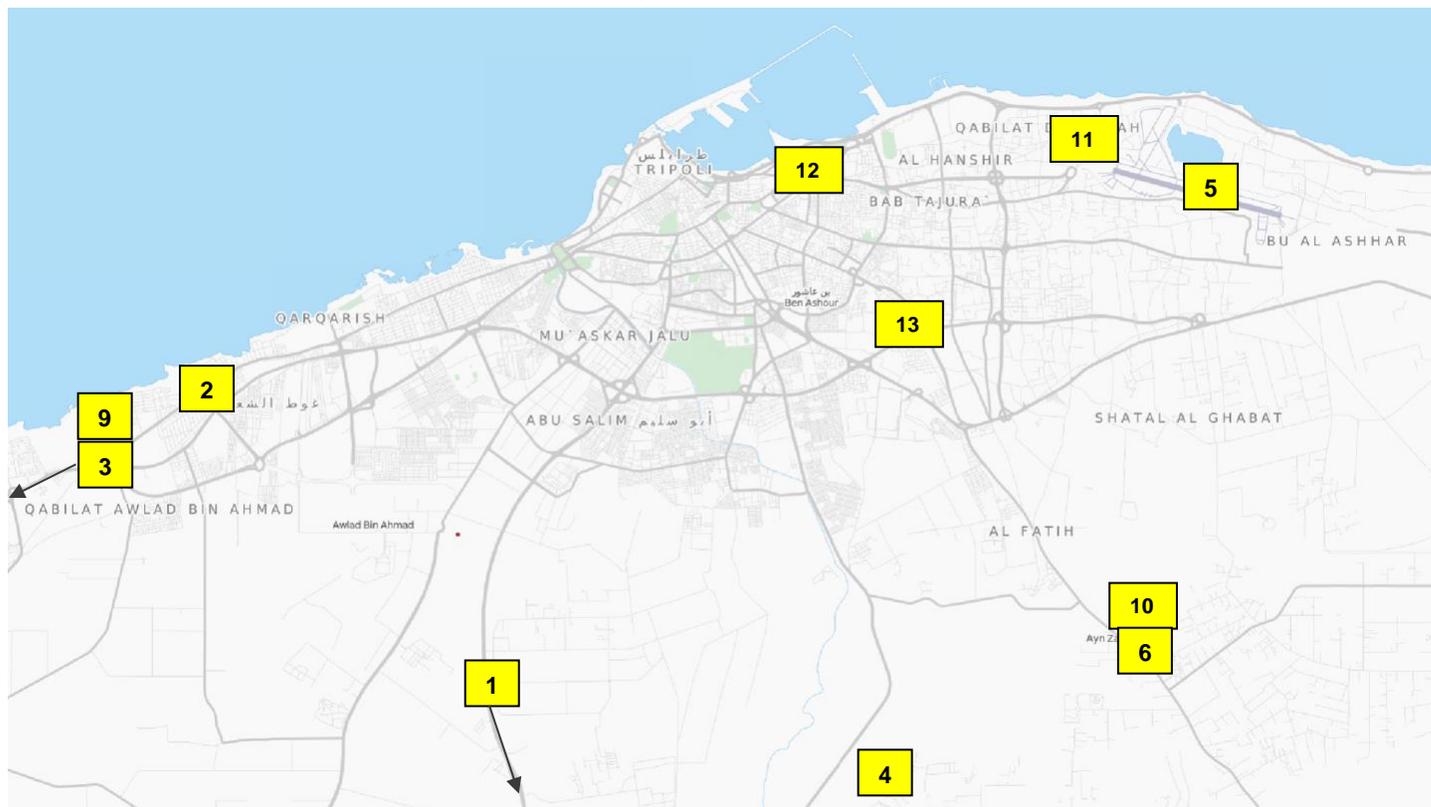
Separately, WB recorded increased tensions in Jufra's capital of Houn. Local reports indicate a local protest was sparked by the killing of a young man identified as Tariq Al-Houni, allegedly under torture in an LNA-controlled military prison ten days after his arrest in Houn on 11 July. The protesters called on the prison's authorities to bring the perpetrators to justice. The incident follows tensions in the city after alleged Chadian armed individuals killed a man identified as Ziad Abdelhadi Al-Arabi.

