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Doing Business in Sudan

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Introduction

Sudan, the third-largest country on the African continent, is a land of remarkable potential and equally significant complexity. For entrepreneurs considering a venture into this intricate landscape, this book seeks to serve as an essential and practical guide. Sudan's unique mix of economic opportunities, natural resource wealth, and strategic geographic importance make it a frontier market of interest, yet the realities on the ground demand a level of preparation and contextual understanding far beyond standard business manuals.

Unlike global business primers that offer universal advice, this guide focuses exclusively on Sudan's specific environment—its laws, economic conditions, challenges, and distinctive pathways to success. Sudan's contemporary environment has been profoundly shaped by recent history: the aftermath of a long-standing civil war, the secession of South Sudan, ongoing internal conflicts, and a volatile political climate since the 2021 military coup and intensified violence in 2023. These factors have shaped an operating environment unlike any other and give rise to both formidable risks and singular opportunities.

Within these pages, you will find clear, actionable guidance on every stage of establishing a business in Sudan. From decoding the legal and regulatory landscape—often hampered by bureaucracy and evolving institutions—to understanding the nuances of registering a business and complying with local taxation, each chapter provides practical insight. Attention is paid not only to “how” but to “how it works here,” equipping readers with the detailed knowledge necessary to navigate Sudan's specific realities. Key sectors—agriculture, mining, energy, manufacturing—are each examined for their potentials and pitfalls, while chapters on finance, infrastructure, and local markets present a candid look at what it really takes to operate day-to-day.

Just as vital as the technical steps are the cultural dimensions of doing business in Sudan. Success here depends on more than contracts and capital: personal relationships, trust, patience, and local sensibilities can shape outcomes as much as any legal code or tax regime. Throughout this book, the Sudanese business culture—rooted in Islamic values, tribal affiliations, and longstanding social customs—is explained both to help avoid missteps and to encourage lasting, productive partnerships.

This guide does not ignore the formidable challenges. Ongoing political instability, persistent economic crises, a weak financial sector, and severe infrastructure deficits all present substantive barriers. Corruption and regulatory ambiguity further

complicate investment. Yet, for those who approach Sudan's market with caution, respect, and commitment, there are rewards to be found—particularly for investors willing to contribute to the country's eventual reconstruction and long-term growth. The lessons, risks, and case studies presented here will help prospective entrepreneurs weigh these realities against their own ambitions and capabilities.

Ultimately, "Doing Business in Sudan: A Comprehensive Guide For Prospective Entrepreneurs" aims to be the resource you consult first and most often, as you weigh your prospects, build your plans, and—if you choose—take the leap into one of Africa's most challenging yet potentially transformative marketplaces. With circumstances in Sudan changing rapidly, the value of local knowledge, professional advice, and ongoing research cannot be overstated. May this book provide the clarity, caution, and encouragement you need as you chart your own course in Sudan.

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CHAPTER ONE: Understanding Sudan: Geography, History, and Demographics

Before contemplating the intricacies of Sudanese tax law or the challenges of navigating its ports, a prospective entrepreneur must first grasp the fundamental stage upon which all business activity unfolds: the country itself. Sudan is not merely a name on a map or a set of economic statistics; it is a vast and ancient land, shaped by powerful rivers, dramatic landscapes, a long and turbulent history, and a complex mosaic of peoples. Understanding these core elements – its geography, its past, and its inhabitants – is not an academic exercise, but a crucial first step in appreciating the context, the challenges, and the unique character of doing business here. Ignoring this foundation is akin to building on sand, especially in a nation where the past frequently echoes in the present and the land itself dictates so much of daily life and economic potential.

