A Case Study of Gorkhali: Private Military and Security Companies in Global Security Assemblages

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Abstract

The news about Nepali citizens joining the Russo-Ukraine war has once again sparked attention among stakeholders regarding Gorkhali's engagement with global private security companies. The engagement of Gorkhali in the Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs) is not a new phenomenon; it has been seen since the end of the Cold when it came into existence. As the market of PMSCs rises exponentially, security labourers from countries like Nepal are increasingly joining the same. Gorkhali's long history of mercenaries and constructed narrative of bravery and loyalty has also attracted PMSCs. Existing literature overlooks the emerging consequence and contradiction of PMSCs-led global security governance to Gorkhali and the complex interrelationship among PMSCs, client state, Gorkhali, and Nepal. This paper uses the 'Global Assemblages' approach to capture multiple actors' fluid relationships, changes, emerging practices, authority, and institutions. The research looks at consequences and contradictions related to Gorkhali after the 2016 Taliban attack on Nepali security guards and the situation of the same after Afghanistan fell to the Taliban in 2021 while serving for PMSCs. It uses the 'discourse analysis' to incorporate books, journal articles, and media interviews of security guards and their families on the research topic. Lastly, research argues that the blurred relation between PMSCs and client states in global security assemblages is not only in the security and military realm but is also seen in the case of taking responsibility for any tragic event/accident of Gorkhali in PMSCs-led global security governance. It is also influencing the local institutions and practices of Nepal.

Keywords: Gorkhali, private military and security company (PMSC), assemblages, Afghanistan, global security governance

1.   Background and Introduction

The Nepali citizens joining the Russo-Ukraine war through private military companies (Sedhain, 2023) has once again sparked the attention of stakeholders regarding the engagement of Nepali citizens in the global private military companies. Since the outbreak of the Russo-Ukraine war, almost 1729 Nepali citizens have already traveled to Russia through a different channel (Rawat, 2023). However, there is a lack of clear information regarding the number of Nepali

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joining the Russian army and other organizations to participate in the war. In the context of the year-long war between Russia and Ukraine, the high number of Russian casualties is believed to have encouraged Russia to recruit foreign security labor in the regular army and outsource security and military responsibilities to Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs). The report has been published regarding the deaths and badly injured Nepali soldiers who were fighting the war on behalf of Russia (Sharma & Gettleman, 2023). Furthermore, the advisor of Ukraine's Minister of Internal Affairs, Anton Gerashchenko (2023) has posted a video of Bibek Khatri, who was taken prisoner by Ukraine's armed forces while serving the Russian army. In this regard, the Nepali government has warned Nepali citizens not to join foreign informal groups and armies. Furthermore, the Nepali government has also banned the issuing of working visas to Russia. In this background, this research aims to analyse the Gorkhali engagement within global private security companies including PMSC to better understand the complex relationship between Gorkhali and PMSCs through cases of Afghanistan.

The recruitment of Gorkhali[1] in PMSCs is not new, and it has been seen since the end of the Cold War when the Private Military Companies (hereafter PMCs) and PMSCs[2] came into existence. The Iraq and Afghanistan wars are important examples where Gorkhali participated through global private security firms (Coburn, 2018). Nepali security guards who used to protect the UK embassy in Kabul before the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan were evacuated to the UK in 2021 and faced detention and deportation after reaching the UK. The Guardian has revealed the issues; more than a hundred Nepali security guards forcefully returned to Nepal without taking consideration of their will and grievances, although they had been issued visas for six months (Taylor, 2023). The UK government has refused to give accommodation to Gorkhali security labor by arguing that the evacuation of Gorkhali to the UK from chaotic Afghanistan was only a "gesture of goodwill" in an understanding of the expected return to their respective home countries (Taylor, 2023a). In this regard, the UK government's decision to detention and deportation has been labeled as inhuman and disrespectful of Nepali security guards' decades-long security service in Afghanistan (Taylor, 2023). Since the beginning of the Afghan war, "they risked their lives and, in some cases, watched their friends die in the line of duty" (Biedscheid, 2023).