Turning to the south, this week two airstrikes were recorded in the region. Reports indicate LNA airstrikes targeted an unidentified convoy in the Agricultural Al-Dabuwat Project, north-west of Brak, as well as in the Jabal Hasawna area in the early hours of 06 July. WB sources reported the suspected targets are militants led by Ahmed Al-Hisnawi. Meanwhile, WB recorded a protest against power shortages in Sabha. In addition, while not represented in this week's statistics, reports indicate clashes among members of Al-Hasawna tribe in Sabha's Hay Al-Fatah area on 11 July. The clashes were fueled by a recent killing of two brothers.

In the eastern region, WB recorded one arrest targeting two suspects on charges of armed robberies. Separately, a mass Anti-Turkey demonstration was held in Benghazi's Al-Keesh Square. Beyond Benghazi, sporadic shots fired in Ajdabiya in celebration of the LNA graduation ceremony of the military college's 52nd batch in Tocra resulted in the injury of a girl and the damage of several houses on 08 July. Reports indicate the girl's father has called on the graduating batch to send a formal apology to his family after his daughter suffered a hand injury. Separately, Reports indicate Al-Hassa tribesmen protested against the detention of Interim Government Finance Minister, Kamel Ibrek Al-Hassi, in Shahat in the afternoon on 07 July. The protest rs called on competent authorities to release Al-Hassi who was reportedly arrested on charges of embezzlement.

4. Tripoli Neighborhood Report

UNSMIL condemns deadly militia clashes in Janzour; SDF arrests AQ militant



KEY INCIDENTS

1. (11 July) Heavy explosions & gunfire audible on Airport Road, motive unknown
2. (10 July) Fire at Al-Hais Market due to short circuit
3. (09 July) Clashes between Fursan Janzour BDE & Ghneiwa-affiliated militia in Janzour
4. (09 July) Khallat Al-Furjan locals dissatisfied with Ain Zara Municipality over decision to build landfill next to Al-Yarmouk Camp
5. (08 July) Possible Turkish Air Force cargo lands at MJJ
6. (07 July) Landmine explosion injures one in Ain Zara
7. (07 July) GNA PM discusses return of Turkish companies with government officials
8. (07 July) TIP head discusses return of Italian consortium contracted to build passenger terminal
9. (07 July) Gunfire exchange during militia dispute at Al-Ratemi petrol station
10. (06 July) Landmine explosion injures three in Ain Zara
11. (06 July) Vehicle theft ivo Souq Al-Juma'a'a
12. (06 July) Two arrested for vehicle theft
13. (04 July) Dispute between two neighbours over plot of land, one killed & another injured

Congested petrol stations, power & water cuts

WB sources reported long queues across the majority of Tripoli's petrol stations and other parts of the western region. In addition, sources reported intermittent power cuts lasting between 7-10 hours, as well as water cuts across the capital since April. Such grievances are expected to exacerbate local tensions and prompt sporadic security incidents in the short-medium term.

SDF arrests AQ militant

Reports indicate the Special Deterrence Force (SDF) arrested an Al-Qaeda (AQ) militant in Tripoli's Zawiyat Al-Dahmani area in the evening on 10 July. While there are no further details available, the incident would mark the third arrest targeting extremist elements over the past week following the arrest of Islamic State (IS) militants in Misrata and Al-Zawiya.

Deadly clashes between militias in Janzour

Clashes erupted between the Fursan Janzour Brigade and a militia commanded by Mohammed Fakar resulting in the death of the Fursan Janzour Battalion commander's brother, Hamid Abu Ja'far in Janzour's Awlad Ahmed area at approximately 1400hrs on 09 July. In an act of retaliation, reports indicate Fakar, his brother Mahmoud, and fellow militia members were killed. The clashes lasted for approximately two hours. Pictures circulated across social media outlets showing Fursan Janzour Brigade members tampering with the bodies. Sources reported the deceased are affiliated with the Ghneiwa militia and are residents of Janzour. Of note, the clashes were reportedly linked to a

recent dispute between militiamen queuing for fuel at Al-Ratemi Gas Station. In response, the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) voiced its "deep concern" over the clashes in Janzour causing panic among local residents, while confirming a number of casualties

Heavy explosions and gunfire were audible during a dispute between militiamen queuing for fuel at Al-Ratemi Gas Station, wounding a girl accompanied by her father at approximately 0300hrs on 07 July. The gunfire exchange lasted for over an hour and the dispute moved towards Janzour's An-Najila area, where gunmen aboard a white Toyota pick-up set fire to a vehicle and vegetable shop.

