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**The Four Gospels of a ‘Civilisational Death Cult’ in West Papua**  
*Religiosity, Development, Progress, and Success*

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*A Critical Analysis within the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm*

## Abstract

This paper examines four dominant ideological formations—*religiosity*, development (*pembangunan*), progress (*kemajuan*), and success (*sukses*)—as they function within the settler colonial system imposed upon the Papuan peoples of West Papua. Drawing upon the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm, the paper argues that these four formations function not as instruments of liberation or civilisational advancement, but as a coordinated system of psychological reorientation through which the Papuan cosmological world is dismantled while the process of destruction is rendered invisible beneath the language of hope and progress. The paper further argues that the “cargo cult” phenomenon—historically misread as irrational millenarianism—must be reanalysed as a rational, if colonially conditioned, response to civilisational rupture, one that continues to animate the contemporary political theatre of *Otonomi Khusus* (Special Autonomy). Engaging with Frantz Fanon, Sylvia Wynter, and Indonesian-language critical scholarship on *pembangunan* and *kemajuan*, the paper concludes that these four gospels constitute a single civilisational logic of extinction dressed in the colours of hope.

**Keywords:** Psycho-Cosmocide, West Papua, settler colonialism, cargo cult, *pembangunan*, decolonial philosophy, Lani, Otonomi Khusus, Fanon, religiosity

## I. INTRODUCTION

What does it mean for a colonised people to celebrate processes that gradually dismantle the conditions of their own existence? This question, however uncomfortable it may appear within the conventions of liberal academic discourse, stands at the centre of this paper. It is not a question arising from abstract speculation, but from sustained observation of the political, religious, educational, and cultural life that has come to characterise Papuan society under Indonesian settler colonial administration. The paradox addressed here is neither that Papuans experience domination nor that they continue to resist it. Rather, it is that many of the institutions, values, and aspirations through which domination is reproduced are widely embraced as signs of hope, liberation, and a better future. The approach adopted throughout this paper is the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm, an original theoretical framework developed within the Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series. The paradigm seeks to explain forms of destruction that extend beyond physical violence or political conquest. It argues that settler colonialism does not merely occupy territory or suppress sovereignty; it also reorganises the symbolic, cosmological, and psychological conditions through which a colonised people understand themselves and their place in the world. Languages, ancestral memory, sacred geographies, systems of knowledge, moral imagination, and the deepest structures of aspiration become subject to gradual reconfiguration. The destruction of a people therefore occurs not only through the elimination of bodies or institutions but through the transformation of the world that gives those bodies and institutions meaning, value, and purpose.<sup>1</sup>

From within this perspective, the present paper argues that four ideological formations—*religiosity*, *pembangunan* (development), *kemajuan* (progress), and *sukses* (success)—operate together as what is here termed the *Four Gospels of a Civilisational Extinction Cult*. They do not function as isolated beliefs or independent political programmes. Rather, they constitute a mutually reinforcing system of hopes and aspirations through which Papuan psychological, cultural, and cosmological life is progressively reorganised while this reorganisation is experienced as salvation, improvement, fulfilment, and advancement.

The use of the word *gospel* is deliberate. Etymologically, the term derives from the Old English *gōdspel*, translating the Greek *euangelion*, meaning “good news.” The four formations examined in this paper all occupy precisely this structural position within the Papuan settler colonial order. They are presented, celebrated, funded, institutionalised, preached, and defended as good news. Religiosity promises eternal salvation and a heavenly kingdom—a dimension in which the characters, figures, and beings who dwell there are imagined as white. Development promises roads, hospitals, infrastructure, economic opportunity, and material prosperity—a dimension in which a new, wealthy kind of being is imagined to emerge, modelled on Westerners, Asian elites,

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<sup>1</sup> The Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm is developed across the *Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series*. See, in particular, Yamin Kogoya, *Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework* (Wone Press, 2026); and Yamin Kogoya, *Parasites of the Cosmobian World* (NATAKA Research Institute, 2026). The Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide Virus (CPCV) and its three defining properties—replication, concealment, and behavioural alteration—are developed more fully in these companion studies.

and colonised Papuan elites alike. Progress promises movement toward a more advanced and civilised future—a dimension in which a future opposite to Papuans’ original and current world is imagined to emerge. Success promises education, professional status, public office, wealth, influence, and social recognition—a dimension in which the colonised subject is re-imagined as fully decorated with, or given access to, these gospels. Together they construct a comprehensive narrative in which the highest aspirations of life appear inseparable from deeper incorporation into the institutions, values, and symbolic order of the dominant civilisation.

The first gospel directs desire toward a transcendent kingdom commonly imagined through European religious iconography populated by white figures, white God, white saints, white angels, and a white Christ. The second gospel redirects aspiration toward material abundance, infrastructure, modern lifestyles, and participation in the developmental state. The third gospel frames history as a linear movement away from Indigenous cosmobian worlds toward modernity, civilisation, and continuous improvement. The fourth gospel celebrates individual advancement through educational qualifications, bureaucratic promotion, political office, ecclesiastical leadership, and professional achievement. Each appears distinct, yet each ultimately measures fulfilment according to standards external to the Papuan cosmological world.

Against this continuous circulation of “good news” stands another form of news that occupies the opposite position within the colonial system. The aspirations associated with Papuan sovereignty, self-determination, Papuan sovereign statehood, ancestral land, Indigenous languages, historical memory, and the continuity of Papuan cosmological existence are marginalised, criminalised, demonised or portrayed as obstacles to peace, development, and national progress.

From the perspective of the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm, this inversion constitutes the central paradox of settler colonial power. The aspirations that promise advancement require the gradual abandonment of the very conditions that make Papuan existence historically and cosmologically distinct.

This paper does not argue that religion, development, education, or individual achievement are inherently destructive. Nor does it deny that many Papuans have sincerely embraced Christianity, pursued education through extraordinary personal sacrifice, or sought professional success out of genuine concern for their families and communities. Rather, the argument concerns the broader ideological system within which these aspirations are organised. The question is not whether these pursuits possess intrinsic value, but whether, within the context of Indonesian settler colonialism, they have become integrated into a civilisational system that progressively redirects desire away from the survival of the Papuan world itself. The most critical question this paper asks is this: *will these gospels rescue Papuans and their world, or will they induce Papuans into a distraction that leads, by stages, toward a total defeat and extinction?*

The implications of this argument extend well beyond West Papua. They speak to a recurring pattern observable across settler colonial societies, where domination increasingly operates not through direct coercion alone but through the production of aspiration. As Frantz Fanon argued, colonialism ultimately occupies not only territory but the interior world of the colonised,

restructuring imagination, desire, and the limits of what can be conceived as possible. The present paper extends this insight by arguing that colonial power reaches still further: it reorganises the deepest structures of cosmological orientation through which a people define what is sacred, desirable, meaningful, and ultimately worth becoming. It is this deeper process that the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm seeks to identify and explain.<sup>2</sup>

## II. THE CIVILISATIONAL PSYCHO-COSMOCIDE VIRUS (CPCV)

The Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm is grounded in the concept of the *Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide Virus* (CPCV), which names the underlying mechanism by which a dominant civilisational order penetrates and systematically erases the inner worlds of colonised peoples. Unlike conventional accounts of cultural assimilation, which tend to frame the process as a gradual and sometimes voluntary adaptation, the CPCV concept emphasises the viral, replicating, and self-concealing character of the process. The CPCV works, in this paradigm, through what might be called a *logic of counterfeit transcendence*: the colonised subject is inducted into aspirational frameworks that promise ascent—toward white God, toward white prosperity, toward white civilisational achievement—while simultaneously severing the subject from the ontological ground of their own existence. The result is a subject who strives ardently toward a horizon that structurally requires their own ontological being and cosmology as the price of admission.

