

MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX AS A NATIONAL SECURITY COMPONENT FOR NIGERIA: ANALYSING THE BRIC COUNTRIES OF BRAZIL, INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

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Abstract

This paper seeks to examine the concept of Military Industrial Complex as a critical factor in the promotion of national security in Nigeria. It examines the experiences of the BRIC Nations of Brazil, India and South Africa to demonstrate the models other countries have adopted in the development of indigenous defence industries which are critical for fostering Military Industrial Complex (MIC). Thus, the existence of a viable MIC and robust manufacturing industries increases the capacity of states in readiness towards curbing threats leveled within or outside its territorial boundary. This paper argues that the weak manufacturing base of Nigeria significantly contributes to its failed efforts at evolving a strong and robust military industrial complex. Therefore, it is pertinent for Nigeria's capacity and readiness to respond to security challenges to be enhanced quickly with the development of a strong military industrial complex.

Keywords: National Security, Military Industrial Complex, BRIC,

Introduction

The government of every country has been tasked with the responsibility to protect and ensure the safety of lives and properties of the citizenry within the territory of each state. From the annals of history, it has been discovered that states have been tested for their ability and readiness in responding to security threats emanating from outside its borders. Thus, the ability of a state to guarantee an atmosphere of peace, stability and development within its territory depends largely on the efficient measures set in place to prevent and respond to the sources of threats which can endanger the lives, values and assets of the citizens.

With this in mind, the military and other security agencies play a crucial role in ensuring that the citizens are protected within the state and to this effect, the success in responding to threats and security challenges levelled against the state depends not only on the quality of security officials engaged with the task of providing adequate security but also on the availability of the necessary equipment (weapons, ammunitions, etc.) needed to perform the task of maintaining the defence and security of the state. Hence, the governments of each country strive to develop the right industrial base that will contribute to the design, maintenance and supply of military assets needed to make the country safe.

In the attempt of ensuring a safe and secure environment, states have acquired the most advanced military equipment for their armed forces by leveraging on their military industrial complex (MIC) or by weapons acquisition abroad. While the countries of the West otherwise known as the most industrialized countries rely on their MIC in the task of maintaining national security, the countries of the South (developing and underdeveloped) lack the technical know-how and a strong industrial base to produce appropriate defence equipment. As a result of this, these states rely heavily on the purchase of security products from the international market. When a state relies heavily on foreign acquisition, its economic costs increases, especially when it is faced with security challenges and hence, this situation predicates the importance of a military industrial complex and a strong manufacturing industry as a crucial factor in effectively promoting national security.

It is therefore against this backdrop that this paper focuses on the Nigerian context to underline the importance of the military industrial complex and strong manufacturing industries as critical indices of national security. Of recent, Nigeria has had to contend with evolving security challenges- the Boko Haram Situation, which have called to question the state of the country's military industrial complex and the level of material support given to the military and other security agencies to respond effectively to these security challenges. This paper will examine the MIC of the BRIC countries of Brazil, India and China as opposed to the Nigerian context of providing a strong MIC and manufacturing base as a crucial element towards creating a strong national security component for Nigeria.

Epistemic Context- Military Industrial Complex, Manufacturing Industry and National Security

Given the tendency for concepts such as the Military Industrial Complex to elicit varying interpretations, matters of epistemic clarifications are apposite in this context. As such, the MIC, manufacturing industries and national security are the key concepts central to this paper and hence, deserve further clarification. The MIC was first coined by President D. Eisenhower, during his admonition/farewell address to the nation in 1961. He maintained that:

In the councils of government, one must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence by the military industrial complex. The potential for a disastrous rise of unprecedented power will persist, but we, as a nation must not allow the weight of this power endanger out democratic process. We must take nothing for granted and it is only an alert citizenry that can compel the proper meshing of strong military machinery with our methods/goals of peace in order for security and peace to prosper together (Eisenhower 1961:1035)

Since delivering this speech, the the term military industrial complex has been used to relate the existence of armaments industry to the economic and manufacturing base of the state. However, with the differing views with regards to MIC, understanding the concept is subject to different interpretations. Looking at the example of MIC in Russia (formerly Soviet Union), it was highlighted that there were high levels of policy influence within the military and the industry rather than hijacking the foreign policy by a collective interest. According to Weber (2001:13), the MIC refers to the cooperative relationship between the military and the industry that produces the military equipment. Koistinen (1980:1) on the other hand, views MIC as an

accepted process by which other institutions, most especially the military and other business ventures work together to provide the state with the business capabilities of war.