Possible Turkish cargo aircraft lands at MJJ

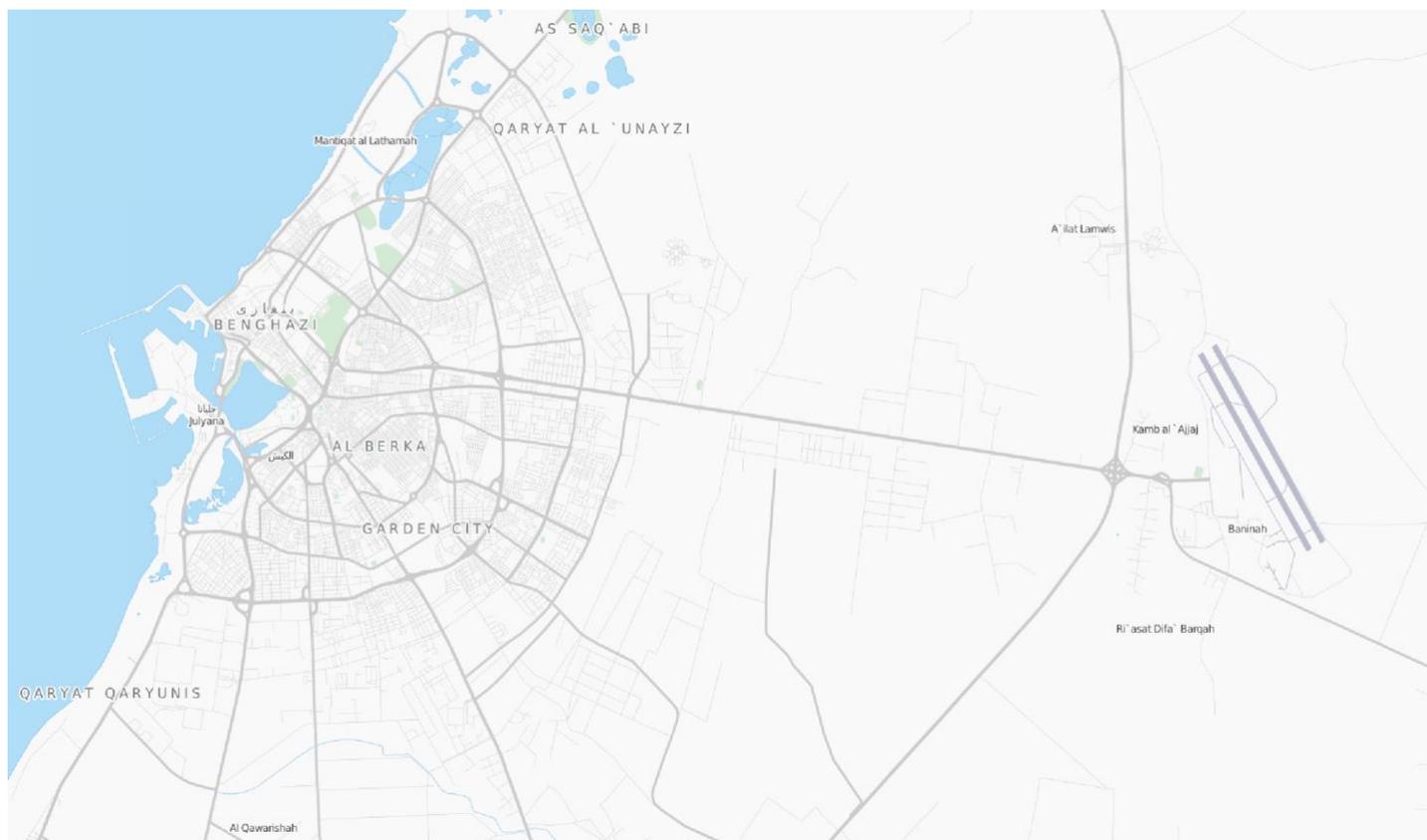
Pro-LNA accounts claimed an unidentified cargo flight carrying military equipment landed at Mitiga International Airport (MJJ) on 08 July. The equipment was allegedly transferred to the west of Tripoli. Meanwhile, additional reports from pro-LNA accounts reported the flight was operated by a Turkish Ilyushin aircraft in the afternoon. Conflicting open source flight-tracking records indicate the aircraft was a Turkish Air Force Airbus A400M. Reports over the past month confirm an air bridge established by Turkish Air Force between Misrata and Turkey, but not MJJ.