This analysis is consonant with Sylvia Wynter's concept of the sociogenic principle, which names the culturally instituted governing conception of what it means to be human—a conception that, under Western modernity, has been normalised as White, Christian, propertied, and progress-oriented. For Papuans inducted into the Indonesian civilisational order and its antecedent Dutch missionary project, the sociogenic norm takes the form of the converted Christian, the educated administrator, the successful entrepreneur: figures who mark their achievement precisely by how far they have travelled from the world of the forest, the ancestor, and the Papuan ontological vocabulary.<sup>3</sup>

What distinguishes the CPCV from every prior taxonomy of atrocity is not merely the depth of its penetration but its target. In conventional genocide, as in Lemkin's original formulation, the victim retains an interiority: an executioner external and at least imaginable as resistible, a sense of being the one who is wronged. Cultural genocide targets practices and institutions; epistemicide, in Boaventura de Sousa Santos's sense, targets knowledge systems. The CPCV operates at a more

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<sup>2</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 36–37. See also Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967).

<sup>3</sup> Sylvia Wynter, "Towards the Sociogenic Principle: Fanon, Identity, the Puzzle of Conscious Experience, and What It Is Like to Be 'Black,'" in *National Identities and Sociopolitical Changes in Latin America*, ed. Mercedes F. Durán-Cogan and Antonio Gómez-Moriana (New York: Routledge, 2001), 30–66. See also Nicole Yokum, "A Call for Psycho-Affective Change: Fanon, Feminism, and White Negrophobic Femininity," *Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies* (2024).

total domain: it recruits the victim's own desire as its primary instrument, restructuring the will itself so that the colonised subject comes to want the very transformation that constitutes their destruction—and experiences that wanting as their most authentic self-expression.

*The terror here is not that Papuans are destroyed against their will; it is that the will has already been colonised.*

It is not that Indonesians must constantly tell Papuans what to see. The more profound process occurs long before perception itself. The lens through which reality is interpreted has already been designed and installed by the ruling elites in Jakarta through the institutions of the settler colonial state: education, administration, law, media, development discourse, and national ideology. Consequently, what Papuans observe becomes secondary, because the framework through which observation acquires meaning has already been predetermined. They may look upon the same mountains, forests, histories, and futures as before, yet they no longer see them through Papuan cosmological categories but through conceptual lenses manufactured elsewhere. In this sense, power does not primarily determine the objects of perception; it determines the interpretive lens through which those objects are conceived. The decisive struggle, therefore, is not over what people see, but over the lens through which seeing itself becomes possible. This is why no subsequent political education, human rights framework, or cultural revival programme can easily reach the deepest layer of the self that the CPCV has colonised.

That deepest layer has already learned to evaluate every new possibility—including those intended to be emancipatory—through the same structures of aspiration that the Four Gospels have installed. The question is no longer whether a proposal strengthens the continuity of the Papuan cosmopolitan world, but whether it promises development, progress, success, moral virtue, or salvation as these have already been defined by the colonial order. When those standards become the primary measure of judgment, the possibility of imagining a fundamentally different future becomes increasingly difficult.

*The virus does not merely corrupt colonised desire; over generations it becomes the desire of the colonised people.*

The Papuan subject who weeps with gratitude at the opening of a new road, who sends a child to an Indonesian-medium school with pride, who delivers a thanksgiving sermon celebrating the governor, is not performing false consciousness in the crude sense the term sometimes implies. What is felt is genuinely felt—indistinguishable, for the one feeling it, from joy, hope, and love.

*The horror of the CPCV is not hypocrisy. It is sincerity. The virus has gone so deep that the host no longer distinguishes itself from the virus.*

The viral metaphor embedded in the CPCV's name is not merely descriptive; it names a precise dynamic with three properties characteristic of biological virality. A virus is dangerous because it replicates using the host's own cellular machinery, conceals itself by mimicking normal cell function, and alters host behaviour in ways that promote further transmission. The CPCV exhibits all three properties at a civilisational scale. Replication occurs through the host's own machinery:

Papuan administrators, governors, and religious leaders—the subjects most thoroughly inducted into the four gospels—become the primary vectors of further transmission, not as agents of Jakarta in any conspiratorial sense but because they sincerely believe in what they are doing. Their sincerity is the replication mechanism; Jakarta need not staff every village church, school, and regency office with Indonesian administrators when the virus generates its own Papuan replicators. Concealment operates through mimicry of normal function: the counterfeit transcendental, examined below, is precisely an instance of viral mimicry, since the CPCV does not announce itself as extinction but presents as aspiration. The heavenward gaze feels like hope; the desire for *sukses* feels like dignity; the celebration of *pembangunan* feels like gratitude—recognisable forms of normal human flourishing, and it is exactly this resemblance that constitutes the concealment. The virus has adopted the morphology of health.

Most devastating of all is the third property: behavioural alteration that promotes transmission. A pathogen that merely destroyed its host would be self-limiting; the CPCV's distinctive virulence lies in its capacity to restructure the host's behaviour so that the host actively transmits the infection onward. The Papuan parent who sacrifices to send a child to an Indonesian-medium school, who teaches that child to pray to a white Jesus, who celebrates when that child obtains a government post, is not merely surviving the virus but functioning as its vector toward the next generation—and the transmission is not reluctant but enacted with love. A Papuan mother does not pass the CPCV to her child out of weakness; she does so out of the deepest parental love, genuinely believing she is giving her child the best possible chance at life. That love is the vector.

This viral architecture has been formalised elsewhere in the corpus as the Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide Virus's staged progression, which culminates in a condition there termed ontological zombification: existence continuing after its cosmological grounding has been dismantled. The Papuan administrators, teachers, and religious leaders described above are precisely what that account names a living reservoir for the parasite — not traitors, but the system's most complete product, rewarded with status and title for administering the very structure that displaced them. That same account clarifies why the virus cannot originate from nothing: an order organised through extraction, production, and administration has no generative capacity of its own, and can only reproduce by converting a people's own children into the medium of its transmission.<sup>4</sup>

### III. THE FIRST GOSPEL

#### Religiosity and the White Kingdom of Heaven

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<sup>4</sup> Yamin Kogoya, *A Foundational Theoretical Framework for the Study of Psycho-Cosmocide*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, No. 1(b) (NATAKA Research Institute and Wone Press, 2026); Yamin Kogoya, *Psycho-Cosmocide: The Silent Invasion of Mind, Meaning, and Cosmos*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, No. 2 (NATAKA Research Institute and Wone Press, 2026); and Yamin Kogoya, *Cosmobian and Synthobian: Two Modes of Being*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, No. 26 (NATAKA Research Institute and Wone Press, 2026).

