

# A New Historical Approach to Learn the Madheshi People in Nepal

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## Abstract

*Nepal is a multicultural country with a different physical geography. The people living in Himalayan; mountain and valley, and in the flat plain/Terai (Madhesh) regions have their mother tongue and even the different dialects in the same Nepali language. Despite the contribution of the Madheshi people in the nation-building and their continuous effort to maintain harmony with the other communities, some ruling people from non-Madheshi communities continuously have been denying their presence by ignoring cultural assimilation in the sectors like history, university texts, media, bureaucracy, security, the power structure in the nation, and so on which creates sometimes unrest and the hostility. The anti-Madheshi narrative used by many historians has left the Madheshi people always a suspicious community in Nepal in terms of nationality for those citizens who are unaware of the truth of Nepali history. So, this academic writing uses new theoretical tools like new historicism with some other marginal theories for the historical truths and to counterfeit the pre-histories to maintain cultural assimilation. It is a qualitative research rendering through historical text, article, theoretical text, and news media to crosscheck the facts of either community of Nepal.*

**Keywords:** Binary, Discourse, Madheshi community, Structure, Thick description.

## Introduction

This article examines a new historical perspective of the study with some typical historical events of Nepal to learn about the Madheshi people. Nepal is a multicultural country enjoying the federal democratic republican constitution of 20th September 2015 (Ashoj 03, 2072 V. S.) which has broadly three communities; the ruling *Khas-Pahadi*; mostly prefer their trade but also the ruling class the Newar, and the Madheshi community who originally reside near Indian border and whose culture mostly matches to the Indian cultures in many ratios. While the Khas-Pahadi and Newar communities have the king, president, prime minister, minister, and other higher officials more in numbers, the Madheshi community has got chance to be a president and proportionally less number in the fact of more demographic presence the ministers in the different governments of Nepal in the three political eras of Nepal, viz. from 1768 AD when to April 1990 (Chaitra of 2046 V. S.); between April 1990 to April 24, 2006, and afterward April 24, 2006 when Nepal gets wide range of the political changes radically shifted by erasing any type of monarchy to the federal democratic

republican system. Currently, Nepal has seven provinces: Koshi, Madhesh, Bagmati, Gandaki, Lumbini, Karnali and Far-Western. However, the Madheshi people are densely populated in all the geographically low twenty-two districts of Nepal from the eastern Mechi to the western Mahakali adhering to the Indian border which touches many other provinces. Madhesh province covers the Saptari, Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi, Rautahat, Bara, and Parsa districts. Despite having contribution of the Madheshi people in nation building a lot in the different time intervals in the history, they bear frequently the tag of anti-nationalist or pro-Indian in Nepal by two counter communities who always enjoy the power. It causes frequently cultural and political unrest in Nepal.

To propel the country with the brotherhood among all the citizens of Nepal, it is a prime duty of the different level governments, political parties, universities, media person, bureaucrats, security agencies, courts, and others to bring harmony first among the people who dwell in the country. One way to keep harmony is to make all the communities self-honored by the history, media, text, and mechanisms of the ruling patterns of the country. This article reinforces the reading of Nepalese history making unbiased meaning from the facts through a new historical approach by delimiting a little bit with the help of deconstruction theory and other marginalized theories like feminism while needed will be an exact weapon. For this, the researcher selects some historicist, new historicist, and deconstructionist theorists respectively Michel Foucault, Greenblatt, Tillyard, and Jacques Derrida with the to-the-point ideas mentioned in the texts of Lois Tyson, Keith Green, and Jill LeBihan. These theoretical texts have been used in some sample events in the context of some Nepalese historical texts which include the Khas-Pahadi narrative in the print and electronic media as well as in the book form and also the texts with the Madheshi narratives, this is a qualitative research.