The differing definitions on the subject matter of military industrial complex shows that there is no universally accepted definition. However, for this study, MIC will be defined as “the broad spectrum of relationship and support between the military and other strategic non-military establishments that are involved in the research and development of services critical to the sustenance and boosting of the state’s capacity to meet its security needs” (Aminu 2012:57). In clearer terms, it is the cooperative relationship between the producers and consumers of military goods and services. On manufacturing, it refers to the “process and combination of machines, tools and labour to produce goods for use and for sale. It can also be seen as the range of human activity from handicraft to high-tech, but is mostly commonly applied to industrial production of which raw materials are transformed into finished products for immediate use” (Aminu 2012:57-58).

The vast nature of manufacturing industries is of high importance to the development of the economy of any state and to this end, it is critical to job creation as well as provision of services to other sectors of the economy. In light of this, manufacturing industries provide important material support for national infrastructural development. As shown in the diagram below, a strong MIC boosts the potentials of a state to generate the necessary equipment which will aid in the promotion of national security

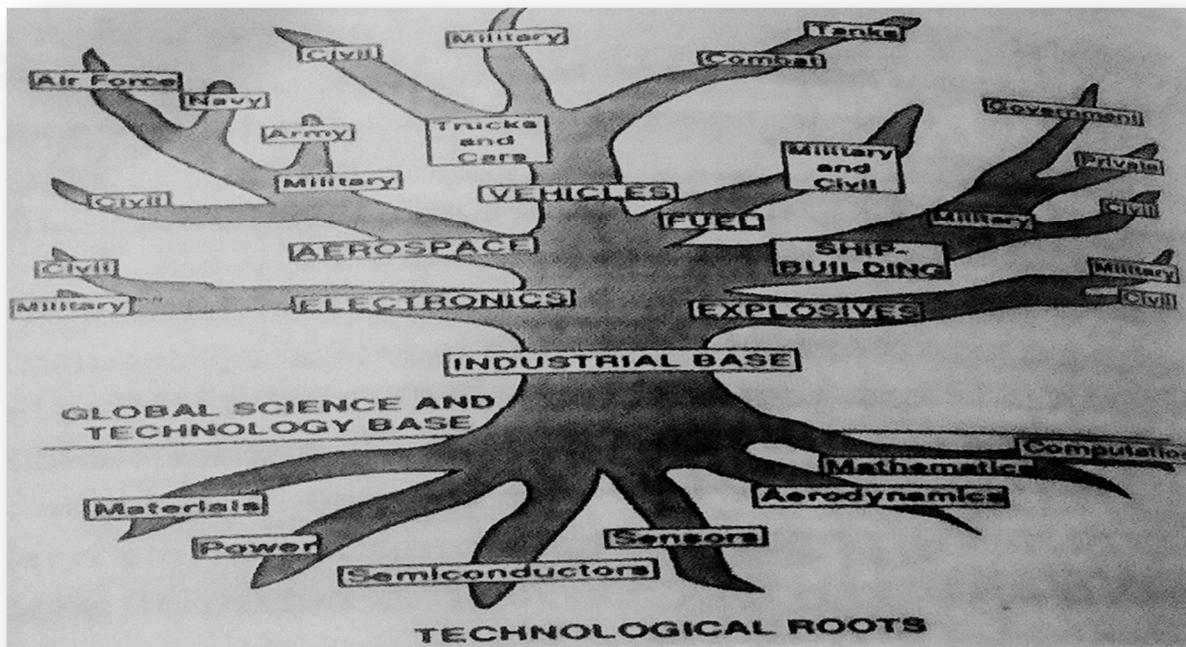


Figure 1: shows the relationship between the manufacturing base and the military industrial complex in a thriving economy (OTA, Redesigning Defence 1991:4).

