

Social Contract without Citizenship and Statelessness: A Case of Indian Origin Tamils Slavery, Statelessness and Labour exploitation in Sri Lanka

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Abstract

This article argues that the Slavery, Citizenship, and statelessness are the main part of the idea of social contract. Generally colonial labour settlements were considered as contract of settlers' but it's a contract of slavery. It will understand in the case of Indian Origin Tamils slavery, citizenship, and Statelessness in Sri Lanka. The Indian Origin Tamils or Uphill Country Tamils were treated as indentured slave labourers during the colonial period. After the independence of Sri Lanka these communities were treated same as in the new independent government. They were not considered as citizens by the both colonial state as well as in the new independent state of Sri Lanka. They were treated as cattle in the plantation fields and they were the victim of several kinds of labour exploitations. And also they were rendered as stateless by the Sri Lankan independent government. Their injustice continues even though the indentured labour contract changed in to the citizenship. This paper analysed in the uphill country Tamils colonial contract of slavery and how it began the main reason for statelessness. And why the Indian Tamils were not considering as citizens in their deported land. Finally, how the stateless issue is goes beyond the 'social' and the 'settler' to that of Slavery contract and citizenship contract.

Keywords: *Social Contract, Slavery Contract, Labour, Citizenship, Statelessness.*

I. Introduction

The Indian Origin Tamils or Uphill Country Tamils were emigrated from South India to reach the Sri Lanka as indentured slave labourers during the colonial period. This community ancestor was deported from India and they were used as slaves for more than two generations to developing the plantation economy of Sri Lanka. During the times of pre-colonial and post-colonial periods these people were not considered as citizens by the state under any operation of its law. Generally, the Contractarian ideas of citizenship define the moral relation between the state and citizens. Rather in the context of indentured labour contract shows the immoral labour relation between state and citizens. Most of the Contractarian argues that the colonial settlements were considered as contract of settlements. But the colonial settlements not only express the contract of settlers it's also a contract of slavery. Next, the decolonised state also treated the emigrated labour communities as non-citizens based on their labour status and emigration history. Again these people are completely excluded from the social contract. In the present state constitution and the concept of citizenship is the main part of social contract. The citizen's inclusion and exclusion is mainly depending on these main bodies of social contract. Whether the persons citizenship is denied by the state that person will completely exclude from the social contract.

For instance, through the citizenship contract is only possible to give the education, security, health, employment, and welfare to the persons. Without holding of the citizenship these followed services are not applicable for the non-citizens United Nation Higher Commission for Refugees and Stateless convention in 1954 and 1961. Based on these points this paper argues that the providing of citizenship and denying of citizenship is a main part of Social contract. For instance, the (1) indentured slave labour system (2) Statelessness (3) confer citizenship to stateless persons. First the indentured slave labour settlements generally consider as contract of settlements of the people. And many of the literatures related to colonial migrations not clearly identified the citizenship status and rights of plantation labourers. This paper trying to explain the slave process of settlement is not only considered as colonial settlers' contract and it's a contract of slavery. During these periods the people were lived as non-citizens within the settlers land. The denying of persons citizenship is a complete exclusion from the social contract. It also an injustice way of slavery practices on the

labourers. This contract of slavery is mainly has connected between colonial ruler and the deported community. Second, during the state partition neither state re-formation the state was also denied to give the citizenship status to the deported labourers. Again these people were forced to live in their injustice life. This paper is trying to define that the conferring of citizenship is the only possible way to give the justice to the stateless person. That only the person should to include in the social contract. For more clearly is to give the citizenship rights to the stateless persons. This paper is focus to understand the Contractarian ideas in the issues of slavery, citizenship, and statelessness in the case of Indian origin Tamils in Sri Lanka. The post-independent government of Sri Lanka was not willing to consider Indian Tamils as citizens of their state. Indian origin Tamils citizenship and their basic rights to political, economic and social rights were denied by the new reformed state.