Occupying a significant swathe of Northeast Africa, Sudan is the continent's third-largest country by area, spanning over 1.8 million square kilometers. This immense size alone presents logistical considerations for any enterprise involving transport or distribution. Its strategic location is perhaps even more significant. It shares borders with seven neighbours: Egypt to the north, Libya to the northwest, Chad to the west, the Central African Republic to the southwest, South Sudan to the south, Ethiopia to the southeast, and Eritrea to the east. Crucially, it also boasts an 853-kilometer coastline along the Red Sea, a major global shipping artery. This position theoretically places Sudan as a vital nexus connecting North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East, offering potential as a trade and transit hub, though realizing this potential is heavily dependent on stability and infrastructure development, topics explored later in this guide.

The landscape of Sudan is dominated by vast plains and plateaus, drained by the legendary Nile River and its tributaries. The Nile is the lifeblood of the nation, its significance impossible to overstate. The White Nile enters from South Sudan, flowing northwards, while the Blue Nile cascades down from the Ethiopian highlands, carrying vital silt during the flood season. They converge at the capital, Khartoum, forming the main Nile which then carves its path northward through the desert towards Egypt. This confluence, known as 'al-Mogran,' is a defining feature of the capital region and has historically concentrated population and agricultural activity along the riverbanks. Away from the fertile Nile valley, the terrain varies significantly.

To the north and west lie vast expanses of desert – the Nubian Desert to the northeast and the Libyan Desert (part of the greater Sahara) to the northwest. These hyper-arid

regions are sparsely populated, characterized by sand dunes, rocky outcrops, and minimal rainfall. Moving south, the landscape transitions through semi-desert scrubland (the Sahelian belt) into savanna grasslands with more seasonal rainfall. This central belt is crucial for livestock grazing and the cultivation of crops like sorghum, millet, sesame, and groundnuts. It is also home to the belt where *Acacia senegal* and *Acacia seyal* trees thrive, the source of Gum Arabic, one of Sudan's most distinctive and historically important exports.

While much of Sudan is flat or gently undulating, there are notable highlands. In the far west, the Marrah Mountains in Darfur rise dramatically from the plains, forming a volcanic massif that captures more rainfall and supports unique ecosystems and agriculture. The Nuba Mountains in South Kordofan are another significant upland area, historically isolated and culturally distinct. Along the eastern border, the Red Sea Hills run parallel to the coast, a rugged range separating the coastal plain from the interior. These varied terrains influence not only climate and agriculture but also the distribution of mineral resources, communication routes, and historical patterns of settlement and conflict.

Sudan's climate reflects its position straddling tropical and desert zones. The north experiences an arid desert climate with intensely hot summers, mild winters, and negligible rainfall. Dust storms, known as 'haboobs,' can sweep across the landscape, particularly during the dry season. Central Sudan has a semi-arid climate, with a distinct rainy season typically occurring between June and September, the length and intensity of which varies considerably year to year. This seasonality is critical for rain-fed agriculture and pastoralism. Further south, towards the border with South Sudan (prior to secession, this region extended into truly tropical zones), the rainy season becomes longer and more pronounced. Temperatures are generally high throughout the country, especially during the pre-rainy season months of April and May.

This climatic pattern, coupled with the overwhelming reliance on the Nile, presents significant geographical challenges. Water scarcity is a perennial issue away from the river, particularly in the north and west. Desertification, the encroachment of the desert into formerly productive land, is a major environmental concern, exacerbated by climate change, deforestation, and unsustainable land management practices. Droughts can have devastating impacts on agriculture and livestock, leading to food insecurity and displacement. Conversely, the Nile, while life-giving, can also bring destructive floods during peak flow, particularly affecting communities along its banks. Managing these water resources effectively, both the Nile and seasonal rainfall, remains a critical national challenge.

The geological makeup of Sudan endows it with considerable natural resource potential, although exploitation has been uneven and often hampered by conflict and lack of investment. Beyond the fertile agricultural land concentrated along the Nile and in rain-fed central regions, Sudan is known to possess significant mineral wealth.