### **Rendering through Theories & Methodological Tools**

The researcher uses qualitative methods in this article with some postulates of the new historicism primarily as the tool. The collaborative study of new historicism with historicism and feminism will pay here for the truth of the Madheshi community. Regarding new historicism, Lois Tyson writes in her book *Critical Theory Today* six points that make the gist that history is about interpretations rather than facts and she clarifies that power does not remain consolidated in one person or society but rather propagates in a culture through the exchange of things and ideas in a particular narrative (2006: 290). She talks about the language of the power-holding person who writes history to support the power structure in a particular discourse/narrative (voice/language of the ruler), and the other visible is of the ruled who are dissatisfied with this narrative of the power holding people seeking the voice/language of the ruled. This shift in the narrative of the ruler and the being ruled in history becomes clear while doing the comparative study of some historicists and new historicists. Let us see this marginal difference in the verses of other authors. Green and LeBihan postulate the idea of new historicism:

Influenced by the idea of Michel Foucault (although we should not conflate the two), the 'New Historicists', so-called by Greenblatt himself, see history

not in terms of discrete episodes forming a homogeneous whole, but as fractured, subjective, and above all textual. Where Tillyard proposed a cohesive and coherent worldview as a context for literary histories, Foucault sees literature as just another discourse manipulated through and by culture's power struggles. Foucault's historicist perspective is one based on a suspicion of truth rather than a presumption of truth. Thus any historical representation is not unified, truthful, and coherent, but contingent, unstable, and partial. (2011)

An eager to practice the new historical theory uses thick description to mean any historical event in a new way. The term's thick and thin descriptions are binary. Tyson summaries 'thick' description is not a search of facts but rather a search of meaning which attempts closely in a detailed way to examine a historical event through cultural productions like birthing practices, ritual ceremonies, games, works of art, penal codes, copyright laws and so on, the 'thin' description is nothing but to read the historical events through conformist's color of eyes (2006).

To understand the marginalized voice of the Madheshi community in Nepal, this article considers delimiting the boundary line between historicism and new historicism. It will be better to keep in mind the binary theory. Quoting Jacques Derrida, Tyson puts forward the ideas for deconstruction criticism:

To explore the specific ways in which our language determines our experience, Derrida borrowed and transformed structuralism's idea that we tend to conceptualize our experience in terms of opposites, called binary oppositions ... however, Derrida noted that these binary oppositions are also little hierarchies. That is, one term in the pair is always privileged, or considered superior to the other. (2011)

In the language of Derrida, the power-holding communities of Nepal, especially the Khas-Pahadi community have a privileged/superior position in comparison to the Madheshi community. It is very near to the theory of feminism for feminism also keeps the privileged 'male' and the underprivileged 'female' in the binary opposition (Male/Female) where the female has been marginalized politically, psychologically, economically, and so on worldwide for long. Giving an example of George Eliot, Thokar further mentions that even before the Victorian Age in Britain, female authors were there but under the pseudonym (Thokar, 2023).

### **Some Referential Claims About the Madheshi Society in Nepal**

The article selects some particular historical events as a sample to testify with new historical facts. These are from the ancient history of Nepal to the present time. While one considers the Malla Period as the history of ancient Nepal, the Shah Reign as a modern and the Gaur massacre of the Maoists the contemporary historical events. In a news about the mass political killing of about twenty-nine Maoist cadres at a time due to rival of the then Madheshi Janadhikar Forum Nepal (MJFN) led by Upendra Yadav and also then Communist Party of Nepal Maoist (CPN-Maoist) led by Pushpa Kamal Dahal "Prachand", the sitting Prime Minister of Nepal, in Gaur (Nepal) occurred on March 21, 2007, Wednesday in *The Himalaya Times*, a Nepali newspaper vernacular, shows as a 'massacre'

from its title 'Vibration of Gaur Massacre' in the language of the Khas-Pahadi people (Sharma, 1;{karna Trans.}). The news further mentions the media bite of Baburam Bhattarai, the then vice-president of CPN-Maoist who became later the prime minister of Nepal, who strongly denies the very killing event of Gaur to name as any 'people's revolt' and he directly terms it as a 'barbaric killing' to those who were fighting against marginalization in the *Madhesh* of Nepal. His angry voice shows the chauvinism of some of the ruling Khas-Pahadi community from generations in Nepal. However, the news does not mention how Bhattarai's claimed victims of the massacre were from the Maoist cantonment and other parts of the country reaching at spot even though many of them were not the residents and for which purpose they were present there on the 7th of March 2007 when the political-cum-communal riot takes place.