Uphill Country Tamils or Indian Tamils were known as Malaiyaha Makkal, Estate Tamils and Plantation Tamils in Sri Lanka. This community's ancestors were South Indian labourers who were brought under by British Ceylon in the early 1800's as an effective and cheap labour force. The emigration of labour from India to Ceylon is almost as old as the beginning of the Ceylon plantations. Sri Lanka holds more than five hundred years of colonial history; it's beginning with Portuguese in (1505-1658). Next to Dutch, for instance, they brought the Indian Tamils to work for cinnamon plantations in Sri Lanka. During these periods of Dutch the migration was irregular. After the arrival of the British in 1796 to Sri Lanka, the thousands of Indian Tamils were deported to the island by the Britishers. Anyhow, it was only with the beginning of the settlements of coffee plantation, and later tea, and rubber plantations that Indian labourers from south India began to migrate and reached Ceylon as regularly. These people emigration or deported settlement held on the basis of labour contract. This contract it's executed and implemented as a processes of slave agreements. This slavery contract seems in the form of injustice which includes xenophobia of multiple discrimination, slavery, marginalisation and labour exploitation, etc. The basic concepts of social contract mainly which includes freedoms, equal opportunity, treat everyone as equal, and give security to all citizens. In the case of Hill country Tamils they were treated as slave labourers by the colonial rulers based on the indentured labour contract. This situation was continued in the post-colonial period too. And they were considers as alien in their deported land and they became victims of several

kinds of discrimination. Firstly, this paper aims to define the how the Uphill Country Tamils indentured labour contract going beyond the ‘social’ and the ‘settler’ to that of Slavery. Finally, this article aims to define the social contract without citizenship inclusion and exclusion and importance of indigeneity to the citizenship right. Here, we used indigeneity because of the Indian Tamils were lived in Sri Lanka for many generations. So the people became the indigeneity people in their re-settled land. Jeremy Waldron argues that the deported community should consider as indigenous people. Based on their indignity they have an equal right to have rights for citizenship who enjoyed by the others *Indigeneity? First Peoples and Last Occupancy, (2002)*.

II. *Social Contract without Settlers Contract and Slavery Contract*

Thomas Hobbes idea of ‘Social Contract’ as a concept gets reinvented and transforms from one generation to another. Hobbes is an eminent philosophical and political thinker. He developed ‘Social Contract’ as a concept in the notions of agreements; this agreement is mainly between a person and group of persons¹. He describes Contract as the mutual transferring of rights. In the state of nature, everyone has the rights to everything. The ‘Social Contract’ is the agreement by which everyone mutually transfers their natural rights. It simply defines the contract as being connected among state, power, law, individual, and group of people, etc. The 20th century has seen a major transformation in the theory of ‘Social Contract’. The work under discussion is *Leviathan (1651)*, which still evokes varied deliberations in the present academic realm. For example, Levy arguing that the social contract theory is a set of political societies as resting on a fundamental agreement. This mutual agreement witnessed a unique ‘evolutionary journey’ as epochs passed². This contract yielded into a creation of the polity, where individuals were bound together into a single polity and set fundamental rules which define a structure, functioning and most importantly the dynamics of power latched to the concerned polity. He tries to build his argument based on the existing constitutions that were adopted at real moments in historical time; moreover, he also traced the individual rights and government powers in his inquiry. Both philosophers mainly try to define mutual moral agreements between state and citizens. Mostly their Contractarian principles defined the morality of the

¹ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (first published 1651, Penguin 1985)

² Jacob T. Levy “constitution as without social contract” [April 2009] PL 191-217

mutual agreements. Particularly it's visible in the Kantian principles as well as in the principles of John Locke work of second *treaties of government (1632-1704)*. These two philosophers described the moral values of the citizens and the states. Rousseau (1712-1778) and John Locke (1632-1704) both of them are famously known for their work on the transformation of humanity into a civilization, origins of the society and legitimacy of central authority over individuals . Locke's idea on 'emergence of political authority' and Rousseau's conception of 'civil society' both had Hobbes' theoretical understanding of Social Contract at its core. But they had distinguished healthy academic views on their key points. However, the reinventions of all contract theories mainly reflect the significance of Hobbes's theory of social contract.