The first wave of Western missionary presence in New Guinea initiated a genuine transformation of inter-group relations. The cessation of inter-clan warfare, the introduction of literacy, and the ethical vocabulary of forgiveness and compassion were, in many localities, welcomed and taken up with sincere conviction. The initial encounter with Christianity cannot, therefore, be reduced to a simple narrative of imposition and resistance.

However, what is of critical concern here is not the initial moment of contact but the cumulative psychological pattern that missionary Christianity produced over generations. On the examination offered here, the Christian cosmological universe as transmitted to Papuans—heaven, God, salvation, the Kingdom—was overwhelmingly depicted in the visual, symbolic, and narrative language of whiteness. White God, white Jesus, white angels, white saints, white heaven. The Papuan convert was, in the great majority of documented cases, inducted into a metaphysical world in which the highest reality, the most sacred space, the ultimate destination of human existence, was coded as racially and civilisationally other.<sup>5</sup> This is not a novel observation. Critical scholarship on missionary Christianity in the Pacific has long documented the tendency of Western missionaries, even when operating with genuine humanitarian intent, to export Western culture alongside the Gospel. What this paper adds, through the lens of the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm, is the argument that this inner world of whitened transcendence does not merely represent a cultural distortion of Christianity—it functions as the primary scaffolding through which subsequent civilisational gospels (development, modernity, progress and success) are installed and naturalised.<sup>6</sup>

When heaven is white, then any subsequent civilisational ideals introduced by the same agencies and symbolic representation encoded in the ideology of development, modernity or progress is implicitly the movement toward whiteness. When the divine is imaged as other, the self is structured as deficient. The interpretive step here requires attention: the claim is not merely that Papuans were taught to admire white imagery. It is that the cosmological world through which ultimate meaning is apprehended—the framework that determines what counts as good, true, sacred, and worthy of aspiration—was reorganised around a symbolic world entirely external to Papuan existence. When the highest reality available to the imagination is coded as racially and civilisationally other, the consequence is not simply aesthetic preference but ontological displacement: the self is constituted in a grammar of deficiency, perpetually reaching toward a fullness that is structurally located outside itself. From the perspective of the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm, this constitutes the foundational layer of the CPCV: religiosity installs at the most

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<sup>5</sup> For the history of Christian missionary activity in Papua New Guinea and West Papua, see Garry W. Trompf, *Melanesian Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). On the transformation of Indigenous social and inter-group relations under colonial conditions, see also Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Dynamics of Culture Change: An Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945).

<sup>6</sup> Timothy Ziegert, “A History of the Gospel in Papua New Guinea: Factors in Faulty Discipleship,” *WCIU Journal* (2019). Ziegert observes that “Christianity and westernization were frequently perceived as synonymous and missionaries, even if unintentionally, exported western culture with the gospel.”

fundamental level—the level of ultimate meaning, ultimate desire, ultimate identification—a pattern of aspiration that turns away from the Papuan cosmobian world and toward its negation.

The analysis developed here builds upon, but also extends, Frantz Fanon’s account in *Black Skin, White Masks*. Fanon showed how colonial domination becomes psychologically effective when the colonised subject comes to internalise the values, ideals, and standards of the coloniser, learning, as he observed, to “invest in the hero, who is white.” In the Papuan context, however, this process extends beyond the sociopolitical sphere into the cosmological. The reorientation of aspiration begins not only through secular institutions such as schools and the state, but through the sacred itself. The imagination of God, heaven, redemption, and ultimate fulfilment is progressively reorganised before the subject enters the arenas of politics, economics, or professional life. The Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm therefore argues that colonial power does not merely reshape identity or self-perception; it also reorganises the deepest structures through which ultimate origin, destiny of existence and meaning are understood.

The practical consequences of this psychic structure are visible throughout much of contemporary Papuan public culture. Many events across the life course—from birth to death, from appointments within state institutions to commemorations of political resistance—are marked by thanksgiving services, prayer gatherings, and revival meetings. These ceremonies frequently bring together Christian symbolism and state narratives, celebrating new roads, government offices, universities, and other milestones of integration as signs of divine blessing. Within the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm, this convergence is significant because aspirations associated with the Indonesian settler colonial state become symbolically reinforced through a sacred imagination already oriented toward what this paper has termed *counterfeit transcendence*. Within this frame, critique becomes structurally difficult: to question the gift can feel, to those who have received it as grace, like questioning the divine will.<sup>7</sup>

In much contemporary Papuan Christian practice, the saturation of public life with this white cosmological architecture is pervasive. The vocabulary, images, symbols, colours, and names through which the Papuan subject apprehends ultimate reality—the daily invocations of *Puji Tuhan* (praise the Lord), thank you Jesus, thank you God, thank heaven, thank the Holy Spirit—are, in much Papuan Christian practice, rendered in the visual and symbolic representation of European whiteness: blond hair, blue eyes, the physical conception of the missionary.

Many Papuan coffins are painted with a white God, white Jesus, white angels, and inscribed with the words “our Father in heaven will receive you at his right hand, in his kingdom.” Yet no doctrinal principle exists by which the community determines who among the dead is bound for that white kingdom and who for the darkness of hell. In practice, the dead are commonly farewelled into the white heaven regardless of how they lived—the traitor and the freedom fighter, the killer and the village elder, the colonial regent and the original Papuan alike are frequently spoken of in

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<sup>7</sup> Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 146–47. The observation that the Black child “invest[s] in the hero, who is white” is Fanon’s own formulation.

identical terms—because the theological system that was installed was never designed to adjudicate Papuan moral life on its own terms.

Many churches, Christian homes, seminars, sermons, and religious conferences are decorated in a similar manner: blond hair, white beard, rainbow-coloured depictions of God, Jesus, and angels. Blackness is, on this reading, structurally marginal to that visual world. What is more, this inner formation extends even to those who resist the colonial order. The mental frameworks, historical reference points, and future horizons of many Papuan rebel fighters and resistance leaders are similarly organised around Genesis, Jesus, Moses, Abraham, King David, Goliath, and the eschatology of Revelation. The idiom of resistance becomes: “we will fight until Jesus returns,” or “we are like David facing Goliath,” or “we wait for a good Samaritan.” The Papuan subject—coloniser and resister alike—locates itself on the morally righteous side of a scriptural narrative whose geography, genealogy, and divine protagonists are entirely other. Papuan identification with Israel, Jerusalem, the messianic promise, and the theology of the chosen people has become, in much public discourse, so thoroughgoing that the cosmological displacement is replicated even within the vocabulary of liberation. The philosophical stakes of this last observation—that even the idiom of resistance can be colonised—are taken up directly later in this section, in the discussion of the decolonial reservoir.

This pattern carries a theoretical consequence that exceeds the immediate observation of biblical idiom. In most accounts of decolonial thought, the cosmological world of the colonised—its spiritual life, sacred geography, and ancestral ontologies—is positioned as a reservoir of resistance: the place where the colonial order cannot fully penetrate, where something inextinguishable persists. Ngugi wa Thiong’o’s project of decolonising the mind depends on the existence of such a reservoir; Fanon’s *Wretched of the Earth* invokes the peasantry’s cosmological conservatism as a potential revolutionary resource; liberation theology, Pan-Africanism, and Indigenous sovereignty movements elsewhere presuppose that the sacred life of the oppressed retains some margin of autonomy from which struggle can be mounted.