The story of the Nepali security guard started with their recruitment to a global private security company, and their deployment based on an agreement between a private security company and client state actors which are mostly Western countries such as the US, Canada, and UK in case of Afghanistan war and Russia in case of Russo-Ukraine war. The above-mentioned two stories of the Gorkhali and the complex interrelationship between PMSCs, client states, Nepal and Gorkhali are emerging consequences in PMSCs led new security governance. Hence, exploration and analysis of these emerging complex interrelationships and contradictions deserve attention to normative and analytical research.

1.1. *Emergence of PMSCs*

The emergence of PMSCs has been considered a more recent phenomenon; especially in the post-Cold War period, while the use of mercenaries is an old phenomenon, it has already seen

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1   Gorkhali words is used to signify the all Nepali soldier who participate in private military firm.

2   Private Military Company (PMC) mainly focuses on combat operation while Private Security Company (PSC) focuses on non-comabt operation. This research hasn't differentiate PMC and PSC minutely for research comfort

for centuries (Christopher, 2022, p. 28). In the last two decades, "security provision has been subject to privatization, marketization, and commodification; processes that manifest in the outsourcing of state security functions to private actors" (Chisholm & Stachowitsch, 2016, p. 2). Which resulted in the rampant growth of private actors in functions such as handling airports, immigration, embassies, mines, business security, and so on. The phenomena of PMSCs have not only risen in the weak state, where states lack the managerial, technical, material capacities, and credibility (Abharamshen & William, 2009, p. 7) but also in the case of the powerful states has been seen the outsourcing of their security, development and military affairs to a private firm. The use of PMSCs to assist in wars led by the US in Iraq and Afghanistan has been accepted by scholars as one of the most remarkable developments in armed conflict and military intervention (Baker & Pattison, 2013, p.1). In this regard, the US and its allies' pro-activeness in the use of PMSCs on international intervention has been creating and setting the precedents for the widespread use of PMSCs in various contexts (Krahmann, 2013, p. 66). That has changed the earlier norms such as the state's monopoly on the use of force. The market of PMSCs has projected $457.3 Bn in 2030 with an annual growth of 7.5 percent (ASD News, 2020). That has raised the interest of great powers in PMSCs (Østensen & Bukkvoll, 2022).

1.2.   *PMSCs and Third Country National (TCN): Case of Gorkhali*

With the growing role and legitimacy of the PMSCs across the world, they increasingly depend upon the developing countries of the global south, also called the Third Country National (TCN) for their security labor (Chisholm, 2014). There are both 'pull' and 'push' factors to explain the recruitment of TCN in a Global private security company (Higate, 2012; also see Abrahamsen & William, 2008). "The central attraction of hiring these contractors is their premium cost as a consequence of their location on the periphery of the global economy" (Higate, 2012, p. 37). In this regard, the global political economy pulls the recruiter toward the global security firm for better opportunities, and at the same time, the domestic situation of TCN incentivizes the greater number of labor recruitment from the global south vis-à-vis the global north. Furthermore, manpower companies play a significant role in bridging client and security labour in the case of the global south including Nepal (Gordon, 2023).

Gorkhali communities as one of the TCN has a long history of mercenaries with British colonial. Still, they have been serving to Britisher, Indian, and Singaporean armies through state formal agreement. The retired Gorkha personnel from Nepal, Indian, British, and Singaporean armies have been increasingly joining global PMSCs to better capitalize on their retirement time. At the same time, PMSCs also prioritize and count the legitimate Gorkha army to them because of their experience, and narrative of being loyal and brave. The engagement of Gorkhali to the PMSCs can be seen from the end of the Cold War; Gurkha Security Guard (GSG) considered as first to reach Sierra Leone after the end of the Cold War (Christopher, 2022, p. 28). So, "Gurkhas are among a variety of men from the global South who participate in private security as racialized contractors" (Chisholm, 2014, p. 27). Similarly, "While white men come to the market through their merit, individual Gurkhas and other TCN men are valued and made intelligible through their martial race and colonial histories" (Chisholm, 2014b, p. 355). The engagement of Gorkha to the PMSCs was also attributed to the familiarity between Gorkha and British officers of the Gorkha regiment, People like Jon Titley; founder of the Gurkha Security Guard was the first to employ retired Gorkha in a private security company in the early post-cold war period (Vines, 1999; also in Chisolm, 2014a, p. 351). Furthermore, Ian