The idea of national security has several differing definitions. On the security of a nation, Lippman (1945:5) is of the view that “national security is when a nation is secure to the extent that it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war” (Lippman 1945:6). Omotola (2006:3) in a more recent definition noted that “national security focuses more on the freedom from danger or absence of threats to the multidimensional elements that may affect the ability of a nation to protect and develop itself and most importantly protect the lives and security of its citizens” (Omotola 2006:3). From an organizational perspective, the International Working Group on National Security of the Center for Security Sector Management (2009) provides a more comprehensive approach to the definition of national security. The organization maintains that:

Prima Facie, the most important obligation of any government is upholding the national security of the State. This not only involves the security of the citizenry but guarding the national interests and values against internal and external threats that have the capacity to undermine the security of the state. Again, it must not only include freedom from the necessary evils of fear against their person but must also preserve the political, economic and social values, rule of law, human rights and the environment which are central to the quality of life with the state (IWG 2009).

This definition provides a more comprehensive outlook to national security as well as a broad view which covers the economic, political and most importantly the military issues of the state, and hence, the context of national security is germane to this paper and it thereby informs on the application of the concept.

Models of Developing the Defence Industry to Foster the Growth of Military Industrial Complex: A Cue from the BRIC countries of Brazil, India and South Africa.

The Military Industrial Complex in context has been acknowledged by countries world over as these countries have followed different methods in order to develop their MIC. I will briefly engage in a comparative study of the BRIC of countries of Brazil, India and South Africa and the development of their defence industries in order to draw lessons for Nigeria

Brazil's Military Industrial Complex

There are several views on the military industrial complex of Brazil. While some opposing analysts argue that Brazil focused solely on commercial considerations before incorporating the defence production in the national arsenals, others claim that the emergence of a defence industry in Brazil resulted from the need to project its national power, national interests and national image on a global scale. The varied opinions of the above analysts have provided an inference on the origins of the defence industry in Brazil which are based on a combination of geopolitical, military and commercial roots.

Between 1960 and 1980, the Brazilian armed forces and private industries combined their efforts in order to enlarge the military industrial base of the country and as a result of this, over 100 joint ventures with the European firms were established and co-production agreements between the US, Italy, France and the UK on the incorporation of components to produce home-made goods were signed. However, Brigagao maintained that the process of transferring technology was inefficient because incorporating the imported

components precludes the transfer of technical know-how and manufacturing technology to produce the same components. However, regardless of the inefficiency in the transfer of technology which was as a result of the incorporation of joint foreign ventures, the spin-offs have been more beneficial to Brazil (Clovis 1986:102).

On the upsurge of arms production, Brazil used its civilian components in manufacturing of weapons through a technological-adaptation process. Here, the collaboration between the civilian and defence industry played a major role for the simple designs and low prices of the Brazilian made weapons on the international market (Clovis 1986:103). The Brazilian government, earlier on signed a legislation of tax reduction, access to bank finances and subsidies into law in order to encourage military exports. With this industrial policy, the institutionalization process of integrating the defence industry into the state economy was successful (Katz 1984:79).

The state ownership of the defence industries in Brazil is almost negligible with 51% going to the air force and 49% to private shareholders. This shows that the Brazilian defence industry was not developed separately from the rest of the economy as Brazil ensured that its industrial policy led to the creation of military research institutes linked with the private institutes which became instrumental to the process of transferring technology. Between 1967 and 1978, resources were provided to research and development in the weapons industry which led to the emergence of several local firms and the development of complex weapons systems. The Brazilian government subsidized indigenously produced equipment in order to make the market competitive and favorable towards Brazil which transformed the state into an international commercial partner.

Perry and Weiss indicated that the defence industry of Brazil could not have reached its current heights without relying on the supplies of the domestic defence market. The export subsidies accelerated the acquisition of technology which provided the Brazilian weapons market as an alternative market in the supply of weapons, of which countries within the Middle East and Africa were major buyers of these weapons. Of the total production, about two-third comes from indigenous designs, one-third comes from licensed firms outside Brazil and in total, over 500 manufacturers of defence related equipment are resident in Brazil.

The model of developing the military industrial complex in Brazil involved several foreign collaborations combined by license systems of technology transfer; hence, the model employed illustrates the importance of mobilizing industrial resources by purchasing licenses, adapting civilian technology, the need for a government led industrial policy and cooperation between research institutes. This model therefore demonstrates the political will of a government to develop the military industrial complex of the state.

India's Military Industrial Complex

India's military industrial complex, which has been used as the benchmark for other countries, came about after the country adopted three strategies which it used to strengthen its military capacity and these strategies in turn helped to meet the needs of the national interest by importing conventional weapons and

establishing nuclear and space programs which all culminated in the development of a strong Military Industrial Research complex (MIRC). The development of the MIRC was in three phases:

- The Organization Phase (1949-1962);
- The Consolidation Phase (1963-1971); and
- The Diversification and Re-evaluation Phase (1972- date).