Likewise, one can read about other such Khas-Pahadi community's chauvinism visibly in the book of Baburam Acharya, A Brief History of Nepal, popularly known as the crown historian of Nepal, Itihas Shiromani. Though there are other many famous historians in Nepal like Gyan Mani Nepal, Naya Raj Pande, Dinesh Raj Pant, and so on they all belong to the Khas-Pahadi community, and their pieces of volume represent the conformist text. The Madheshi history writer in Nepal is rare so their counterclaim comes out from letters, art, culture, articles, books, critically published news, and so on as well as from a critical author in some ratios like Dharm Ratna Yami, a Newar former minister and father-in-law of the former premier of Nepal, Baburam Bhattarai, somewhere aforementioned historians Acharya and Gyan Mani Acharya mentions the role of the Madheshi kings as a rival of Gorkha's king Prithvi Narayan Shah in the process of unification of Nepal. Even he shows a bad nexus of Makawanpur's king Digbandhan Sen with the barbaric Muslims living in India. The event seems to a political. Digbandhan Sen appeals to Nawab-Wazir Kasim-Ali Khan to restore Makawanpur from the grip of Prithvi Narayan Shah (2013). Such kind of narrative even pushes the Madheshi people even anti-nationalistic in history.

In another event for Acharya, Tripuri variant Lalit Tripura Sundari is near Kaji Bhimsen Thapa, a military post, who later on adds 'Minister' before his name first time in the history of Nepal. This queen of King Ran Bahadur Shah, grandson of King Prithvi Narayan Shah, Tripuri has been an influential tool to provide political benefit to Bhimsen Thapa in Nepali history. Bhimsen Thapa became successful in obtaining royal thumb-stamped authority from King Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah through Tripuri to run the administration (2013). This event is important for the Madheshi people because of the name 'Tripuri'. Tripuri has been projected as a Khas-Pahadi community's queen of King Rana Bahadur Shah and Kantawati as a widow Brahmin from Mithila. During pilgrim, a teenage widow Brahmin girl from Mithila came to visit the Pashupati temple of Kathmandu where the Chautaras, the royalists, Sher Bahadur Shahi and Vidur Shahi emotionally provoked the king to marry her even against her will who weeps for six months refusing this wed but accepts later forcefully (Acharya, 2013). Here, King Rana Bahadur Shah is innocent and responsible for such an unritual and immoral marriage with a teenage widow girl with an aged person the two Chautara Shahis. The parentage of this Maithili Brahmin widow girl Kantawati and how

she comes to Kathmandu's Pashupati temple from Mithila in such days when there is no vehicle in the year 1851 V. S. is cipher in the lines of Acharya which creates a suspicion in the mind of the reader.

In a next context and under the title 'The Calamities on Nepal' and proving the Madheshi (of then Tirhut part with its capital Simaraungadha) as barbaric, Acharya writes in his book that Chandeshwor Thakur, a minister from Tirhut of the King Shakti Singh attacks Nepal in 1347 V. S. when the Nepali King Anant Malla is weak in the history (2013) and even Thakur sets a separate independent country from Nepal in 1389 V. S. under Tirhut King Hari Singh Dev during King Ari Malla (2013). On the further pages, Acharya mentions King Hari Singh Dev's son, Jagat Singh, the soul cause of the death of Gopal Chandra for capturing the country's administration, a Kshatriya Khas (warrior) youth and the second husband of Nayak Devi after the death of his brother and the first husband of Nayak Devi, Harish Chandra.

### **The Truth Reveals**

Regarding Gaur's clash in 2007, the arrogant language of Babu Ram Bhattarai in the news of D. B. Sharma in *The Himalaya Times*, a Nepali vernacular newspaper is nothing but Bhattarai's discourse to hide unsuccessfully the tentacling of the Maoist cadres in the affair of the Madheshi people due to which they were brutally killed. This news is on the Maoist's narrative which represents the anti-Madheshi discourse so, Bhattarai's bite is hate speech towards the Madheshi people. His voice is full of 'confidence' that the Maoists will be released after all because the ruling power of Nepal is currently in the hands of a Khas-Pahadi Maoist leader. However, the counterpart members of the then MJFN, currently Janata Samajwadi Party (JSP), very sternly react in the media just two days after Sharma's news in different media platforms. In different news and quoting the press release of JSP's spokesperson Manish Kumar Suman and its other central leaders, Yadav in the *Naya Patrika*; Mahato in the *Annapurna Post* vernaculars, and Khatiwada in *The Kathmandu Post* English daily narrate that the Gaur brutal killing was the reaction of the people raised after the hostile behavior of the Maoists towards the Madheshi people but its case was filed against the then MJFN; it is a plot to trap the JSP's supremo, Upendra Yadav; in this big political massacre there should be a high-level probe committee to investigate the matter; the government's deal with Gaur massacre victims' kin disturbs peace and harmony, and that if the government moves so, JSP may quit the coalition government ("Gaur Massacre Occurred Due to Maoists' Stubborn," 2023; "There Should Be a High Level Probe Committee on Gaur's Massacre: JSP," 2023; "Janata Samajwadi shows UN report to deny hand in killings," 2023).