Gold has become a major export, particularly in recent decades, mined both formally and artisanally in various regions, including the Red Sea Hills and parts of the west and north. Other minerals present include chrome, iron ore, manganese, gypsum, marble, uranium, zinc, copper, cobalt, and nickel, though exploration and commercial extraction for many of these remain limited. The historical presence of oil, primarily in the south and central regions (much now within South Sudan), played a pivotal role in the country's economy and political dynamics for several decades, a topic Chapter Ten revisits.

Understanding Sudan's history is essential context for any entrepreneur. This is not a new nation cobbled together arbitrarily by colonial powers, but a land with millennia of complex history, layers of civilization, conquest, resistance, and cultural fusion that continue to shape its identity and its fault lines. The Nile Valley here hosted some of Africa's earliest complex societies, notably the Kingdom of Kush with its capitals at Kerma, Napata, and later Meroë. Flourishing from around 2500 BCE to 350 CE, Kushites were contemporaries, rivals, and sometimes rulers of Pharaonic Egypt, leaving behind impressive pyramids, temples, and a legacy of sophisticated governance, iron-working, and a unique Meroitic script. This ancient heritage is a source of national pride, though often overshadowed by later historical periods.

Following the decline of Meroë, three Christian kingdoms – Nobatia, Makuria, and Alodia – emerged in Nubia, controlling the Nile Valley south of Egypt from roughly the 6th to the 14th centuries. They developed distinct cultures, engaged in trade, and resisted early attempts at Islamic expansion from the north. However, from the 7th century onwards, Arab migration into Sudan gradually increased, facilitated by treaties and intermarriage. This led to a slow process of Arabization and Islamization, particularly in the north and central regions. Makuria eventually fell to the Mamluks of Egypt, and Alodia collapsed, paving the way for the rise of new Islamic powers.

The most prominent of these was the Funj Sultanate (also known as the Black Sultanate), centered at Sennar on the Blue Nile, which dominated much of central and eastern Sudan from the early 16th century until the early 19th century. The Funj period saw the consolidation of Islam and the Arabic language, alongside existing African traditions, creating a syncretic Sudanese culture. Concurrently, the Sultanate of Darfur rose to prominence in the west, controlling trans-Saharan trade routes and maintaining its independence for centuries. These indigenous Islamic states represent a significant era of Sudanese self-rule before external domination intensified.

In 1821, the autonomous Ottoman governor of Egypt, Muhammad Ali Pasha, conquered Sudan, seeking gold, slaves, and recruits for his army. This Turco-Egyptian rule lasted until 1885. It was a period marked by harsh administration, heavy taxation, the establishment of Khartoum as the administrative capital, and the first attempts at integrating Sudan into the global economy, primarily through extractive industries. This period also fostered resentment against foreign rule and laid some of the

groundwork for future divisions, as administration often relied on certain northern riverain groups, marginalizing others.

The simmering discontent erupted dramatically in 1881 under Muhammad Ahmad, a religious leader who proclaimed himself the Mahdi ("the guided one") destined to purify Islam and liberate Sudan. His movement rallied diverse groups against the Turco-Egyptian regime, capturing Khartoum in 1885 after a famous siege and establishing an independent Islamic state. The Mahdist state, or Mahdiyya, ruled Sudan until 1898. While short-lived and facing internal challenges, the Mahdiyya is a pivotal event in Sudanese nationalism, representing a powerful rejection of foreign control and an assertion of Sudanese identity, albeit one defined through a specific religious lens. The legacy of the Mahdi and his principal successor, the Khalifa Abdallahi, remains potent in Sudanese politics.

Fearing the Mahdist state's potential instability and seeking to control the Nile headwaters, Britain, already occupying Egypt, launched a reconquest. An Anglo-Egyptian force, equipped with superior weaponry like the Maxim gun, decisively defeated the Mahdist army at the Battle of Omdurman in 1898. This ushered in the era of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (1899-1956), a unique arrangement where Britain and Egypt theoretically ruled Sudan jointly, but Britain held the real power. The British established a system of administration, built railways (primarily to transport cotton and troops), and developed large-scale irrigation schemes like the Gezira project for cotton cultivation, integrating Sudan's economy into the British imperial system.