But in the case of Uphill Country Tamils indentured labour agreement is seems an immoral agreement of slavery. Because these people overall rights were restricted by the colonial rulers and they were treated as slaves in the Sri Lankan plantations. Their isolated and fragmented plantation settlements not only express the indentured labour contract of colonial settlements and it's shown the contract of slavery. Every colonial settlement has a form of oppression and domination it was experienced across the globe. For example, African slaves in the Caribbean regions were economically oppressed and socially dominated under the power of the British. In the year 1770 to 1848 two and a half million Caribbean slaves worked in the different plantation sites of sugar, coffee, cotton and cacao fields. Most of the colonies were created for developing the plantation crops, and this crop plantation has a unique constructed system of colonised slave settlements. It also has many laws and restrictions amongst the indigenous people. This colonial law has caused different kinds of oppression and dominations. These slaves were dominated under different forms of labour exploitation, and they were forced to work free of cost, forced to live in poor environmental conditions, and forced to live without any human rights considerations. Understanding from the literature, all of the colonial plantations were developed only through the effort of slave labourers. Concept of Slavery Contract can be defined on the basis of the colonial settlements and processes of slavery. This slavery contract forms a connection between the colonial rulers and the indentured plantation slave labourers. Sri Lanka is one of the best instances through these processes of slavery.

Nichols's developed his idea of *settlers' contract* based on Robert Nozick and Rawls understanding on the political philosophy of social contract³. In his paper discusses the 'intentional distancing of individuals from the state by colonial superordinate, and normative claims of the oppressed indigenous masses" (*"Indigeneity and the Settler Contract today' p167-168*), in the context of settler-colonial societies of the Anglo-American world (*e.g. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States*). Nichols shapes his conception of 'Settler Contract' based on historical accounts where colonial settlers used Social Contract as a potent tool of oppression and domination on the indigenous population. More to this Nichols also took assistance from Pateman's 'sexual Contract' which elaborates male domination to the women, in the natural contract of sexual patriarchy and Charles Mills submission on Racial Contract which reads this contract as "*as a set of formal or informal agreements or meta-agreements between the members of one subset of humans, and it really means a natural contract as making due allowance for gender differentiation.*"⁴ Here, in the context of Uphill Country Tamils brought into the discussion to explain the concept and practice of Slavery Contract as prevalent in the colonial period.

Uphill Country Tamils were brought under the power of colonial rule; every labourer was bought and sold on the basis of slave contract. Sri Lanka was one of the best examples of slave marine 'trans-shipment'. And these slaves were utilized for developing the economy through colonial settlements. And also the slaves were used for developing the plantation sectors around the Ceylon. Britishers who came to Sri Lanka in 1796 and their domination remained till the year 1948⁵. During the time of the British, more than thousands of Indian Tamil labourers were brought to Ceylon. These trades started in the year 1830, and it continued until 1944⁶. The census of Sri Lanka 1847 estimated 42,491 immigrant labourers on the island and that 29,547, Indian origin Tamil labourers settled in the central province of Ceylon⁷. These Indian

³ Robert Nichols "Indigeneity and the Settler Contract today' [January 16, 2013] Volume: 39 issues: 2, page(s): 165-186.

⁴ Nancy J. Hirschmann "Reviewed Work: The Sexual Contract by Carole Pateman' Political Theory [Feb., 1990] Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 170-174.

⁵ Patrick Peebles, The History of Sri Lanka (Published 2006, Greenwood Publishing Group)

⁶ Kumari Jayawardena, Class, Patriarchy and Ethnicity on Sri Lankan Plantations :Two Centuries of Power and Protest, (Published, Orient Black Swan; January 1 2015)

⁷ Patrick Peebles, The History of Sri Lanka (Published 2006, Greenwood Publishing

Origin Tamil slaves were exported from the districts of Chengalpattu, Madurai, Thanjavur, Thirunelveli, and Tiruchirappalli, for plantations work⁸. ⁹Ceylon slave trade happened with the help of labour agents, Britishers appointed Kanganis (*'who' often were of higher caste status than that of the labourers from south India*) for recruiting the slaves from South India, and they were paid high wages for each slave. Their duties included recruiting and supervising the slave work crews¹⁰. The uphill country Tamils poverty and Dalit background forced to flee from their homeland to reach Sri Lanka as slaves. These community women were the victims of sexual exploitation and molestation¹¹. These followed processes of slave trade and labour exploitation described the *settlers' contract* goes beyond the idea of slavery.