Gordon, founder of IDG security[3] is still recruiting Gorkhali for the private security market, because of his familiarity with Gorkhali since his duty in the Singaporean army (Gordon, 2023). Companies like IDG Security, and FSI Worldwide recruited Gorkhali to provide both armed and unarmed security services in Afghanistan (Chisholm & Stachowtsch, 2016, p. 5). Even after the Taliban control of Afghanistan, private security companies are optimistic about resuming their services in Afghanistan where they can rely on Gorkhali community for services (Gordon, 2023).

2.   Literature Review

The goal of the research is to explore the consequence and contradiction visible to Gorkhali in PMSCs-led global security assemblage and the interrelationship among multiple actors involved in the process. This section reviews existing literature on PMSCs, their nature and characteristics, and their relationship with Gorkhali communities. It helps to establish intricate relationships among multiple actors involved in PMSCs-led global security governance and which helps to analyse the consequence and contradiction existing among them from the perspective of Gorkhali in this research. Similarly, another section focuses on a review of literature on global security assemblage, and establishes the existing perspective of a client state, PMSCs, and local communities in security assemblage respectively, which offered the gap to explore the perspective of TCN that is Gorkhali in larger debate of global security assemblage.

2.1.   Nature and Characteristic of PMSCs

PMSCs are an integral and intrinsic part of global security governance. Its rapid growth to a multi-billion dollar enterprise invited the attention of scholars from multiple disciplines including International Relations. PMSCs as the manifestation of the Neo-liberal order, it is deeply intertwined with global capital and power, so they are not apolitical, rather deeply political (Chisolm & Stachowtsch, 2017, p. 382). Scholars like Joachim and Schneiker (2021), Chisholm and Stachowitsch (2016), and Higate (2012) have analyzed the constitutive attributes and identities of PMSCs. Joachim and Schneiker (2021) argued that gender is constitutive to PMSCs, where they are based on masculine identity as heroic and professional in terms of security services (p. 211). Furthermore, they are not only based on masculine identity but also present and reproduce hierarchies and differences for the same (Joachim & Schneiker, 2021). Similarly, Higate (2012) emphasizes on the racialized aspect of the private security sector, where industry heavily depends upon the workers from the global south, including local individuals and TCN. So, he argued that engagement of this security labor is constituted and through the connection of neocolonial, historical, and militarizing processes.

Chisholm and Stachowitsch (2016) also observed the colonial, gendered, and racialized influence in the case of recruitment and procurement of Nepali security labour (pp. 11-12, also in Chisholm, 2014, p. 366). Furthermore, the process and practices of global security companies, and the Nepali state economy further shape and condition the livelihood of Gorkha and their families (Chisholm & Stachowitsch, 2016, p.12). The Gorkha men who are recruited to PMSCs and leave their families at home shape the Gorkha communities' everyday lives, so, "every day of those leaving and of those left behind is hence deeply structured by global power relations" (Chisholm & Stachowitsch, 2016, p.12). Similarly, the nature of PMSCs and

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3   Private Military and Security company, recruits Gorkhali for security market, see for detail: https://idg-security.com/about-us/

its recruitment process for Gorkhali is an informal process, the most of recruitment does not necessarily happen through legal channels, and these networks of agents have been heavily exploiting and subordinating to the Gorkhali, so, for them, "racialization and feminisation are important strategies for devaluing and exploiting their labour" (Chisholm & Stachowitsch, 2016, p. 11). At the same time, Gorkhali's recruitment option is also dependent on the PMSCs, and their construction of Gorkha's identity as a 'natural warrior', hence, it privileges them to access the global market as well (Chisholm & Stachowitsch, 2016, p. 10). So, PMSCs are not only racial, and hierarchical, but they also constitute and reproduce the same regarding the TNC including the case of the Gorkhali community in global security enterprise. Despite gaining the least political and economic value through PMSCs, the Gorkhali community has been persistently participating in global private militarism, in this regard, Chisholm & Ketola (2020) has explored the concept of 'cruel optimism' to understand Gorkhali's rationale behind it, and argued that hope, guilt, shame, and desire to get better future is reason to pursuit military pathways, however, there is greater risk and higher chances of exploitation of security forces (p. 15).