It is necessary to mention a few lines on the Gaur incident. It is a matter of that political time in Nepal when the Maoists were claiming to have total credit of changes in the Nepali society together by the rapid conversion of the voters into Maoists under the threat of illegal weapons by challenging the country's entities ahead of the UN mission to complete its duty but the Madheshi people, most of the democratic people as well as their political and equal constitutional rights seeking, at the same time were fighting for their own identity here. In an earlier article, it was mentioned (Karna, 2012) that actually the then Maoist top leaders' dominating instinct over the Madheshi people was responsible for their lower cadres to do something nasty repeatedly in Gaur also as they were doing in the Madhesh previously like in Lahan where the Maoist leader Ram Karki's order to shoot the MJFN's activist Krishna Kumar claimed the life of an innocent school student, Ramesh Mahato, on 19<sup>th</sup> January 2007, Friday when the Forum cadres and the common Madheshi people were agitating against the Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007, promulgated just five days ago. Though, it was Nepali Congress's Girija Prasad Koirala's government newly came Maoists from the underground were the stakeholders in the government and influenced the country's entities and ruling systems. Karna proves that the Gaur's nasty event is the revolt of the Madheshi people against some ruling the Khas-Pahadi chauvinists and it seems as nothing but a 'riot' between the two communities at that moment. Quoting Amar Yadav, the then chief of MJFN's organization and a person thrown in the drain of the Santapur after brutal killing when he addressed a Forum's rally on 31<sup>st</sup> Jan. 2007 in his article, Karna mentions that the Gaur event was the outcome of the continuous hostility of the Maoist cadres towards the Madheshi people just mentioned above in Lahan (19<sup>th</sup> Jan. 2007), Bhairahawa (23<sup>rd</sup> Jan. 2007), Nepalgunj (24<sup>th</sup> Jan. 2007) and around the nation. They were Maoist fighters who had gathered many days earlier in Gaur Rice Mill from the cantonment of Shaktikhore (Chitwan), Gorkha, Sindhuli sub-division, and their cadres from Janakpur and Birgunj under the central leadership of Varshaman Pun and the local leadership of Prabhu Shah and Satya Narayan Bhagat from many where the MJFN was preparing the stage from the Southern part but the Maoists started to prepare the stage later from the Northern part on the same day, 21<sup>st</sup> March 2007. Here, one sees nothing but the Khas-Pahadi central leader Maoists are becoming chauvinists in the arrogance of ruling of the government over the mere local dispute of the MJFN and the Maoist cadres in Madhesh. Let me serve now below about other events after Gaur's clash.

The personal enmity of the Gorkha's King Prithvi Narayan Shah with Makawanpur's king Hemkarna Sen and his son, Digbandhan Sen, is nothing but due to Shah's greedy nature of dowry. It is the reason that the enmity continues even after the death of Hemkarna Sen. King Prithvi Narayan Shah makes his mind up to finish the Makawanpur's Sen Rule (Acharya,

2013). He crosses his writing within some pages whether there is political unification or dowry reason between Gorkha's King Prithvi Narayan Shah and Makawanpur's King Hemkarna Sen and his heir, Digbandhan Sen. However, the marital history has not been mentioned by this author which reveals greedier nature and the barbaric character of Prithvi Narayan Shah, an individual over the Madheshi people which the conformist historians of Nepal have been hiding till date. However, Karna clarifies in his *Nachiniyekā Nepālītharū* (Unknown Nepalese) book that King Prithvi Narayan Shah was not only a greedy man by demanding the four-toothed white rare elephant, horses, jewelry, cash in dowry in the form of marriage rather he was hostile, jealousy and even a barbaric one not to bear the Madheshi's prosperity because he had demanded against ritualism to farewell the newly married daughter, his wife, from Makawanpur just tomorrow after the wedding against Maithil culture on which there was a verbal fight of Prithvi Narayan Shah with Digbandhan Sen, brother of the groom which had caused the instant divorce (2007). Further, when one renders the text of Acharya, the blame of anti-national factor discourse on the Madheshi people gets dismissed at the same time. When Mr. Toms-Rumboldt and East India Company's Captain Kinlock marched with some twenty-four hundred militaries to Nepali territory Hariharpur on 21<sup>st</sup> September 1767, the Madheshi citizen hid their food and water in Janakpur-Sindhuli area so that the Company's army will not get the livelihood and will lose the war without fighting (Acharya, 2013).