III. Processes of Slavery and Labour Exploitation

This section is going to discuss in detail the processes of slavery, labour exploitation, and unjust treatment of the colonial rulers. It will help to understand the Uphill Country Tamils plantation settlements was not a moral settler's agreement, rather it's an injustice agreement of slavery in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka holds more than five hundred years of colonial history; it began with Portuguese in 1505-1658, followed by Dutch colonisation from 1658 to 1796, and the Britishers who came to Sri Lanka in 1796 and their domination remained till the year 1948¹². During the time of the British, more than thousands of Indian Tamil labourers were brought to Ceylon. The trade started in the year 1830, and it continued until 1944¹³. The census of Sri Lanka 1847 estimated 42,491 immigrant labourers on the island and that 29,547, Indian origin Tamil labourers settled in the central province of Ceylon¹⁴. These Indian Origin

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⁸ Ilyas Ahmed H, "Estate Tamils of Sri Lanka- A Socio Economic Review" [2014] Vol.6 (6), pp.184-191

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¹⁰ Kumari Jayawardena, *Class, Patriarchy and Ethnicity on Sri Lankan Plantations :Two Centuries of Power and Protest*, (Published, Orient Black Swan; January 1 2015)

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¹² Patrick Peebles, *The History of Sri Lanka* (Published 2006, Greenwood Publishing Group)

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Tamil slaves were exported from the districts of Chengalpattu, Madurai, Thanjavur, Thirunelveli, and Tiruchirappalli, for plantations work¹⁵. Ceylon slave trade happened with the help of labour agents, Britishers appointed Kanganis (*'who' often were of higher caste status than that of the labourers from south India*) for recruiting the slaves from South India, and they were paid high wages for each slave. Their duties included recruiting and supervising the slave work crews¹⁶. The overall slave community belongs to backward classes, landless and indigenous Dalit's from South India. Kumari J noted that *'some were 'descendants of native Kandiyans, others of slaves brought from India, others by the purchase of children during famines, and others by seizing free persons in satisfaction of pecuniary claims'* describing slave trade from India to Ceylon. Few of the South Indian women were imported into Ceylon in an early period. They constituted just 2.6 per cent of the total labour force on the plantations in 1843. Later all those women were exploited for sexual service to the men. From the eighteenth century onwards the proportion of female labour continued to increase.

Britishers were only considered as the Indian Tamils labourers as a new source of the plantation economy. And they were not considering as citizens of the Sri Lanka and they were only utilised to develop the plantation economy in Sri Lanka. Their basic rights to education, health, sanitation, and wages were restricted by the colonial rulers. Furthermore, the labourers had many restrictions to cross the plantation boundaries and they were settled into uniquely constructed households, "it seems, makeshift huts or uniformly constructed "lines" of rooms ten feet wide and twelve feet long, with a six-foot veranda". The rooms were constructed mainly in the shape of row upon two-roomed structures dating form of the colonial structure. From all these historical facts, we can easily understand that the Indian Tamils in Ceylon do not only belong to the system of colonial settlements but it was a process of slavery. In the early eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Islands directly experienced the practice of slavery and bonded labour existed in different parts of the islands. Kumari discussed *'planters, some officials of the colonial government, as well as the local elite,*

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¹⁵ Ilyas Ahmed H, "Estate Tamils of Sri Lanka- A Socio Economic Review" [2014] Vol.6 (6), pp.184-191

¹⁶ Kumari Jayawardena, *Class, Patriarchy and Ethnicity on Sri Lankan Plantations :Two Centuries of Power and Protest*, (Published, Orient Black Swan; January 1 2015)

accepted the existence of slave-like conditions of work'. The results of colonial settlements in Ceylon transformed into another system of contract labour under indentured, to meet the needs of plantation production.