The above literature focuses on the nature, constitutive element, and identity of PMSCs and their relation with the Gorkhali community. The existing literature established the complex relationship of Gorkhali with PMSCs and their impact on the life of Gorkha. In this regard, the emerging complex relationship and consequence are also pertinent to highlight the nature of global security governance where PMSCs are critical to shaping the phenomena. The Gorkhali perspective on emerging phenomena and interrelation among multiple actors is important in PMSCs-led global security governance.

2.2. *Literature on 'Global Security Assemblage'*

This subsection mainly covers the existing literature on the interrelationship between PMSCs and state actors, power, and emerging security assemblages. Abrahamsen and William (2009) have intervened on the increasing role of PMSCs in state affairs, and their interrelationship with each other. They challenged the understanding of the increasing agency of PMSCs in state affairs as necessarily an erosion of state power and authority, rather they argued, that the process of re-assembly caused the emergence of 'global security assemblages' (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2009, p. 6). Where the private actors are an integral part of the assemblage, it strengthens the centrality of the state by knitting together public-private and global-local relations (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2009, p. 6). The engagement of PMSCs in multiple African states cases and emerging interrelationships are illustrated by Abrahamsen & Williams (2017) in their book. Similarly, when 'global security assemblage' re-configures the earlier understanding of global/local, private-public, its consequences on multiple actors need to get further attention. In this regard, Turzi (2018) has looked at the impact of PMSCs on local Afghans through 'global security assemblage'. The direct impact is the violation and abuses of human rights and the indirect impact is the change in perception of different security actors in Afghanistan due to PMSCs (Turzi, 2018, p. 32). Likewise, Abrahamsen and William (2009) have looked at the consequences of private actors in the case of Nigeria and Sierra Leone's local context. They argued that "their activities are often experienced by many members of the local population as aggressive, dis-empowering, and exclusionary" (Turzi, 2018, p. 15).

The most of literature on 'global security assemblage' done by Abrahamsen and William (2009; 2017) is based on African cases, where the clients of PMSCs are based on post-conflict

and weak state and enterprise, or in the context of conflict zones. Where they have focused on the role of PMSCs and the emergence of 'global security assemblage' in a relatively weak African state context, but the outsourcing of security affairs for multiple reasons can also be seen in the context of western strong powers such as Canada, US, UK and Russia. They have been outsourcing the managerial, and protection of the embassy to the PMSCs in a conflict zone such as the case in Afghanistan. Furthermore, global PMSCs do not necessarily belong to the respective Western countries to protect their embassy, however, most global PMSCs are Western in origin due to the global political economy. PMSCs rely on global southern countries such as Nepal, and Afghanistan for a larger number of security laborers in Afghanistan. This research looks at security governance in the case of more stable Western countries as clients of PMSCs in a transnational context. Similarly, the TCN; Gorkhali is critical for PMSCs to provide service to client states of Western countries, due to cheap, risk-taking, and brave labor. Likewise, the 'global security assemblage' as emerging security governance caused the reassembly of state function and power, where global-local, private-public are becoming blurred among multiple actors in the case of Afghanistan and Russo-Ukraine war. So, impact and reconfiguration on global/local, and private/public relations among multiple actors is critical and, hence, demands more research. This paper wants to look at the consequence and contradiction of PMSCs-led global security governance on Gorkhali communities. What sort of insight can offered by Afghanistan related to two cases on emerging complex interrelationships between client states, PMSCs, Gorkhali communities, and Nepal? Hence to know the complex relationship among multiple actors in PMSCs-led global security governance is the main aim of this research. In this way, research also aims to pluralize the literature on 'Global security assemblage' in relation to the Gorkhali perspective on the same.