Land dispute ivo Zanatah

A dispute between two neighbours over a plot of land resulted in the death of a man and the injury of his uncle near their house in the Zanatah area in the evening on 04 July. The SDF established a checkpoint on the Zanatah Bridge near the land.

5. Benghazi Neighborhood Report

Haftar concludes series of meetings with LNA, puts forward plan for next phase



KEY INCIDENTS

1. (09 July) Emergency Room to monitor targeting of public & private land
2. (06 July) Haftar concludes series of extensive meetings with LNA factions

Body formed to address land disputes

The Interim Government's announced the establishment of an emergency room tasked with monitoring local complaints related to attacks on private and state-owned lands and property. The Room's HQ will be located in the Benghazi Security Directorate. Reports of land disputes, including dispossessions, are common in Benghazi.

Haftar concludes LNA meetings across east

The Libyan National Army (LNA) head, Khalifa Haftar, concluded a series of extensive meetings with LNA chiefs of staff, heads of departments, and military operation commanders in Benghazi on 06 July. According to the LNA's Media Office, the meetings discussed the duties of LNA forces across all fields and a plan was put forward for the upcoming stage in combat operations. Of note, Haftar made a speech during an inspection tour of military barracks in Benghazi on 04 July in which he stressed the LNA's ambition to extend full control over all Libyan territory.

Elsewhere in the eastern region, Haftar presided over the graduation ceremony of the LNA military college's 52nd batch of graduates and 27th batch of the naval college on 06 July in Tocra. Haftar delivered a speech praising the morale of LNA graduates, while condemning what he described as "Turkey's colonisation". The speech comes amid efforts by the LNA to recover from the

military setbacks in the western region. LNA rhetoric is growing increasingly bellicose, relatively compared with early June when forces retreated from the western region.

In a separate development, the eastern Interior Minister, Ibrahim Bushnaaf, issued decision no 652 of 2020 assigning Abdelmoli Al-Sneene as Tobruk Security Directorate head, Rafa' Bsekre as Al-Qubba Security Directorate head, Adel KhairAllah as Derna Security Directorate head, and Abdelkarim Tarwi as Rebyana Security Directorate head.

6. What's next

Skirmishes in Sirte & tensions in west over militia demobilization

POLITICAL FORECAST

The political deadlock continues, and observers argue the absence of a new UN envoy, and disagreements over who should take the lead, will exacerbate attempts at UN-led negotiations. Of note, UN Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres, warned the Security Council that the conflict in Libya has entered a new phase with “unprecedented levels” of foreign interference and mercenaries on 08 July. On the domestic front, the GNA relatively strengthened its political posture with some agreements, including an MoU on decentralization with the UK and the opening of an immigration centre in Malta. Meanwhile, on 10 July House of Representatives (HoR) speaker met with Acting Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General in Libya, Stephanie Williams, in Geneva, Switzerland. Saleh is scheduled to hold political consultations in Rome, Italy, and later Paris, France, in efforts to garner support for the Cairo initiative. On the international front, Russia and Turkey are reportedly working towards an immediate ceasefire agreement in Libya, according to Russian Foreign Minister Sergie Lavrov quoted by Interfax news agency on 08 July. Lavrov stated that the LNA is ready to sign a ceasefire agreement, while expressing hope that Turkey manages to convince the GNA to follow. The development follows a meeting between the Chief of the General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces, Valery Gerasimov, and his Turkish counterpart, Yasar Guler, during which the two sides discussed Syria and Libya on 08 July. Meanwhile, in further evidence of the rapprochement between Rome and Ankara, Turkish Defence Minister Hulusi Akar received his Italian counterpart Lorenzo Guerini on 07 July. The two sides agreed on the need for a political solution to the Libyan conflict, according to the Turkish Defence Ministry. Akar stated that the two sides share common views on an array of issues, adding that security and defence cooperation would benefit the Mediterranean region. Meanwhile, Guerini stated that all parties need to cooperate to achieve stability in the Mediterranean.