Differently in the case, of Tripuri's unwilling and unmatched marriage with King Rana Bahadur Shah, the Khas-Pahadi conformists' discourse is the same, that is, to hide the truth by favoring the misbehaves of the Shah kings. Even the title "Crown Historian" fails to reveal the truth of Tripuri but Dharma Ratna Yami, Shah, and Manoj Kumar Karna rarely write honestly. By quoting Tripuri's one descendant in the current time, Om Kumar Jha, a permanent resident of Vinhi (or, Vindhi) near Janakpur and a pensioner from Nepali subject teacher of Malangwa Secondary School (Sarlahi), and a post office staff of Birgunj (Vijay Karna) who had parceled the palm-printed document of then King Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah in 2019 V. S. showing the dowry's eight Bighas pond belonged to the Jha in Lautan of Bara district to the King Mahendra Shah in a legal matter, Karna confirms that the claimed Tripuri, so called the daughter of Nayan Singh Thapa was not a Khas-Pahadi, that is to say, Tripuri is the widowed, Mithila's teenage girl who was forcefully married to King Rana Bahadur Shah (2007). So Karna completely denies that Kantwati is Mithila's widow Brahmin woman. Actually, as per the cultural practice of the Shah royal family, Tripura Devi (original name) had been changed after the marriage into Kantwati which practice continued to the daughter of the Late King Birendra Shah, Late Shruti Shah whose husband's name was converted as 'Kumar Gorakha' from Gorakha Shamsheer JBR. Raising the question of how a widow and teenage girl came to Kathmandu in the Acharya's history, Karna continues to write from Tripura's family's source that she was a resident of Magrauni-Raanti in Madhubani district (Bihar, India) of parents Narayan Dutta Mishra and

Kumashalani Devi and a brother, Ishwori Dutta Mishra, whose stunning beauty had attracted King Rana Bahadur Shah during his pilgrimage to Vaidyanath Dham (Jharkhand) accompanied by a military troop. The king had accepted among many villagers the two conditions that he would make possible the marriage of Tripura's two sisters and that her son would be the successor of his throne. As per the condition, Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah became the next king who arranged later the marriages of his two aunts with Bholanath Jha and Shambhunath Jha of Damodarpur-Durgasthan (India), near Jaleswor and had also erected a Kumashalani building in the memory of his grandmother in Hanumandhoka premise which was demolished by King Mahendra. The Jha brothers had gotten fat dowry and land property in Nepal and their relatives are in Vindhi (Janakpur), Bara, Kathmandu, and so on where (Vindhi) King Tribhuvan had reached with Prime Minister Matrika Prasad Koirala remembering the relation of seventh-generation maternal house.