Crucially, the Condominium administration pursued different policies in the north and the south. The north was governed more directly, with investment in education (though limited) and infrastructure, and the promotion of Arabic and Islam. The south, inhabited largely by non-Arab, non-Muslim peoples (who followed traditional religions or later converted to Christianity), was governed separately under the "Closed Districts Ordinance." This policy restricted movement and interaction between north and south, limited the spread of Islam and Arabic, encouraged Christian missionary activity, and fostered the use of English. This deliberate policy of separation exacerbated existing cultural differences and sowed the seeds of deep mistrust and unequal development, forming the bedrock of Sudan's protracted internal conflicts after independence.

Sudan gained independence peacefully on January 1, 1956, transitioning to a parliamentary republic. However, the legacy of colonial division and regional inequality quickly manifested. Southern anxieties about domination by the Arabized, Muslim north led to the outbreak of the First Sudanese Civil War (1955-1972) even before independence was formally declared. The early post-independence years were marked by political instability, short-lived civilian governments, and military coups. General Ibrahim Abboud seized power in 1958, ruling until overthrown by a popular uprising (the "October Revolution") in 1964. Civilian rule returned briefly but remained fragile.

In 1969, Colonel Gaafar Nimeiry came to power in another military coup, initially adopting a socialist and pan-Arabist stance. He negotiated the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972, which ended the first civil war by granting the south a degree of autonomy. This brought a decade of relative peace. During the 1970s, significant oil deposits were discovered, primarily in the south, raising the economic stakes. However, Nimeiry's regime became increasingly authoritarian and erratic. In the early 1980s, facing economic difficulties and seeking political support from Islamists, he abrogated the Addis Ababa Agreement, divided the south into three regions, and imposed aspects of Islamic Sharia law across the country, including on the non-Muslim south. These actions reignited the conflict, leading to the formation of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) under John Garang and the start of the devastating Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2005).

Nimeiry himself was overthrown in another popular uprising while out of the country in 1985. A brief period of transitional and then elected civilian government followed, led by Sadiq al-Mahdi (great-grandson of the Mahdi). However, the war in the south intensified, the economy deteriorated, and political divisions deepened. In 1989, Brigadier (later Lieutenant General) Omar al-Bashir seized power in a military coup backed by the National Islamic Front (NIF), led by Hassan al-Turabi. The Bashir regime entrenched itself in power, pursued a vigorous Islamization agenda, and prosecuted the war in the south with great intensity. The 1990s saw Sudan isolated internationally, accused of supporting terrorism and facing sanctions. Oil production began in earnest in 1999, providing the regime with significant revenue but also fueling the conflict, as control over oil resources became central.

The early 2000s saw worsening conflict, not only in the south but also exploding in the western region of Darfur from 2003. The Darfur conflict involved complex factors including marginalization, land disputes, climate change, and government-backed Arab militias (Janjaweed) fighting rebel groups drawn mainly from non-Arab Fur, Masalit, and Zaghawa communities. The conflict led to massive displacement, humanitarian crisis, and accusations of genocide, resulting in Bashir and other officials being indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC). Simultaneously, international pressure led to renewed peace talks for the north-south conflict.

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed in 2005 between the government and the SPLM/A. It established a power-sharing government, wealth-sharing arrangements (particularly for oil), security protocols, and, crucially, granted the south the right to a referendum on secession after an interim period. The CPA largely held, despite tensions, and culminated in the January 2011 referendum, where an overwhelming majority of South Sudanese voted for independence. South Sudan officially became a separate nation in July 2011.