What the Papuan case reveals is that this very reservoir has been colonised first and most thoroughly. The first gospel did not merely overlay Papuan cosmology with Christian forms; it restructured the most fundamental level of Papuan existence—the imagination of ultimate reality, of what exists beyond death, of what the cosmos ultimately is and values—and it did so not through force but through sincerity: through missionaries who genuinely loved the Papuans they were transforming, and through Papuan converts who received the Gospel with genuine spiritual hunger. The consequence is vertiginous. The place from which resistance would otherwise be organised—the sacred, the ancestral, the cosmological—has already been conscripted into the apparatus of extinction. When the Papuan independence fighter reaches for their deepest reserves of moral and metaphysical courage, they find Moses, David, Goliath, the Book of Revelation. They fight in the idiom of the cosmology that displaced their own. The very grammar of ultimate meaning through which resistance is constructed was installed by the colonial encounter itself.

This pattern of identification is one instance of a more general mechanism examined elsewhere in the corpus: civilisational myths of chosenness — the axis mundi, the Promised Land, the Mandate of Heaven — operate by converting an ordinary distinction into a sacred one, in Durkheim's sense, so that a boundary that was installed comes to feel discovered. Land, language, and ancestral memory function in that account as a canvas upon which every civilisation paints its own reality; colonisation repaints rather than erases, until later generations inherit the new picture without remembering that another one ever stood in its place. The white kingdom of heaven described above is, in these terms, a repainted canvas: the Papuan cosmological world does not compete with it for authority so much as disappear beneath it.<sup>8</sup>

Were this cosmological inheritance to function as a genuine source of collective unity and political courage, the analysis here would be different. But the psycho-cosmocidal operation of missionary religiosity does not, in practice, consolidate Papuan power; it disperses it into a fantasy horizon, a metaphysical elsewhere that substitutes for the hard work of territorial and ontological reclamation. The Papuan subject inducted into this framework is not empowered to act as a historical agent in the defence of their land; they are rendered into an instrument of their own undoing, one that dismantles what their ancestors built and forecloses the future of their children precisely in the name of transcendence and hope.

Religiosity, in short, is not merely a belief system superimposed on Papuan life. It is the first layer through which colonial aspiration becomes psychologically durable—the layer at which the orientation of ultimate desire is set, before the subject ever encounters a road, a school, or a government post. It is this durability, more than any particular doctrine, that anchors everything that follows. The First Gospel lays the foundation for everything that follows. By colonising the sacred—the deepest dimension of Papuan existence, the reservoir from which decolonial resistance would otherwise be mounted—it conscripts the inner world into the service of civilisational transformation. Once desire at the level of ultimate meaning is turned away from the Papuan cosmopolitan world and toward a transcendent white elsewhere, the material, temporal, and personal gospels need only supply the earthly coordinates of a destination that religiosity has already made feel like destiny.

## IV. THE SECOND GOSPEL

### **Pembangunan (Development) and the Theology of Infrastructure**

The Indonesian state's civilisational project in West Papua has been justified almost entirely through the ideology and the discourse of *pembangunan* (development). Roads, hospitals, universities, airports, government buildings: these are the material gospel through which Jakarta demonstrates its legitimate claim to the territory and its benevolent custody of the Papuan people.

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<sup>8</sup> Yamin Kogoya, *Beyond the Papuan Rebel: Land as First Ontology*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, No. 23 (NATAKA Research Institute and Wone Press, 2026).

The critical Indonesian scholar, Made Supriatma has noted, with sharp accuracy, that when Jakarta broadcasts the achievements of infrastructure development in Papua, this discourse is produced entirely for domestic Indonesian consumption—never for, or with, Papuans themselves.<sup>9</sup>

*Pembangunan* ideology arrived in Papua not as a neutral technical programme but as a successor to—and continuation of—the Suharto-era New Order’s “developmentalism” (*pembangunanisme*), which was itself articulated within the orbit of international capital and IMF conditionalities. As one critical account documents, it was under this framework that Freeport established its mining operations in the highlands of Papua, inaugurating a model of development in which the extraction of Papuan natural resources for global capital was presented as the development of the Papuan people.<sup>10</sup>

From the perspective of Psycho-Cosmocide analysis, *pembangunan* functions as the material translation of the religious promise. Where *religiosity* installs the desire for a transcendent white heaven, *pembangunan* offers its earthly equivalent: modern housing, motor vehicles, electrical grids, mobile phones—the “cargo” of civilisation. This paper reads the connection to the well-documented phenomenon of cargo cultism as more than metaphorical. Cargo cults—the indigenous Melanesian movements that sought to obtain Western goods through ritual action—have been extensively studied in the anthropological literature, notably by Worsley, Burridge, and Lindstrom. While the term has often been applied in a derogatory label to dismiss Papuan political aspirations, the phenomenon, on the interpretation advanced here, reveals something of critical importance: the deep structural desire, produced by colonial contact, for access to the material world of the coloniser. Read this way, the cargo cult was not irrationality; it was a rational—if colonially conditioned—response to the encounter with civilisational surplus in a context where the mechanisms of its production were systematically withheld.<sup>11</sup>

What the present analysis suggests is that contemporary Papuan enthusiasm for *pembangunan*—for new provinces, new regencies, new government positions, new infrastructure—runs along the same lines as the cargo cult dynamic. The psychological pattern is identical: a belief that access to the material world of the dominant order will deliver happiness, dignity, and completion. And the

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<sup>9</sup> Made Supriatma, “Kolonialisme Primitif di Papua,” *Substack*, February 17, 2023. Supriatma writes: “Kini, ketika pemerintah Indonesia menggembar-gemborkan pembangunan infrastruktur di Papua, itu semua untuk konsumsi publik di Indonesia. Tidak pernah terdengar suara langsung dari Papua” (“Today, when the Indonesian government boasts about infrastructure development in Papua, it is all directed at a domestic Indonesian audience. The voices of Papuans themselves are never heard directly.”).

<sup>10</sup> “Masuknya Kolonialisme dan Kapitalisme di West Papua,” *Suara Papua*, January 9, 2021. The article examines how, under Suharto’s New Order, international financial institutions, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, helped shape Indonesia’s political economy through the ideology of *pembangunanisme* (developmentalism), creating the conditions for large-scale extractive projects such as Freeport’s operations in West Papua.

<sup>11</sup> Lamont Lindstrom, *Cargo Cult: Strange Stories of Desire from Melanesia and Beyond* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1993); see also Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of “Cargo” Cults in Melanesia* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1957).

political consequence is equally identical: the active participation of the colonised subject in the maintenance of the colonial order.

This analysis of the cargo cult can be taken one step further than is usually allowed. If the cargo cult's defining feature is the belief that access to the material world of the dominant order will deliver happiness, dignity, and completion, then the contemporary Papuan political mainstream—including its institutional resistance formations—must be recognised as running along the same lines as the cargo cult, rather than its overcoming. The contemporary Papuan aspiration for *Otsus*, for additional provinces and regencies, for international recognition, for entry into the Melanesian Spearhead Group, for UN resolutions, is in each case a ritual performance aimed at obtaining a form of institutional and material cargo—legitimacy, resources, sovereignty certificates—whose internal structure was defined entirely by the colonial-international order.