3.   Research Methodology

3.1.   *Research Design, Data Collection and Analysis*

This research follows a qualitative research methodology with interpretive approaches, where it acknowledges the relationship between researcher and research, and tries to understand the agency, identities and interrelationships (Lament, 2015, p. 19). This research will use the 'discourses analysis' (see Neumann, 2008) as the toolkit to understand the complex interrelationship, contestation, and contradiction among the multiple actors caused by PMSCs-led global security governance. Furthermore, 'discourse analysis' will help to understand the multiple actors such as the Gorkhali community, Nepal, PMSCs, and client states' concerns, positions, and so on.

This research is based on secondary sources, where research mainly focuses on the Gorkhali and their family's interview, stories, coverage, and concern published in media, journal articles, books, and reports on research topic. This research focuses on two incidents that happened in Afghanistan as cases to study. First, the situation of Gorkhali after the 2016 Taliban suicidal attack on them while going to the Canadian embassy, and second, the situation of Nepali security guard after Afghanistan fell to the Taliban in 2021, while serving for western embassies through PMSCs. Furthermore, research only reflects incident related to Gorkhali in the Russo-Ukraine war. However, there is a lack of reliable information regarding the way, and extent of Gorkhali's participation in the Russia-Ukraine war. This research doesn't focus more on Gorkhali engagement in the Russo-Ukraine war, but the author believe Gorkhali engagement in Afghanistan and Russia share some important phenomena.

4.   **Conceptual Framework**

This research wants to use the 'global assemblage' as the conceptual framework to capture the consequences and interrelationship between TCN, PMSCs, and client states in global security governance. The privatization of security as a global phenomenon, and the rapid growth of PMSCs since the Iraq and Afghan war have grown the practices and legitimacy of private actors in state affairs (Higate, 2017, p. 4). The 'global security assemblage further problematizes the earlier understanding of the state, use of forces, and zero-sum approaches between PMSCs and the State. So, the 'global assemblage' rejects the fixed and stable ontologies, the presupposition of units and categories to constitute the world (Abrahamsen &William, 2017, p. 16), and at the same time, it captures the "change, fluidity, and emergence of the new institution, practices and authority" (Abrahamsen &William, 2017, p.18). Furthermore, "it focuses on the multiplicity of actors, the different forms of power and resources available to them" (Abrahamsen &William, 2017, p. 15). In this way, Abrahamsen & William (2017) argued, that it can recognize different functioning systems due to different constitutive elements or contingent whole (pp. 16-17). The emergent hybrid structure in PMSCs led global security governance, that "Interact and combine to manifest the new institutions and practices that challenge the categories of public/ private, global/local" (Abrahamsen & William, 2009, p. 9). which is also called 'global security assemblage' (Abrahamsen & William, 2017). That "complex assemblage of cross-border network constituted by diverse institutions, practices, and normativity that cannot contain within territorial boundaries of the nation state" (Abrahamsen & William, 2009, p. 9). That means, it distorts the distinction between the public-private, and global-local realms due to the fusion of public and private responsibility and power between PMSCs and the State. The situation further complicated the existing divide and binaries of public vs private and global vs local realm of security and military affairs. It makes it difficult to distinguish where the public realm ends and the private realm starts and vice-versa because of the complex relationship between PMSCs and client state on security and military matters.

The 'global assemblage' approach offers the possibility of alternative bluer relationships in multiple domains and interactions in contingent systems. The responsibility of any tragic event to Gorkhali soldiers is an emerging important aspect in the system of PMSCs and client state. This paper contextualise the responsibility concern to the Gorkhali community in global security assemblage. Furthermore, 'global assemblage' helps to capture emerging complex interrelationships between multiple actors involved in the entire process. So, it can give the agency to Gorkhali and its relationship within the entire system and process.