During the organization phase, India focused on the development of its research institutes, public sector institutions and military ordinance factories. The consolidation period saw the increase in the defence budgets by multiple folds as the production sector and the financial investment began to yield positive results from the phase to the diversification and re-examination periods.

In the last two decades, India has established thirty-three ordinance factories, nine public sector undertakings and thirty-four major research and development organizations, all run and financed by the government. Also, India has built helicopters, aircrafts, armored personnel carriers (APCs) and produced advanced electronic equipment and this has increased the number of jobs by adding 59% of employed workers to the work force which have in turn produced 44% of the goods. The workforce receives half of the capital provided by the government in the development of the MIRC. The government owned defence public sectors produce 50% of the output, employ 33% of the workers and they in turn receive some amount of the capital of the complex.

As of 2006-2007, India had about 40 major defence research and development organizations which are exclusively devoted to the military research. This research and development organizations employ 25,000 people, 6,000 scientists and has been deemed as the largest civilian research organization. Since the government supports over 85% of all research centers in India, it can be concluded that about ¼ of all the research in India is devoted to defence purposes.

The Indian government employed the resource mobilization model and covert system of technology transfer without any foreign collaboration in the development of her defence industry. This model shows the importance of having a sufficient infrastructure and skilled manpower on the ground and like Brazil; it demonstrates the political will of the government to develop a strong military industrial complex.

South Africa's Military Industrial Complex

During South Africa's colonial era, the colonial government established the Armaments Development and Production Corporation (ARMSCOR) as the main industry responsible for its weapons production. ARMSCOR had several research departments that conducted regular military research alongside the National Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and this has placed an indigenous need for the manufacturing of weapons in South Africa on a limited scale for decades.

A restriction was placed by the United Nations on ARMSCOR's activities which led to an embargo on its arms production, thereby leading South Africa to resort to local means of weapons production and a recruitment program to attract research technologists. ARMSCOR exercised control as the manufacturing

arm of half of the weapons produced through its subsidiary companies. They had over fifty contractors and 400 subcontractors involved in the manufacturing of weapons.

The South African model involved much foreign collaboration from France and the United Kingdom by using a combination of investment and license systems of technology transfer. This illustrates the importance of mobilizing industrial resources by purchasing licenses and establishing local facilities, recruitment exercises and specialized manpower. Also, it illustrates the need for the establishment of a Defence Production Mobilization Commission. This model demonstrates the political will power of the government to develop a strong MIC in order to increase the state's capacity to promote national security.

The above analysis of the BRIC countries appears to be a representative sample of the types of defence that should be available in other developing countries. These models suggest that the establishment of an indigenous defence industry requires the integration of all the industrial and technological capabilities of a nation. The difference in the industries derives from the difference in size, industry structure, degree of government participation and the capabilities of respective national industrial and technological infrastructures.

While Brazil's industry has been dominated by the private sector, the South African industry is divided between the public and the private sector while India is government controlled. In all cases, it is evident that the political will of the government in developing a viable MIC is strong. While the equipment procured from outside were modified and improved upon, policies were enacted in order to encourage domestic innovations and industries were driven by a high sense of political will, patriotism and commitment. Also, research and development institutes were adequately funded and staffed with experienced specialists/

Across the three case studies, it is evident that the existence of vibrant manufacturing industries was crucial to the evolution of indigenous technologies in order to foster the growth of defense industries which would not have survived if the manufacturing industries had collapsed, hence, every thriving economy requires a vibrant manufacturing sector that would be crucial to the survival of defense industries and MICs.

Nigeria's Quest for Developing a Strong Military Industrial Complex

Since the attainment of independence in 1960, the Nigerian armed forces have been actively engaged in peacekeeping missions alongside the United Nations, a civil war that lasted for 30 months and the recent internal operations of flushing the Boko Haram insurgents out of Nigeria. Notwithstanding these engagements, Nigeria has been sanctioned a couple of times because they deemed some of these engagements as abuses to human rights and during this period, Nigeria focused more on her traditional suppliers in Europe and America for her defence needs at a great cost.