WHAT OTHER EXPERTS SAY

In a *Foreign Policy* opinion piece, Steven A. Cook, provides a granular overview of Ankara's ambitions in Libya and the driving force that pushed Turkish president Recep Erdogan to get involved 1200 miles away from home. Cook argues that while Turkey's Libyan adventure helps Erdogan's political party, AKP, tick some boxes and demonstrate political clout, the lack of a long-term strategy may be counterproductive for Ankara, which may find itself in an “open-ended mission” in Libya. The author adds that the first driving factor behind Erdogan's intervention in Libya is ideological; “Libya was consistent with the idea that Erdogan has sought to cultivate that Ankara stands apart from international actors in its effort to uphold norms and standards.” Second, Turkey's involvement in Libya sought to counter the burgeoning ties between Greece, Cyprus, Egypt, and Israel in the Mediterranean, according to the author. The author contends “For all the success the Turks have had so far in Libya, it is hard to detect how rendering Tripoli a client of Ankara fits into an overall foreign and security policy strategy. It is a statement of Turkey's prowess and power, but it is not connected to a clear larger purpose other than national aggrandizement and revenge. What makes the Libya adventure so striking is how far it deviates from a broader (and more important) set of Turkish foreign-policy and national security concerns that actually do make sense.”

SECURITY FORECAST

In the Sirte district, the military buildup continues with reports reinforcements are flocking to both sides. In Tripoli, power cuts continue to impact daily lives of residents. While the week was marked by skirmishes in Janzour, there is no evidence of broader and more significant tensions between pro-GNA factions to date. Intra-GNA tensions are likely present but have so far remained limited to low-level skirmishes and statements with no strategic power moves by influential stakeholders to oppose the GNA, as anticipated in the aftermath of the LNA's retreat from the western region. There is mounting evidence of new power dynamics emerging across the western region. West of Tripoli, no further disruptions have been recorded as a result of the GNA-sanctioned campaign against smugglers. However, demobilization and integration efforts as part of Security Sector Reform (SSR) appear to be moving ahead. While the strategy is yet to be made public, previously-undocumented military formations are beginning to emerge such as the Joint Force established by Joint Western Operations Room commander Osama Juwaili and commanded by Al-Fetouri Salim Gharbi. It remains unclear if this new force is the result of a Turkey-sanctioned reshuffle, especially given the alleged good rapport between Juwaili and Turkey. In an interesting development, notorious smuggler Al-Far appeared in Zawiya in his capacity as head of local CID. The development sends mixed signals, and it remains unclear if Al-Far's appearance is part of attempts to hedge his bets given the momentum of security reforms and militia demobilization. Nationwide, the steady rise in COVID-19 cases continues to limit movement across the country, despite a relative easing of the measures by the GNA. Local municipalities may sporadically shut borders with little to no warning. Meanwhile, further south in the central region, the Jufra district continues to be marked by the reported presence of Russian private military contractors (PMCs) spotted in Sawknah this week.

LIBYANS AND THE ARAB STREET

The head of the Zway tribe and deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Libyan Sheikhs and Elders, Senussi Al-Haleeq, stated that loading of crude oil from Es-Sider Port stands at the initial step towards implementing the conditions of the Council that have been transferred to the Libyan National Army (LNA) and House of Representatives (HoR) to negotiate. Al-Haleeq noted that the crude oil loaded from Es-Sider Port was stored in tanks for an extended period, while warning that fields will not be opened before the council's demands are met. Al-Haleeq reiterated that the opening of fields depends on whether their previous demands of fair distribution of O&G proceeds via a bank account under international supervision are met. The Council's Chairman added that O&G revenues must be used towards essentials, such as salaries, fuel, food, and issues impacting citizens. Meanwhile, Al-Haleeq criticised the “Development Chapter” in the state's budget under which the governor of the Tripoli-based Central Bank of Libya (CBL) announced the spending of 1.05 billion Libyan dinars (LYD) in 2020. In regard to the NOC chairman, Al-Haleeq stated that Sanalla is not the “president of Libya” to judge tribal Sheikhs and reaffirmed that they orchestrated the blockade and not “other states” as claimed by Sanalla. Al-Haleeq accused Sanalla of defaming people yet remaining silent on fuel smuggling militias from Al-Zawiya. Further, Al-Haleeq stated that the US Embassy in Libya's statement on the “misappropriation of oil revenues” that are deposited into the Tripoli-based CBL highlights that the Council's disagreement with Fayez Al-Serraj, the CBL governor Sadiq Al-Kabir, and Sanalla, has become evident to the Embassy.

About Whispering Bell



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