The secession of South Sudan was a seismic event for (North) Sudan. It resulted in the

loss of about three-quarters of the country's oil reserves, drastically impacting government revenue. It also redefined Sudan's borders and demographics, while leaving unresolved issues like border demarcation, citizenship, and transit fees for South Sudanese oil exported via pipelines through Sudan. Post-secession, Bashir's regime faced continued economic hardship, internal dissent, and ongoing conflicts in Darfur, South Kordofan (Nuba Mountains), and Blue Nile states – areas often referred to as the "New South" due to their historical marginalization and links to the SPLM/A.

Decades of authoritarian rule, economic mismanagement, and conflict eventually led to widespread popular protests erupting in late 2018, initially sparked by rising bread prices but quickly escalating into demands for Bashir's removal. In April 2019, after months of sustained demonstrations, the military intervened, ousted Bashir, and established a Transitional Military Council (TMC). Following further protests and a brutal crackdown, the TMC eventually agreed to a power-sharing deal with civilian opposition groups (Forces of Freedom and Change - FFC) in August 2019, forming a joint civilian-military Sovereign Council and a civilian-led cabinet under Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok to guide a transition towards democracy.

This transitional period brought cautious optimism, international re-engagement, and initial economic reforms. However, deep mistrust persisted between the civilian and military components of the government. In October 2021, the military, led by General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, dissolved the transitional government in a coup, derailing the democratic transition. This move was met with widespread protests and international condemnation. Tensions continued to simmer, particularly between the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) led by Burhan and the powerful paramilitary Rapid Support Forces (RSF) led by Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo (Hemedti), formerly Bashir's key enforcers. In April 2023, these tensions erupted into open warfare between the SAF and RSF, primarily centered in Khartoum but rapidly spreading to other regions, particularly Darfur, plunging the country into a new and devastating phase of conflict, the immediate political consequences of which are explored in the next chapter. This long, often painful history – marked by cycles of conflict, fragile peace, external interference, internal division, and popular resistance – profoundly shapes the current environment.

Turning to the people themselves, Sudan's demographic landscape is as diverse and complex as its history and geography. With a population estimated to be around 47-49 million people (precise figures are difficult due to conflict and displacement), it is one of the more populous nations in Africa. It also has a relatively high population growth rate and a very young population structure, with a significant proportion under the age of 25. This "youth bulge" presents both potential demographic dividends if education and employment opportunities can be created, and risks of instability if aspirations remain unmet.

Perhaps the most defining characteristic of Sudan's population is its immense ethnic

and linguistic diversity. While often broadly categorized in terms of an "Arab" north and "African" peripheries, the reality is far more nuanced. The term "Sudanese Arab" itself encompasses numerous distinct groups, primarily Arabic-speaking Muslims, who often trace lineage to Arab migrations but are also heavily intermixed with indigenous African populations. Prominent groups include the Ja'alin, Shaigiya, and Danagla riverain groups historically influential in politics and commerce; nomadic or semi-nomadic groups like the Kababish and Baggara (cattle-herding Arabs) found in Kordofan and Darfur; and others spread across the central belt.

Beyond those identifying primarily as Arab, Sudan is home to a vast array of other ethnic groups. The Nubians, inheritors of the ancient Kushite legacy, reside mainly in the far north along the Nile, speaking distinct Nubian languages alongside Arabic. The Beja people inhabit the Red Sea Hills in the east, maintaining their Cushitic languages and distinct cultural traditions, often feeling marginalized from the Nile Valley center. The west is exceptionally diverse, home to the Fur (after whom Darfur is named), the Masalit, the Zaghawa (straddling the Chad border), and numerous smaller groups. South Kordofan is renowned for the diverse peoples collectively known as Nuba, comprising over 50 distinct ethnic groups with unique languages and cultures. Blue Nile state also has diverse populations with historical links to both Sudan and Ethiopia. Groups historically associated with South Sudan, such as Dinka and Nuer, also have significant communities that remained in the north post-secession, particularly in urban centers.