5.   **Discussion and Analysis**

This paper analyzes the role of PMSCs, emerging complex interrelationships, and assemblage between multiple actors in two case incidents; first, the 2016 Taliban suicidal bomber attack on the Nepali security guard's minibus on route to the Canadian embassy, and second, the situation after the fall of Afghanistan to the Taliban in 2021. According to the Nepali government data, 14565 people had been issued work permits to go to Afghanistan before the Taliban takeover, and among them, 1500 were for security positions in various embassies of western countries like the US, UK, and Canada in Kabul, however, there could have more in number due to practice of going through an unofficial channel in Afghanistan (Sharma, 2021). The reason to have a major attraction towards Nepali security guards for Western is that Nepali can stand and provide security for almost twelve hours a day, which is not only difficult for Western to do

same but also there is a high risk of being first targeted by the enemies, so Western delegate don't want to have their soldier in front-line of the embassy (Fritz, 2021). This is the reason for Western countries to heavily outsource security and military service to PMSCs in Afghanistan. The outsourcing of security issues to PMSCs by Western countries had reconfigured the security governance of Western client states, and created the hybrid governance structure between PMSCs and client states. In earlier understanding, public security and military realm were those authorized by state actors, and private security and military realm were those authorized by private actors. The public and private divides were visible. With increasing engagement PMSCs in state affairs have challenged earlier divide between the public and private realms of security and military affairs. As a result, the divide between the public and private realms of security and military affairs becomes blurred, and dynamics of global and local also become obfuscated due to the engagement of multiple actors trans-nationally. The western countries as clients of PMSCs, and their outsourcing of security and military matters to PMSCs in Afghanistan which challenged the dynamics of local/global. The complex situation where multiple actors engaged and earlier binaries of 'public vs private' and 'global vs local' gets blurred in 'global security assemblage'. Similarly, the blurring of the private/public and global/local realm is not unidirectional and doesn't only exist between client state and PMSCs, rather there were multiple ways and complex interactions between multiple actors. Which provides the contingent whole or system of security service by integrating all multiple actors. The Gorkhali, client states such as US, UK, and Canada, and PMSCs such as Sabre International, and GuardWorlds, Nepal's government are multiple actors integrating to form a contingent whole for security assemblage in Afghanistan. Gorkhali is one of the important actor in the entire process of PMSCs-led global security assemblage, their experience and perspective in case of tragic events or entire processes is also important in this regard. While discussing the Gorkhali experience, and the consequence they faced while serving to western embassy through PMSCs, the responsibility or obligation towards Gorkhali is important aspect of the entire process. How responsibility for any tragic incident towards the Gorkhali has been addressed within PMSCs led global security assemblage in Afghanistan is interesting and important to know the Gorkhali perspective in the system.

5.1.   *Operationalization Through Cases*

The Taliban suicidal bombing attack on a minibus of a Nepali security guard on June 20, 2016, killed thirteen Nepali and two Indian security guards, and five Nepali were badly injured (Khadka, 2018). They were traveling on an unarmored minibus to the Canadian embassy for their duty from their compartment. The Sabre International; PMSC had been deploying the Nepali security guard to protect the Canadian embassy based on the agreement between Sabre International and the client state that is the Canadian embassy. After the bombing, Sabre International Security dropped contracts from Iraq, and Afghanistan, and disappeared from the physical as well as virtual medium (Brewster, 2020a, also in Smith, 2019). After the disappearance of Sabre International, the lawyer, and scholar observed the questionable history of Sabre International Security regarding the contract with multiple clients (Smith, 2019). Similarly, in the case of the second event, which was the aftermath of the Taliban takeover of Afghanistan, the company like GuardWorlds had been deploying the Nepali security guard in the client state which is the British embassy (Biedscheid, 2023). The evacuation of Nepali security guards had happened for the last time after the Kabul fall to the Taliban (Biedscheid,

2023) although, the company and the UK government managed to successfully evacuate as already mentioned in the introduction section. Furthermore, the recent example of Gorkhali's engagement with the Wagner group has also got attention among stakeholders, though there is yet to come much information regarding the relationship between Gorkhali, the Wagner group, and the Russian state. Some examples of died and badly injured Nepali soldiers in Russo-Ukraine war have invited attention.