Nigeria had long recognized the importance of a strong MIC as a critical factor in sustaining a buoyant economy and in her efforts to attain self-sufficiency, she collaborated with external suppliers and foreign firms in order to enhance the industrial potential of the Country with positive spillover effects in her desire to build a strong MIC in response to the challenges of national security.

The Nigerian government established several military establishments and manufacturing industries like the Nigerian Machine Tool Industry (NMTI), the Ajaokuta Steel Complex (ASC), the Delta Steel Company (DSC), Project Development Agency (PRODA), the Nigerian Air Force Training Group (NAFTG) and the Nigerian Naval Engineering Collage (NNEC)

With these industries in place, although some of the aforementioned industries are out of order, the Nigerian government moved quickly in the early years to establish various industrial establishments to server her armament requirements, one of which was the Defence Industries Corporation (DICON), established in collaboration with the Messrs Fritz German Company which focused on the operation, maintenance and control of factories in Nigeria for the manufacture, storage and disposal of ancillary weapons such as the German Beretta Rifles, submachine guns 7.62 and 9mm ammunition etc. However, the government failed to continue funding these operations as a result of the corrupt practices and hence contracted the Messers Fabrique Nationale (MFN) of Belgium which was again stalled as a result of lack of funding.

DICON which was set up at the same time as its Brazilian counterpart was yet to develop into a vibrant military conglomerate, while Brazil had gone light years ahead by producing high grade equipment in the ranks of ships and aircrafts. Beyond DICON, Nigeria collaborated with foreign firms like the Peugeot Automobile and the Leyland Nigeria limited to produce cars and trucks respectively. In the maritime sector, the government contracted a UK firm to construct two naval dockyards and one shipyard which are in Lagos and Port Harcourt respectively and were tasked with the responsibility of repairing ships and refitting naval and merchant vessels, but again, due to lack of funds, these dockyards focus mainly on the repair of ships.

Notwithstanding this drawback from DICON, local production of some components were achieved to a feat and hence, it is evident that Nigeria recognized the importance of building a strong MIC as a harbinger for the attainment of an improved national security

Current State of Manufacturing in Nigeria in comparison to the BRIC Countries

The state of Nigeria's manufacturing industries can easily be glanced from available facts that capture the nature of the overall manufacturing sector which has deteriorated in the past three decades although these industries still play a crucial role in the Nigerian economy as they contribute to the Gross Domestic Product. As of 2009-2012, the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria had closed down 820 manufacturing companies as a result of poor performance which has affected its contribution to the GDP. This can be seen in comparison with the BRIC Countries in the table below:

Years	Brazil	India	South Africa	Nigeria
2009	23%	16%	18%	3.68%
2010	23%	16%	18%	3.79%
2011	23%	16%	18%	3.91%
2012	23%	16%	18%	4.03%

Table 1 shows Nigeria's manufacturing as a percentage of GDP in comparison to the BRIC Countries (Aminu 2012:71)

Nigeria's technological base is weak as a result of the lack of investment in research and development. The manufactures highly depend on the import of equipment which is not sustainable due to foreign exchange limitations. Also lacking is adequate manpower necessary to guarantee competitiveness in the current global economy. This therefore implies that there are not growth-propelling resources at the disposal of manufacturing firms in Nigeria and over the years has deteriorated in its growth mechanism. This weakness has led to the closure of these industries and has hampered on the growth of the defence industry which in turn engenders the gradual evolution of a strong MIC in Nigeria. Therefore, it is pertinent for Nigeria to ensure concentrated efforts in multi-sectoral interventions in the manufacturing sector to revive it. The incoming administration of General Buhari, come May 29th should go through the five subsectors of the vision 20:2020 of the past administration which it failed to cover. These consist of:

- Chemical and pharmaceuticals;
- Products, basic metal, iron and steel and fabricated metal;
- Food, beverages and tobacco;
- Textiles, wearing apparel and leather footwear; and
- Non-metallic mineral products.

The above are a clear representation of the manufacturing sector where Nigeria needs to develop comparative advantage. These core areas have proven to have the highest potential to provide raw materials for other key industries in the long run, including the defence industries. To achieve a strong military industrial complex that can contribute to the promotion of national security, the government needs to evolve and implement measures that will aid in the resuscitation of the ailing industries and the establishment of new ones in order to build a robust and vibrant economy.