This ethnic complexity has been a source of cultural richness but also, frequently, political tension. Identity in Sudan is often multi-layered, involving tribal or clan affiliation, regional origin, language, and religion. Historically, competition over resources like land and water, exacerbated by political manipulation and unequal development, has often fractured along ethnic or tribal lines. Understanding these local dynamics, loyalties, and historical grievances is crucial for anyone operating outside the main urban centers, as they can significantly impact community relations, labour recruitment, and security.

Arabic is the most widely spoken language and the main official language, serving as the lingua franca for government, business, and much of daily life, particularly in the north and central regions. However, English is also recognized as an official language and is commonly used in higher education, international business circles, and among some communities, particularly those influenced by historical links to the south or missionary education. Beyond these, a multitude of indigenous languages are spoken across the country, belonging to various language families (Afro-Asiatic including Semitic and Cushitic branches, Nilo-Saharan, Niger-Congo). While proficiency in Arabic is highly advantageous for business, acknowledging and respecting local linguistic diversity is important, and using interpreters may be necessary in many regional contexts.

Religion plays a central role in Sudanese society and identity. The overwhelming majority of the population (over 95%) adheres to Islam, predominantly the Sunni branch following the Maliki school of jurisprudence. Sufism, mystical Islamic orders with traditions of saint veneration and communal rituals (zikr), also has a deep and widespread influence on popular religious practice across many parts of Sudan, often blending Islamic teachings with local customs. Islam informs social norms, legal frameworks (though the degree of Sharia implementation has varied politically), and daily rhythms, such as the calls to prayer and observance of Ramadan. There is a small but long-established Christian minority, primarily Copts with historical links to Egypt concentrated in cities, as well as smaller Protestant and Catholic communities, some stemming from historical missionary work in the south and Nuba Mountains. Pockets of traditional African beliefs also persist, sometimes syncretized with Islam or Christianity. While the constitution notionally protects religious freedom, historical tensions and periods of state-enforced Islamization have impacted non-Muslim communities.

Population distribution is highly uneven, heavily concentrated along the Nile River and its tributaries, especially in the fertile Gezira region between the Blue and White Niles, and overwhelmingly centered on the capital's tri-city metropolitan area: Khartoum, Omdurman, and Khartoum North. This 'capital triangle' dominates the country politically, economically, and culturally. Away from the Nile, population density decreases significantly, particularly in the vast desert and semi-desert areas. Rural populations remain substantial, engaged primarily in agriculture and pastoralism. However, Sudan has experienced significant urbanization, driven by conflict, environmental pressures like drought, and the search for economic opportunities, leading to the growth of informal settlements around major cities. Recent conflicts since 2023 have caused massive internal displacement, further disrupting settlement patterns and creating immense humanitarian needs, with many fleeing urban centers or crossing borders.

Levels of education and literacy have improved over the decades but remain a challenge, with significant regional and gender disparities. While universities exist, particularly in Khartoum, the quality and accessibility of education at all levels have been impacted by underfunding and instability. Finding highly skilled labor can be challenging in specialized fields, although there is a pool of educated individuals, particularly in urban areas. Basic literacy rates vary widely across the country. Health indicators, such as life expectancy and infant mortality, also reflect the country's economic struggles and the impact of conflict, generally lagging behind global averages, with access to healthcare being particularly difficult in rural and conflict-affected zones.

These intersecting factors of geography, history, and demographics create the intricate tapestry that is modern Sudan. The vast distances and harsh climates shape

logistics and infrastructure needs. The long history of kingdoms, conquests, and religious movements informs cultural identity and political fault lines. The immense ethnic and linguistic diversity requires careful navigation in social and business interactions. The legacy of conflict, rooted in historical grievances and resource competition, continues to cast a long shadow over stability and development. An entrepreneur venturing into Sudan must appreciate these deep-seated realities. They are not mere background noise; they are the fundamental parameters within which any business must operate, influencing everything from market access and labor relations to political risk and long-term sustainability. Understanding this context is the essential first layer of due diligence.

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