5.2. *Whose Responsibility: Private/public?*

After the tragic incident of the Taliban attack, the survivor and family members of the dead security guard experienced negligence from both Sabre International security and the Canadian government side. Gorkhali security guard and their families argued that they had given their lives for embassy protection, but they haven't responded and cared for us after the tragic incident (Smith, 2019). Similarly, the amount of compensation supposed to be given by the company was $300,000 in case of guard died or any permanent injuries, but some only got partial compensation from the company later after getting much huddle on the process, and others didn't get anything from the company (Smith, 2019). But Canadian government didn't provide any compensation until the lawsuit from the survivor to the Canadian court and the respective Canadian court verdict (Times, 2020). Canadian government argued that the deployment of security guards was on a contract basis between the company and them, they repeatedly denied any compensation and argued; 'we supposed and rely on the contractor company to ensure the security of security guards and all' (Brewster, 2020a). The question of responsibility is very complex in this situation. Either, it falls under the company which was dropped the contract after the incident. Or the Canadian government needed to be responsible? who didn't monitor and make accountable to the Sabre International company? Or the Nepali government? Or responsible for UN or International governance which lacked a mechanism to monitor the function, situation, and accountability of PMSCs? Similarly, In the second case, the responsibility of security guards who are facing detention and deportation is also in question after the evacuation of all. Security guards are claiming to take into consideration of their will, but the UK government in-explicitly sidelines the issues by pushing issues to the security company side. In both cases, responsibility by whom? Is it either for PMSCs or the client state? So, the blurred relationship between private and public dynamics is also seen in the case of taking responsibility for the incident. Where the realm of private companies terminates and where the realm of the public started is difficult to know in the PMSCs-led global security governance. Furthermore, the recent example of a Nepali citizen died due to the Ukraine counter attack to Russia. In this regard, who is going to be responsible for the incident? And furthermore, who will be accountable for any bad incident that happens to Nepali security labour working on behalf of Russia through a different mechanism. The uncertainties of the Wagner group seem more especially after the unsuccessful coup attempted by Yevgeny Prigozhin and his subsequent death (Associated Press, 2023). Russia has already denied formal allies with the Wagner group and Wagner's lack of formal registration has made more complex responsibility of any tragic incident to the Nepali security guard. In this regard, a new set of practices and norms seem emerging due to PMSCs-led security assemblage. So, the demand for new institutions, mechanisms and practices is also seen in relevance in the consequences of global security governance.

5.3.   *Interrelation Between PMSCs, Client States, Nepal and Gorkhali*

After the 2016 incident, Nepal banned the movement and recruitment of Gurkha to Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria (Ojha, 2021). The ban was due to a tragic incident and criticism came from various sectors, which had impacted the recruiter to join PMSCs in Afghanistan, because, Gorkhali security guards were very famous and common in many embassies in Afghanistan. The same fact was further justified by the US-led delegate also accompanied by the PMSC key member pressurized the Nepali government to lift the ban, and after some procedure, Nepal uplifted the earlier ban with procedural conditions (Pariyar, 2016). Though it lifted the total ban, new procedure and practices can seen in the picture. In the case of the Nepali security guard in the UK after the Afghanistan fall to the Taliban, the same issues were further got the attention to a Nepali government delegate at sixth meeting of the Nepal- United Kingdom Bilateral Consultation mechanism (BCM) in London, and both parties agreed to further discuss to address the grievances of Nepali security guard (Khan, 2023). Although, any progress hasn't been reported yet.

Similarly, the PMSCs and Gorkhali communities as security labor to PMSCs to make security governance, there is also an interrelationship between the client state (US, UK, and Canada), and Nepal on global security governance. One actor's action impacted others, for instance, the ban on Nepali security labor by the Nepal government impacted the PMSCs, and hence, the action of the client states impacted TCN. The US-led delegation accompanied by PMSCs contractor to pressurize Nepal to uplift the ban reiterated the dominant role of state actors even in PMSCs led security governance. Similarly, the Nepali foreign minister has been frequently warned to not join any private military company and state in the context of news coming regarding Nepali joining to informal organization and the Russian army (Sharma, 2023). In this regard, the Nepali government has stopped the issuing working visas for Russia (Sharma, 2024).This resulted due to issues frequently raised in the Nepali parliament to act or formulate any mechanism by the Nepali government to make return back who already joined the Russo-Ukraine war (Sharma, 2023). Furthermore, Nepal a sovereign, independent and peaceful country, illegal practices of joining foreign armies, especially in the context of the Russo-Ukraine war have been considered against national interest and Nepal's commitment to global peace and non-interference to other internal affairs (RepublicaNepal, 2023). So, it indicated the possible and dominant role of the Nepali government in PMSCs-led security architecture.