Historian Acharya guesses that Jagat Singh is probably the son of King Hari Singh Dev and Deval Devi whose 'Devi' surname matches with Nayak Devi, Padmulla Devi, Rajalla Devi, and so on in that context Acharya does not mention anywhere how it happens to match (2013), there Karna clarifies the situation. Citing lines from Nepal, Karna cancels any confusion that Jagat Singh was the son of Harisingh Dev. He writes that due to attack of Gayasuddin Tuglak from Indian side, the Tirhut King Harisingh Dev had marched to Bhadgaun (Bhaktapur) in 1324 AD bringing *Tulaza Bhawani*, the goddess's idol and some people of Debhaju, Bhandel, Acharya, Vaidya, Dhobi and Khadgi castes with him (Karna, 2007). After the return of Tuglak, Harisingh Dev sent back his other son, Mati Singh, as a king in Simrongadh. The scripture of Pratap Malla in the Hanumandhoka premise shows Harisingh Dev's near Panauti. It also clarifies that the Malla kings after Jayasthiti Malla are in the series after Harisingh Dev. Though Bendal and Patech accept Harisingh Dev as a refugee. But Bhattarai clarifies some facts that Deval Devi was not the wife of Jaya Rudra Malla; the heir of Jaya Rudra Mall was his daughter Nayak Devi who was brought up by Padmul Devi (mother of Jaya Rudra Malla) and Deval Devi, the Thakurani of Jaya Tung Dev brother of Jaya Rudra Malla), and first marriage of Nayak Devi was with a youth Kashishwor Harischandra Dev but after his death, the second marriage with Jagat Singh (Nepal, 2062 V. S.). Jagat Singh and Nayak Devi were the cousins as claimed by Gyanmani Nepal because the truth is Jagat Singh was the son of Harisingh Dev which is clear in Karna's book on page 139. From this discussion, one can easily understand why the Maithili language has been the royal family language once even in the Shah dynasty in Nepal. It linguistically proves that the claimed person of the then King Gyanendra Shah of first Nepal's woman poet, Lalit Tripura Sundari, is the very Maithil widowed Brahmin woman who had forcefully married King Ran Bahadur Shah and her history was hidden for hundreds of years. It is noticeable that the then King Gyanendra Shah had hurriedly launched her book just after some months of the book unveiling of Karna, *Nachiniyekā Nepālītharū* (Unknown Nepalese), which was the news in the Kantipur daily, a Nepali vernacular also ("A Book on Madhesh," 2007).

**Therefore**

From the above discussion on some historical events, one sees from a conformist, that is, the Khas-Pahadi historian's point of view that the Gaur's Madheshi Protest of their cultural identity in the nation is a massacre for some Khas-Pahadi Maoists for political mileage. For them, the Madheshi people are somewhat anti-national about some Khan and Nawabs but the Madheshi's national activities of hiding food and water from East India Company's soldiers during the unification of Nepal is not present in history. Likewise, the greedy dowry of King Prithvi Narayn Shah is the cause of enmity with Makawanpur's kings but, for the conformists, those Madheshi kings are anti-unification of Nepal; the forceful marriage with a widow Maithil Brahmin teenage with sexual pervasive King Rana Bahadur and hiding her identity and literary creation a normal, and Tirhut King Hari Singh Dev's son Jagat Singh as a barber. Somewhere manipulated history then somewhere the misdeeds of the power-holding kings are hidden. Hence, the new historical approach of reading these historical events consisting of the Madheshi community in the binary opposition is worthy in the language of Derrida and the theories that history is influenced by the ruling people of Foucault, Greenblatt, and Tillyard seem true. In the light of different theories and many distorted examples from Nepali history, this research article concludes with some sharp suggestions that there should be a feeling of equality in the minds of ruling people, media persons, and historians in Nepal under the following bullets:

- i) The Madheshi people have been historically marginalized politically, culturally, economically, psychologically, and linguistically in every sector of Nepal by the non-Madheshi Pahadi and the Newar communities in different power structures of the nation such as bureaucracy, media, security entity, university text, government, court, and so on. Since Nepal has Madhesh province named after the identity of the Madheshi people who dwell there, their honor of voice should come with their discourse in history to have a long-lasting peace among the heterogeneous societies here which will be a critical and full of truth rather than one-sided monotonously written text in the interest of only the power holding people;
- ii) The existing history in Nepal written by the Khas-Pahadi power-holding people should be interpreted through thick description rather than thin description so that every manipulation against the Madheshi people should be factually and impartially judged to reveal the truth;
- iii) There are always two different narratives/discourses of texts in Nepal. The Madheshi people need a careful reading of the existing history of the Khas-Pahadi power-holding people in their discourse to get an equal level of rights and self-respect in Nepal as to that of their counter communities. There should be such an environment for writing.

- iv) The Madheshi people have been fictionalized in the history of Nepal in the sense of nationality as well and they have been tried to prove as barbaric whether it be the case of the Malla or Shah dynasties or the Gaur massacre in 2007. What they have not done, they are blamed for, and what they do are not counted for. It became possible because of the domination of non-Madheshi groups over power structure in the government, text and media, and
- v) The glorious history of the Madheshi community has been marginalized intentionally more during the Shah Reign by renaming the Madheshi same person in the palace as well as by ceasing their property and historical text creations.

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