From the 17th century, until the 19th century, Britishers brutally exploited social rights, economic and political rights of the labourers. Colonial rulers' oppression and domination are clearly visible in the labourer's works. They were forced to work for more than 14 hours a day in the plantations¹⁷. They were formally considered as free labourers and 'coolie' workers by their masters. From the results of the anti-slavery movements in the plantations, colonial rulers started to provide lower wages to their workers. Importantly, these lower wages were not provided until they had worked for more than two months, because of the enactment of a new oppressive economic law. These laws have been observed as 'ignorant or denying of the labourer's economic rights'. The Labour agents called (Kanganis) took fifty per cent of the wage from their workers and they accumulated the wages for labourer's debt. This system of economic exploitation continued until the independence of Sri Lanka. The Kanganis played an important role in exploiting the plantation workers in Sri Lanka¹⁸. Kanganis did physical violence over the Uphill Country Tamils and they were punished very cruelly. It has happened when Hill Tamils pluck a lower amount of tea leaves or raise a voice against their masters¹⁹. In colonial Sri Lanka, the plantation labourers were experienced the very cruel punishments from their colonial masters. Whether the labour were demanded for higher wages, demanding for reducing the working hours, and less amount of tea plucking they were punished very severely by the plantation rulers. Indian Tamils were forced to work for more than 14 hours a day in the plantations²⁰. Once they were denied to work for 14 hours the punishments on the labour such as seem very cruel: they were punished with flogging, confining in stocks or irons, cutting off their hair, and, when very refractory, selling them, and

¹⁷ Kumari Jayawardena, *Class, Patriarchy and Ethnicity on Sri Lankan Plantations :Two Centuries of Power and Protest*, (Published, Orient Black Swan; January 1 2015)

¹⁸ Ananda Wickramasinghe, "Human and Social Capital in the Sri Lankan Tea Plantations: A Note of dissent, Culture Beyond Universal and National Cultural Dimensions" [Published 2005]

¹⁹ Sivapragasam, P.P, "From Statelessness to Citizenship: Up-country Tamils in Sri Lanka" [2011]

²⁰ Kumari Jayawardena, *Class, Patriarchy and Ethnicity on Sri Lankan Plantations :Two Centuries of Power and Protest*, (Published, Orient Black Swan; January 1 2015)

master had the power to punish their slave labourers with wounds or death in the Sri Lankan Plantations (*Kumari J p21*).

Mason and Blackburn's classical study '*The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776-1848*' stated that, '*The period 1776—1848 witnessed successive challenges to the regimes of colonial slavery, leading to the destruction either of the colonial relationships or of both, in one after another of all the major World colonies*'. All these colonial powers officially promoted slavery in the name of plantations. Importantly, every colonial slavery system has formed unique settlements. These settlements extend themselves into establishing slavery through oppressive and dominating processes such as slave trade, ill-treatment, sexual exploitation of women, labour exploitation etc. The Uphill Country Tamils also the victims of these Mason and Blackburn's justifications of slave trade, ill-treatment, sexual exploitation of women, and labour exploitation in their deported land. Based on these followed instances we cannot consider colonial settlements are the moral settlers contract, rather it's a contract of slavery.

IV. *Social Contract without Citizenship and Statelessness of Uphill Country Tamils*

According to Anupama Roy citizenship is a social contract based on equal rights by all individuals. Based on today's modern social contract, the people's rights, freedom, security, and justice are only possible through state membership or citizenship. This nationality or citizenship is the only legal mutual bond between persons and the state. This legal bond includes state obligations, privileges, security and services, etc. But it is only available through person to have state membership or citizenship²¹. Denying of people, citizenship or nationality is an obvious exclusion from the social contract. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) idea of the social contract that every state the individual agrees to live together under common laws, and create *enforcement a mechanism* for the social contract and the laws that constitute it. This idea of the social contract

²¹ Jacqueline Bhabha, "The importance of nationality for children"[2017] p1-6 ISI <<http://children.worldstateless.org/random-pages/the-importance-of-nationality-for-children.html>> accessed 29 June 2020

includes citizens of the state and to embody a Sovereign with absolute authority. By contrast, the modern social contract connects citizens to the state and to the state constitution²². This constitution is connected to state citizenship or nationality.