Even the Papuan subject who protests Indonesian rule while demanding recognition within the international state system—itself a European juridical invention structurally incapable of accommodating cosmopolitan ontologies—is performing a more sophisticated version of the same cargo logic: seeking the cargo of sovereignty rather than the cargo of goods. The cosmological arrangement remains identical, since the highest goods are still defined by the dominant civilisational order and political action remains oriented toward obtaining them. This is not to suggest that the struggle for independence is mistaken. It is to observe that should the struggle succeed entirely on its present terms—a sovereign West Papuan state integrated into the international order, with a capital, a bureaucracy, an army, a GDP, and a seat at the United Nations—the four gospels would administer the Papuan cosmopolitan world just as efficiently as Jakarta does now. The political form would have changed; the psycho-cosmopolitan structure would remain, now fully internalised as self-determination.

Critically, since the enactment of *Otonomi Khusus* (Special Autonomy; hereafter *Otsus*) in 2001, Jakarta has created five new provinces in West Papua, along with over forty new regencies and hundreds of sub-district administrative units. This proliferation of administrative spaces has created an enormous field of positions, appointments, and titles for which Papuans are educated and trained to compete. Each new position represents, in this psycho-cosmopolitan system, a new gateway into the promised world—and simultaneously a new instrument for inducting Papuan agency into the administration of the colonial project.<sup>12</sup>

The Indonesian ecological critic writing in Odiyaiwuu.com has described this as “epistemicide by ecology”—the destruction not merely of physical landscapes but of the knowledge systems, cosmological relationships, and subsistence economies that were embedded in them.

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<sup>12</sup> On the proliferation of administrative units under *Otonomi Khusus* (Special Autonomy), see “Kolonialisme Indonesia dan *Quo Vadis* Papua Merdeka,” *Kalawai*, October 2, 2024. See also Richard Chauvel and Ikrar Nusa Bhakti, *The Papua Conflict: Jakarta's Perceptions and Policies* (Washington, DC: East-West Center, 2004); and Richard McGibbon, *Pitfalls of Papua: Understanding the Conflict and Its Place in Australia–Indonesia Relations* (Sydney: Lowy Institute for International Policy, 2006).

*Pembangunan* is thus doubly destructive: it erases the material world of Papuan existence while celebrating the destruction as progress.<sup>13</sup>

Where religiosity colonises the structure of ultimate desire, *pembangunan* supplies that desire with material proof. The road, the clinic, and the new regency are not merely infrastructure; they are evidence, repeated often enough to feel self-confirming, that the gospel is true. It is this manufactured evidence, more than any single policy, that makes the second gospel feel less like ideology than like the visible record of a promise being kept. Development then gives that aspiration material form. The civilisational promise acquires a body—a road surface, a concrete hospital wall, a government salary—and the extinction process becomes tangible, photographable, and celebratable. *Pembangunan* transforms what religiosity made desirable in the abstract into a visible and ongoing record of fulfilment, making the process feel, to those living inside it, indistinguishable from progress.

This operation is examined at length elsewhere in the corpus under the heading of development as the colonisation of heaven: the argument that *pembangunan* functions as the CPCV's master narrative precisely because no development index measures the vitality of a language, a cosmology, or an ecological relationship with anything like the precision it reserves for infrastructure and gross domestic product. What is destroyed does not appear on the dashboard that measures what is gained, because the categories through which development sees the world were designed within the same developmental paradigm that is doing the destroying.<sup>14</sup>

## V. THE THIRD GOSPEL

### Kemajuan (Progress) as Civilisational Normativity

If *pembangunan* is the material gospel, *kemajuan* (progress) is its ideological engine. Progress names the normative direction of civilisational time: from primitive to modern, from forest to city, from subsistence to market, from local to national, from particular to universal. Within the settler colonial framework, *kemajuan* functions as the supreme evaluative category against which Papuan practices, relationships, and forms of knowing are routinely assessed—and, within that frame, typically found wanting. The Indonesian state's framing of Papuan traditional life as “*primitive*” and in need of modernising custodianship has been extensively documented in critical scholarship on the transmigration programme, which relocated hundreds of thousands of Indonesian settlers to West Papua under the explicit justification that the land was underdeveloped and its people in need of civilisational guidance.

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<sup>13</sup> “Epistemisida Ekologi Papua Sistemik,” *Odiyaiwuu.com*, February 26, 2026. Drawing on Pope Francis's *Laudato Si'*, the article applies the concept of “ecological epistemicide” to the systematic destruction of Papuan knowledge systems through industrial extractivism carried out in the name of development and progress.

<sup>14</sup> Yamin Kogoya, *The Labyrinth of Papuan Extinction: Paradox, Participation, and the Collapse of Recognition*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, No. 19 (NATAKA Research Institute and Wone Press, 2026).

A critical Indonesian-language analysis published on the Kalawai platform makes this pattern explicit: two decades of *Otonomi Khusus*, operationalised in the name of development and progress, have proceeded “without direction,” producing not the promised advancement of Papuan people but the further entrenchment of resource extraction under the sign of progress, leaving Papuans “still walking in the corridor of darkness toward the threat of extinction (depopulation).” This is the psycho-cosmocidal operation of *kemajuan*: it structures Papuan self-perception around a temporal narrative in which the present is always deficient and the future—which is always modelled on the civilisational norm of the coloniser—is always the destination. Progress discourse thus produces what might be called a *permanent deferral* of Papuan subjectivity: *the Papuan is never fully arrived, always becoming, always on the way toward a destination that perpetually recedes*.<sup>15</sup>

The Nietzschean critique of progress ideology, as applied to the Papuan context by commentary published in Jelata News Papua, is apt here: colonialism in Papua “uses the morality of nationalism and development to subjugate the Papuan people, making them objects to be managed, not subjects free to affirm themselves.” Progress, in this reading, is not the empowerment of Papuan agency but its systematic negation under the guise of empowerment.<sup>16</sup>

*Kemajuan* thus supplies the four-gospel system with its temporal engine. By defining fulfilment as a horizon that is always approaching and never arrived at, it ensures that the system it powers is never required to deliver—only to promise, indefinitely, that delivery is close. Progress supplies the temporal direction. By assigning the Papuan cosmopolitan world to an irrecoverable past and defining the coloniser’s civilisational present as the only inhabitable future, *kemajuan* colonises the very arrow of history—ensuring that resistance to the four-gospel system can be experienced, by those inside it, as nothing more than a refusal to move forward.

Elsewhere in the corpus this temporal engine is named more precisely as the movement from Civi-lie-sation to Evi-lie-sation — deliberate coinages that embed ‘lie’ inside ‘civilisation’ and ‘evolution’ to mark the fact that what presents itself as advancement is simultaneously a fabrication. The same corpus locates *kemajuan* within a wider structural claim: a civilisational order generated through extraction and administration has no independent source of vitality and

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<sup>15</sup> “Kolonialisme Indonesia dan *Quo Vadis* Papua Merdeka,” *Kalawai*, October 2, 2024. The article observes that “dua puluh tahun pelaksanaan Otsus berjalan tanpa arah... kondisi rakyat bangsa Papua ibarat masih berjalan di dalam lorong kegelapan menuju ancaman kepunahan (depopulasi)” (“Twenty years of Special Autonomy have proceeded without direction... the condition of the Papuan people is as if still walking through a corridor of darkness toward the threat of extinction (depopulation)”).