Readiness of Military Industrial Complex in the Promotion of National Security

The thought that military industrial complex can be a springboard for the maintenance of national security has been strong among nations. For the conceptualization of national security by this paper, having a MIC is not only an indicator, but a crucial factor in enhancing the readiness of the state in preserving its national security. This, the existence of MIC and a strong manufacturing base enhances the capability to deliver national security in terms of human-centric and state centric conceptualization. From the examples of Brazil, India and South Africa, we have seen that they used their military industries to foster general economic development and attract foreign direct investment. If Nigeria follows suit, she can develop a robust defence industry. Furthermore, a strong and robust MIC increases the quality of arsenal in the inventory of the Army that is produced locally. This will position Nigeria to reduce her dependence on foreign importation of arms and will also increase her capacity and readiness in confronting the security challenges emanating either within or outside its territory.

With the current battle with Boko Haram, the military has been engaged with the responsibility of maintaining national security and has continued to depend on the massive importation of weapons which do not meet their operational environment, with a recent issue, that led to the issuing of death warrants to about 50 officers because they refused to fight without adequate weapons. Apart from detracting the Army from freedom of action, this situation has had adverse effects on its operational effectiveness in its maintenance of national security.

Therefore, as a matter of high importance, it is important to have a functional MIC critical to attaining operational readiness and effectiveness. This can be seen from two perspectives. First, it will reduce the dependence on external importation which will then lead to an increase in the space for the country to achieve its defence goals when faced with a cut in the supply of arms or an embargo of some sort. Secondly, it will enable the country to develop and modify the weapons to suit its environment and terrain.

In light of this, the MIC can be said to be an indispensable factor in the national defence and security in Nigeria, especially with the daily challenges of the internal security situation in the country. Thus, the MIC enhances the readiness of the country to provide security and protection to its citizens, reduce dependence on foreign states and enhance domestic defence production. These in turn will improve on the capabilities of the national security and defence of Nigeria

Recommendations and Conclusion

In heading towards the conclusion of this paper, five recommendations towards attaining a strong MIC have been suggested for the incoming administration to focus on, and this will improve on the current state of affairs regarding the promotion of national security for Nigeria. First, there is the need to establish adequate infrastructure, especially 24-hours electricity which will boost and sustain the self-reliance in the manufacturing of equipment and goods and this will greatly improve on the quality and quantity of defence production required for the maintenance of national security.

Secondly, the Nigerian government needs to fast-track efforts at revamping her moribund strategic industries wasting across the country. This will improve the industrial base for the development and sustenance of MIC.

Thirdly, it is of high necessity that MIC requires skilled and innovative personnel in the design, innovation and development of high quality military weapons system. To this effect, the study of military technology should be included in Nigerian institutions, particularly in institutes of technology and the Nigerian Military academy.

Fourth, there is need for greater attention to be paid to research and development in higher institutions and military establishments. A sustainable research and development program will enhance the military industrial complex in order to boost her readiness to respond to defence and national security challenges.

Finally, there is need for the Nigerian government to increase the defence budget in order to make funds available to DICON to promote domestic production of defence hardware. This can lead to an increase from the current 0.6% to 1.2% on the GDP which is within the UN recommended figure of the next five years to fast-track MIC in Nigeria. Also, within the next five years, it is expected that DICON should be able to stand on its own without government funding as it will help in dealing with the problem of inadequate funding, thereby impacting on national security. More so, it is important for the elite class in Nigeria to muster the political will to pursue the policies and recommendations made in the past that have the potential to transform the defence industrial base of Nigeria. The inconsistency of policies has been the bottleneck towards realizing the strategic projects conceived by the Nigerian government and to this end, adherence to policy consistency is crucial because it ensures that policies and projects are executed to a logical conclusion. It is therefore imperative for the Nigerian government to muster greater political will towards developing a strong MIC that will improve on her readiness to respond to the national security exigencies.

In conclusion, this paper has been able to demonstrate that the protection of lives and property is a major function of the government in any state. States are continually confronted with security threats that they need to act swiftly and decisively to contain. In order to do this, states would need to establish a defence industrial base that is not only integrated to the wider manufacturing base of its economy, but also adequate and functional enough to meet its defence and security exigencies. Therefore, national security and defence could be enhanced if a resilient MIC capable of providing the input necessary to create a well led national security and defence component to defend a nation from security threats exists.

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