Followed these key points citizenship is a soul of the social contract because overall of the persons rights, freedom and security depending on this contract of citizenship. The Uphill country Tamils in Sri Lanka completely exclude from the contract of citizenship during the time of colonial rule. Because of their slavery conditions and it till continued by the new independent government of the Ceylon. Sri Lanka obtained independence from the Britishers in February 1948; six months later the newly elected Prime Minister D.S Senanayake enacted the *Sri Lankan Citizenship Act of 1948 and 1949*. This act was enacted to exclude the illegal immigrants and colonial immigrants of Sri Lanka²³. Based on this citizenship law more than 975000 of the Indian origin Tamils were rendered as stateless²⁴. When the Lankan government rendered Uphill Country Tamils as stateless, this community were experienced injustice as same as compared to colonial period. Particularly, their overall rights of civil rights, social rights, economic rights, and political rights were denied. They were put down with extreme vulnerability compared to their previous colonial life. The plantation Tamils were faced with poverty, vulnerabilities, and discriminations for approximately twenty years. Their education, housing, sanitation and social security were completely neglected when they became as stateless²⁵. In the year 1972, the Lankan government passed the land reform law. This law cause the caused huge economic oppression, racial discrimination and Indian Tamils' properties were looted and their household durables were burned by Sinhalese²⁶. These following instances are the proof of the injustice faced by Indian Tamils during the new re-formed government of Sri Lanka too. The Sri Lankan government do not gave the any of the indigenous concern to the Indian Tamils. They were also treated plantation workers as cheap labourers and alien within their country.

²² Jacob T. Levy, *Constitutions Without Social Contracts* [2009] Volume 37.p191-2017

²³ Sivapragasam, P.P, "From Statelessness to Citizenship: Up-country Tamils in Sri Lanka" [2011]

²⁴ Sivapragasam, P.P, "From Statelessness to Citizenship: Up-country Tamils in Sri Lanka" [2011]

²⁵ Jegathesan M, "Deficient Realities: Expertise and Uncertainty among Tea Plantation Workers in Sri Lanka" [2015]

²⁶ Hensman R, "Post war Sri Lanka: Exploring the Path not Taken" [2015]

Uphill Country Tamils ancestors and their generations of colonial settlements is the authentic evident for their indigeneity and their equal rights for citizenship. Jeremy Waldron's work entitled on (*Indigeneity? First Peoples and Last Occupancy in 2002*) study justified that the indigenous people are considered as in two categories, first the indigenous peoples are the descendants of the first human inhabitants of an origin land. Second, the indigenous peoples are the descendants of those who inhabited the colonial land. Based on the Waldron's second category of indigenous people took serious consideration of the case of Stateless issue. Stateless people are indigenous community in their deported land²⁷. Sri Lankan citizenship act also had the criteria of citizenship through the decedent or domiciled settlements. Rather the state was demanded for application criteria to full fill the citizenship rights. Living without citizenship is not an easy task for anyone. It consists of protracted oppression, domination, discriminations, voicelessness, helplessness, and hopeless situations. Indian Tamils were one of them to pass through these situations in Sri Lanka. The both inclusion and exclusion of citizenship are the soul of the social contract. Ensuring the citizenship is the only feasible way to give justice and to include the persons within social contract. In the post-modern concerns it will consider as the inclusion of persons within the citizenship contract.

V. Conclusion

This paper starts with an introduction to the Theory of Social Contract and traces how this contract has changed shape over time through the example of Hill country Tamils who suffer from constant oppression, marginalisation, exclusion and denial of rights in light of these changes. The changes start to occur through the Settler contract wherein territories and its inhabitants are colonized followed by the slavery contract in which huge number of indigenous people are deported to various colonies (Sri Lanka in case of Hill Country Tamils) to work as slaves on plantations and the likes. With the end of colonization, however, emerges the Citizenship contract which treats these deported labourers even not considers as second class citizens in the country of residence where citizenship is conditional on contract between country of origin

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Jeremy Waldron, "Indigeneity? First Peoples And Last Occupancy" [5 December 2002] p55-82

(India) and that of residence. Thus, the exploitation of these people who were colonized and thereafter deported as slaves continues under all forms of Contract. Therefore this paper presents a strong case for the equal treatment of the stateless Hill Country Tamils by laying bare the historical marginalization faced by them despite their continuous labour to develop local economy and centuries of residence in Sri Lanka on the one hand and observance of their own traditional customs, beliefs and practices on the other.

Uphill Country Tamils statelessness issues and their empirical evidence of literature are not new from the current scenario. But the theoretical understanding of the social contract of colonial settlements, citizenship, and contract of slavery and slavery cause of the statelessness is the new idea in the context of statelessness and refugees exile. It will help to understand the domicile of the citizenship right, and the domicile historical reasons behind the stateless issues. The future hope of the article is to anyone can understand and study their own context of statelessness, refugee, and citizenship through this article using the theory of social contract. The basic motive of the article is to define the Uphill Country Tamils colonial system of slavery and how it causes to the stateless issues.