<sup>16</sup> “Kritik Nietzsche terhadap Kolonialisme di Papua,” *Jelata News Papua*, August 25, 2025. The article argues that “Kolonialisme di Papua menggunakan moralitas nasionalisme dan pembangunan untuk menundukkan rakyat Papua, menjadikan mereka objek yang harus diatur, bukan subjek yang bebas menegaskan dirinya” (“Colonialism in Papua uses the morality of nationalism and development to subjugate the Papuan people, making them objects to be governed rather than subjects free to affirm themselves”).

can only sustain its forward momentum by continuing to draw on the cosmobian world it declares primitive, exactly as a parasite depends on a host it cannot admit to needing.<sup>17</sup>

## VI. THE FOURTH GOSPEL

### Sukses (Success) and the Administered Subject

The fourth and most intimate gospel is *sukses* (success): individual achievement, credentials, career advancement, the acquisition of material markers of civilisational belonging—cars, houses, degrees, titles. Of the four gospels, *sukses* operates most directly at the level of personal identity and aspiration, and it is perhaps the most effective instrument of the CPCV precisely because it individualises the problem of colonisation, relocating it from the domain of collective political struggle to the domain of personal effort and merit.

The Papuan who achieves success within the colonial administrative apparatus—who obtains a government post, a university degree, a seat in the provincial legislature—is celebrated within Papuan communities as a figure of inspiration and pride. They are praised from pulpits and at family gatherings. They become the visible embodiment of the promise that integration into the Indonesian state is not a form of subjugation but a pathway to flourishing. Across much of the settler colonial system’s institutional life, almost any space in which a Papuan person is graduated, elevated, promoted, appointed, or elected is celebrated and promoted as ‘*sukses*’. This pattern is not confined to the administrative apparatus; it has, on this reading, also taken hold within the civil resistance movement for a free Papua. A new leader, secretary, chairman, or treasurer who is elected or appointed is similarly welcomed with the Indonesian phrase ‘*selamat sukses*’. The argument advanced here is that this habit of celebration, however well intended, risks redirecting attention away from the recognition that the relationship with Jakarta remains, at root, a contest—toward forms of social recognition that Jakarta has comparatively little reason to discourage.

Yet what this paper argues, from within the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm, is that this individual success is structurally predicated on the collective failure of the Papuan world. To succeed in the colonial sense is to have undergone the psychic transformation that Jakarta’s civilisational project requires: to have adopted Indonesian as one’s primary language of public life, to have abandoned or marginalised one’s cosmological inheritance, to have accepted the civilisational hierarchy in which one’s own world occupies the bottom rung.

Critical scholarship on the paradox of *Otonomi Khusus* has documented precisely this dynamic. As one academic analysis argues, *Otsus*, though “designed to provide legal and cultural recognition to Papuans and their rights within the state,” has paradoxically “failed to guarantee Papuan

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<sup>17</sup> Yamin Kogoya, *Psycho-Cosmocide: The Silent Invasion of Mind, Meaning, and Cosmos*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, No. 2 (NATAKA Research Institute and Wone Press, 2026); and Yamin Kogoya, *Cosmobian and Synthobian: Two Modes of Being*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, No. 26 (NATAKA Research Institute and Wone Press, 2026).

recognition”—because recognition within the colonial order is always recognition on the coloniser’s terms, requiring the performed abandonment of what is being ostensibly recognised.<sup>18</sup>

The psycho-cosmocidal consequence of the *sukses* gospel is visible in a further pattern: Papuan resistance movements are often unconsciously structured by the same aspirational logic they nominally oppose. The difference between the Jakarta-sponsored Papuan administrator and the Papuan independence activist is frequently not a difference in the underlying worldview of civilisational desire, but merely a difference in access to material resources. Both aspire to the same horizon of progress, modernity, and international recognition. Both measure their success against standards that were installed by the colonial encounter.

*Sukses* completes the picture by relocating the entire operation to the level of the individual conscience. There, collective colonisation can be felt, sincerely and not unreasonably, as personal merit—which is precisely what makes the fourth gospel the hardest of the four to recognise from inside one’s own success. Within the CPCV architecture, the Fourth Gospel performs the decisive final function: it takes what religiosity, *pembangunan*, and *kemajuan* have prepared at the collective and cosmological level, and internalises it as the individual subject’s most intimate self-understanding. Once the subject measures their own dignity by the standards that the colonial encounter installed, the CPCV no longer requires any external enforcement. It is self-sustaining. The extinction is felt as achievement; the dispossession is experienced as arrival. This is the fourth gospel’s specific contribution to the civilisational extinction cult: it makes the colonised subject their own most effective instrument.

The corpus’s Lani-derived vocabulary offers a precise name for this transaction: the distinction between Inaorak, a cosmologically verified belonging earned and renewed through living relationship with ancestral ground, and Kuru, a presence on that ground no longer constituted by living memory. *Sukses* is, in these terms, the mechanism by which Inaorak is quietly exchanged for Kuru — belonging purchased with a degree, a title, or a government salary rather than inherited through the forms of relationship that *sukses* has no means of measuring or rewarding.<sup>19</sup>

The preceding chapters have examined the four gospels individually, identifying the distinctive role each plays within the architecture of the Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide Virus (CPCV). Religiosity colonises the sphere of ultimate meaning; *pembangunan* materialises that aspiration through the visible promises of development; *kemajuan* organises history as a movement away from Indigenous worlds toward civilisational modernity; and *sukses* internalises these processes within the aspirations of the individual subject. Considered separately, each gospel appears to address a different domain of life. Considered together, however, they reveal a deeper unity.

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<sup>18</sup> Rosita Dewi, “The Paradox of Papuan Recognition After Two Decades of Special Autonomy: Racism, Violence, and Self-Determination,” *Advances in Southeast Asian Studies* 17, no. 1 (2024): 25–44; see also Adrian M. Gallagher, Eva Hansson, and Nicholas Farrelly, “Securitization of a Political Conflict in Southeast Asia: Disengaging the Indigenous Audience in West Papua,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 53, no. 5 (2023): 799–821.

<sup>19</sup> Yamin Kogoya, *Wonesis: Framework, Belonging, and the Antidote to Psycho-Cosmocide*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, No. 16 (NATAKA Research Institute and Wone Press, 2026).

The purpose of the following section is therefore not to introduce a new theoretical framework, but to illuminate the underlying mechanism that enables these four apparently distinct formations to operate as a single civilisational system. The analytical figures developed below—the horror that cannot see itself, the forest and the trees, the Cursed Pleasure Island, the colonial liturgy, the donkey transformation, and the colonial militias of the interior—should not be understood as independent concepts competing with the Four Gospels or the CPCV. Rather, they function as heuristic models that make visible different dimensions of the same psycho-cosmocidal process. Each metaphor examines one structural feature of the Four Gospels that would otherwise remain difficult to perceive: the invisibility of cumulative destruction, the reorganisation of desire, the ritualisation of aspiration, the generational transmission of colonial consciousness, and the internalisation of colonial power.

In this sense, the discussion that follows represents a movement from description to explanation. The previous chapters established what the four gospels are and how they function within Papuan settler colonial life. The present section asks a different philosophical question: why are these gospels so psychologically persuasive, so historically durable, and so difficult to recognise as mechanisms of civilisational extinction by those who participate in them most sincerely? It is only by addressing this deeper question that the Four Gospels can be understood not as four separate ideological formations, but as the visible expressions of a single underlying drive.