5.4.   *Perceptions and Security Assemblages*

There can be other implications of 'global security assemblage', because, it can have an impact on the perception of the state. In the case of the UK act to deport Nepali security guards, the people have been labeling issues and actions of the UK as inhuman, and at the same time, in the case of Canada's negligence they were heavily criticized during the same period. Furthermore, the Nepali government blindly blamed Canada for their negligence, issued a 'diplomatic note', and also raised an issue on the Nepali federal parliament by one of the ruling party members (Brewster, 2020a). Similarly, the same case also problematizes Canada's handling of PMSC, which caused tragic incidents of security guards who used to protect in Canadian embassy (Brewster, 2020a) So, it indicated that, diverse consequences of global security governance on the interrelationship between multiple actors. So, the inclusion of the role of an actor such as the TCN's state, and the interrelationship among them can add value to the existing literature

on 'Global security governance' and it helps to recognize the agency of other actors such as security labor and related country beyond the client state, and PMSCs in a 'global security assemblage' literature. Furthermore, the impact of inter-state relations due to PMSCs led security governance can be potential areas to look by scholars.

5.5. *Way Out*

The involvement of PMSCs ranges from soft security services such as handling airports, marts, houses, company to logistic, and hard military services. The growing trend of PMSCs worldwide also increases the security labour gap for TCN including the Gorkhali community. The interconnectedness and interdependence has made the world like a small village to move and exchange goods, ,people and ideas. The commitment of the Nepali government to democracy, human rights, the right to freedom of movement for citizens, and the facilitation of international work permits and provisions has motivated Nepali citizens to explore opportunities and migrate globally. For the Nepali government, it seems difficult to monitor and constrain citizens to migrate worldwide, However, it is important to have a clear understanding and guidelines of the Nepali government regarding where Nepali citizens can go and where should not go taking clear understanding complex and rapidly changing international affairs and PMSCs role in this regard.

The issue becomes more important in the context of increasing great power interest in PMSCs to secure their geopolitical interest worldwide (Curriden et al. 2023) where Gorkhali can be a potential security guard as in the case of Afghanistan and Russia. This is further urgent also because the existing International Code of Conduct for Private Security Service providers (ICoC) is only a voluntary code of conduct rather legally binding mechanism. In this regard, Nepal, in cooperation with other global south countries needs to advocate to formulate a binding legal framework and regulatory mechanism for PMSCs to ensure the human rights and safety of security guards within PMSCs. Last but not least, the manpower company as a critical organization bridging the gap between Gorkhali and PMSCs needs to have further monitoring and accountable in the case of Nepal.

6. Conclusion

The rampant rise of PMSCs and practices of outsourcing the state's security, military, and developmental affairs to PMSCs is a global phenomenon in the contemporary world. In this regard, the global south countries are increasingly providing security labor to PMSCs, the Gorkhali are among them. The outsourcing of security services to PMSCs by Western countries in Afghanistan is a case of 'global security assemblage', where the earlier divide between public/private security and military matters, and global/local realms no longer existed. Similarly, it is not unidirectional, rather this obfuscation has seemed in multiple cases and interactions among multiple actors. That not only exists between the client states and PMSCs, but also in case of taking the responsibility of TCN in between PMSCs, client state, and TCN's country. Likewise, the new Global security governance, where PMSCs are intrinsic and central, has been causing multiple consequences and complex interrelationships among the multiple actors as well. So, it is important to acknowledge and recognize this emerging complexity, and interrelation to make visible the global security landscape by involving PMSCs which are shaping and conditioning the local and national institutions and practices, because, it is part of global security governance.

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