## **VII. WHY THE FOUR GOSPELS ARE SO POWERFUL**

### **The Hidden Logic of Civilisational Extinction**

The sections that follow develop the argument through a sequence of extended figures—virus, liturgy, Pleasure Island, donkey, militia—drawn from biology, anthropology of religion, and European folklore. These are used explicitly as analytical models: heuristic devices for making a structural mechanism visible, not as literal or empirical descriptions of any individual Papuan's inner life. No claim is made that any specific person has been “transformed into a donkey” in fact; the figure is a model of a process, offered because the process it names—gradual, willing, generationally compounding transformation—is otherwise difficult to hold in view. The interpretive work this section performs should be read in that lens throughout.

### **The Horror That Cannot See Itself**

The extermination of the Aboriginal Tasmanians was not perceived, by the overwhelming majority of those who participated in it, as extermination. The British settlers who drove the Palawa people from their land, who shot them in their camps, who poisoned their water, who hunted them as sport and captured the last survivors as exhibits, experienced themselves as doing something else entirely: civilising a wilderness, developing an empty land, managing a problem. The word “genocide” did not yet exist. The concept of a crime against humanity had not yet been

institutionalised. There was no camera, no UN resolution, no NGO producing shadow reports. There was only the settlement, and the land opening up ahead of it, and the Palawa people disappearing from view—retreating, dying, contracting—in a process that, from inside the event, looked like the natural consequence of civilisational contact with a people who were, as contemporary accounts insisted, simply too primitive to survive modernity.

The full horror of what happened in Tasmania became visible only retrospectively, after the archive was sufficiently complete, after the photographs of Truganini existed, after the skull of William Lanne had been stolen from the Royal College of Surgeons and could be named as what it was: the souvenir of a genocide, the scientific artefact of a total annihilation. What you could not see, standing inside the event in 1830 in Hobart Town, attending a service at St David's Cathedral, reading the Hobart Town Gazette, was the full contour of what was being done. The horizon was not wide enough. The camera did not yet exist.<sup>20</sup>

The Atlantic slave trade presents a structurally identical problem of temporal visibility. The plantation economy of the eighteenth-century Caribbean was not perceived by its beneficiaries—the merchants in Bristol and Liverpool, the sugar refiners in London, the consumers of sweetened tea throughout England—as a horror. It was perceived as commerce, as an institution, as the natural order of things. The horror existed: in the holds of the slave ships, in the fields of Saint-Domingue, in the branding irons and the auction blocks and the legal instruments that classified a human being as movable property. But from inside the system, the horror was invisible beneath the apparatus of its own normalisation: the legal frameworks that codified it, the theological traditions that justified it, the economic science that rationalised it, the cultural practices that made it ordinary. It took the accumulated testimony of the enslaved themselves, the slow construction of an abolitionist counter-archive, and ultimately the violence of revolution and war to make the horror visible as horror—and even then, the visibility was contested, deferred, partial.<sup>21</sup>

These two historical cases are not invoked here as analogies to West Papua. They are invoked as evidence for a broader claim: the full horror of a systematic civilisational atrocity is, in case after documented case, largely invisible to the majority of its participants while it is being enacted. This is not because those participants are stupid, or morally deficient in ways that distinguish them from us. It is because the atrocity is embedded in, and expressed through, the normal institutional life of its era—through the legal system, the economic system, the religious system, the educational system, the symbolic system. The horror wears the face of the ordinary. It is conducted in daylight, in public, with paperwork and ceremony and prayer. The specific achievement of the most

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<sup>20</sup> On the extermination of the Palawa people of Tasmania, see Lyndall Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981); and James Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2008). On the theft of William Lanne's skull, see Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, chap. 15.

<sup>21</sup> On how slavery became normalised, justified, and partially rendered invisible within dominant Euro-American thought and culture, see Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780–1865* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); and Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

complete forms of civilisational atrocity is precisely that they do not look like atrocities from inside the moment of their enactment. They look like governance.

## **The Forest and the Trees: On Cumulative Destruction**

There is a further characteristic of civilisational atrocities that the Tasmanian and Atlantic cases illuminate: the unit problem of visibility. The individual tree being cut does not constitute, in itself, a tragedy. A tree is cut and another tree is cut and another one. The forest has always had trees cut within it. The relationship between individual tree-cutting events and the destruction of the forest is not visible at the level of the individual event. It is only visible at the level of the aggregate—the pattern, the direction, the cumulative consequence—and that aggregate is only visible from a temporal and spatial distance that the individual tree-cutting event does not provide.

The Indonesian settler colonial project in West Papua operates precisely at this unit level. Each individual event in the sequence is, in itself, unremarkable and even benign. A new road is built in the highlands. A church is consecrated in Wamena. A Papuan student receives a scholarship to study in Jakarta. A new provincial government is inaugurated in Sorong. A Papuan pastor is appointed to lead a diocese. A new university opens in Jayapura. Each of these events, considered individually, is entirely legible within the grammar of development, progress, religiosity, and success—the four gospels. Each is photographable, celebratable, reportable. Each can be held up as evidence that the system is working, that Papuans are flourishing, that integration is succeeding.

What is not visible at the level of the individual event is the cumulative pattern of which each event is an expression. The road does not merely connect communities: it opens the interior to extraction, to transmigration, to the demographic recomposition of the highlands that will eventually render Lani and many cosmopolitan people a minority in their own ancestral territory. The scholarship does not merely educate a student: it removes a young person from their Papuan-speaking community, places them in an Indonesian-medium institution for four or more years of intensive linguistic and cultural re-patterning, and returns them as a person whose primary public language is no longer their own, whose professional network is Indonesian, whose aspirational horizon is now measured against Indonesian national standards. The new provincial government does not merely provide governance: it creates new positions for Papuan administrators who will govern the colonial project in the name of their own people, internalising its logic as their professional identity.

The forest is disappearing one tree at a time. The trees are being cut by Papuan hands, often with Papuan pride, financed by Jakarta, celebrated in the regional press, and blessed in the local churches. And no single tree-cutting event is, in itself, the horror. The horror is the forest. And the forest can only be seen from the air, from a distance that the individual tree-cutter does not occupy. This is what the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm provides: the aerial view. The horror that cannot be seen from inside the event.

## The Cursed Pleasure Island

There is a figure from the European mythological tradition that illuminates, with unsettling precision, the psycho-cosmocidal mechanism at work in West Papua. In Carlo Collodi's original telling of Pinocchio—not the sanitised Disney version but the source text—the Pleasure Island (Il Paese dei Balocchi, the Land of Toys) operates as follows. Boys who are lazy, who do not want to study, who prefer play to work and pleasure to discipline, are transported by a mysterious coachman to an island of total indulgence: games, sweets, entertainment, freedom from school, freedom from parents, freedom from all obligation. The boys eat and play and laugh. They believe they have arrived in paradise. What they do not know—what they cannot perceive from inside the pleasure—is that the island is a factory. The more they indulge, the more they transform. Ears lengthen, skin thickens and voices change. By the time the transformation is complete, they are no longer boys. They are donkeys. They are sold as labour animals and worked until they die.

The horror of Collodi's Pleasure Island is not primarily physical. It is ontological. The boys do not experience the transformation as horror while it is happening because the transformation is indistinguishable from inside, from pleasure. The pleasure is the mechanism of the transformation. The more thoroughly they enjoy the island, the more completely they are destroyed. The pleasure and the destruction are not in opposition; they are a single process, a single circuit. The coachman does not force them. He merely provides the conditions in which they destroy themselves, enthusiastically, with laughter.<sup>22</sup>

Within the framework developed in this paper, West Papua under the four-gospel system of Indonesian settler colonialism can be understood as a civilisational-scale Cursed Pleasure Island. The Papuan subject most thoroughly inducted into the Four Gospels—deeply committed to Christianity and Islam, enthusiastic about development, convinced of the moral necessity of progress, and successful within the colonial administrative order—is also the subject most comprehensively reorganised by the logic of the CPCV. The transformation is not literally into a donkey, as in the original story, but into a participant whose aspirations increasingly reproduce the very structures that are displacing the cosmopolitan world in which Papuan existence is historically and cosmologically grounded. Faith, material improvement, educational achievement, and professional recognition may all be experienced as genuine sources of meaning and fulfilment. The argument advanced here is not that these experiences are false, but that, within the ideological architecture of the Four Gospels, their very reality can become the mechanism through which psycho-cosmocidal transformation is most effectively reproduced.

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<sup>22</sup> Carlo Collodi, *Le avventure di Pinocchio: Storia di un burattino* (Florence: Felice Paggi, 1883), chap. 31–32. The Pleasure Island (*Paese dei Balocchi*) episode is considerably darker in the original Italian than in most English translations or the 1940 Disney adaptation. In the original text, the Coachman's business model is explicit: transformed boys are sold as donkeys for labour in salt mines, for circus performances, and for other forms of commercial exploitation.

## The Colonial Liturgy

The four gospels do not circulate only through formal institutions such as churches, schools, government offices, or development programmes. They are continuously reproduced through the ordinary language of everyday life. Across West Papua, their vocabulary appears on congratulatory flower boards, village banners, church posters, government billboards, social media posts, invitation cards, graduation ceremonies, promotion announcements, election campaigns, official speeches, newspaper headlines, radio broadcasts, and everyday conversation. From birth celebrations to funerals, from church anniversaries to government inaugurations, from the appointment of a village pastor to the promotion of a governor, regent, military officer, police chief, public servant, or university graduate, the same phrases are repeatedly spoken, printed, displayed, and celebrated.

Expressions such as *Selamat dan Sukses* (“Congratulations and Success”), *Semoga Sukses* (“May You Succeed”), *Puji Tuhan* (“Praise the Lord”), *Tuhan Berkati* (“May the Lord Bless You”), *Tuhan Yesus Berkati* (“May the Lord Jesus Bless You”), and even *Allah Berkati* (“May God Bless You”) function as far more than ordinary greetings or expressions of goodwill. Within the argument developed in this paper, they operate as recurring liturgical formulas that reinforce the symbolic universe of the Four Gospels. Repeated across every stage of life and embedded within almost every public celebration, they become ritual affirmations of an aspirational order in which success, development, progress, and divine blessing appear inseparable from deeper incorporation into the institutions and values of the Indonesian settler colonial state.

The significance of these expressions lies not in the words themselves but in their cumulative repetition. Like the repeated prayers of a liturgy, they gradually become the ordinary grammar through which aspiration is expressed and recognised. They are spoken so frequently, displayed so widely, and reproduced so routinely that they cease to appear ideological at all. Instead, they come to feel like common sense, good manners, religious devotion, and the natural language of hope. It is through this everyday repetition that the Four Gospels acquire their remarkable psychological durability. Their promises become woven into the ordinary rhythms of Papuan life long before they are recognised as elements of a wider civilisational project.

The colonial mantra is therefore not mere propaganda. Propaganda works upon subjects who retain some awareness that they are being persuaded; the Soviet poster remains recognisable as propaganda, and the wartime newsreel remains recognisable as state-managed information. The liturgical mantras of the Four Gospels operate at a deeper level. They are not experienced as external messages imposed upon a resistant consciousness but as the ordinary language of gratitude, blessing, success, progress, and hope. They become the voice through which the subject understands both the present and the future.

## The Donkey Transformation

The most disturbing question raised by the Cursed Pleasure Island concerns irreversibility. At what point in Collodi's story does the boy cease merely to resemble a donkey and become one? The same question confronts the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm. At what point does the Papuan subject cease merely to live within a settler colonial order and become so deeply reorganised by it that the very structures through which they judge, desire, and imagine a future are no longer their own? At what point does colonial power cease to shape external behaviour and instead become the internal horizon through which reality itself is interpreted? This paper identifies three defining properties of the Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide Virus (CPCV): its capacity to reproduce through the host's own social and psychological machinery, its concealment through the appearance of normal and desirable social functioning, and its ability to reorganise behaviour in ways that promote its own transmission. It does not, however, address a further philosophical question: at what point does this process become effectively irreversible?

The present companion study argues that this threshold is not primarily individual but generational. Once the deepest structures of aspiration, memory, and cosmological orientation are reproduced across successive generations, the process begins to acquire a self-sustaining continuity that can no longer be explained solely by external colonial domination. Colonial power is increasingly reproduced from within the transformed world itself.<sup>23</sup>

The threshold is crossed when a Papuan child grows up in a household in which the four gospels are not merely practised but felt as indigenous, as natural, as the self-evident framework of reality. When the Lani language is not the primary language of the home. When the ancestral cosmological world—the world of Inaorak, of the ancestors, of the living relatedness of all existence—is not transmitted as lived knowledge but preserved, if at all, as cultural heritage: something displayed at a festival, explained to a researcher, photographed for an NGO report, but no longer structuring the daily practice of being alive. When the deepest dimension of the child's existence is formed not by Lani cosmological inheritance but by Indonesian national education, evangelical Christian cosmology, and the aspirational world of *sukses*. When, in short, the source of the virus is no longer an external coloniser but the child's own parents, acting out of love.

If the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm is correct, then the threshold of irreversibility may already have been crossed, to varying degrees, within significant sections of the Papuan population. Demonstrating that claim empirically would require sustained linguistic, ethnographic, and historical research beyond the scope of the present paper. The argument advanced here is therefore conceptual rather than empirical: it seeks to identify the conditions under which such a threshold becomes philosophically intelligible. If such a threshold has indeed been crossed, the question of

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<sup>23</sup> Yamin Kogoya, *Parasites of the Cosmobian World*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper (NATAKA Research Institute and Wone Press, 2026). The concept of the Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide Virus (CPCV) is further developed in Yamin Kogoya, *On the Mechanics of Civilisational Extinction*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper No. 18 (NATAKA Research Institute and Wone Press, 2026).

resistance is fundamentally transformed. It is no longer simply a question of a people resisting an external colonisation while retaining their own interior world as a source of resistance. It becomes the question of how a people might reconstruct an inner world that has itself been substantially reorganised through colonial power, using cognitive, emotional, and symbolic resources that have already been shaped by that very process that dismantling them. This does not make resistance impossible, nor does it render decolonisation inconceivable. It does suggest, however, that the task extends beyond political education, cultural revival, or institutional reform. It requires a reconstruction of worldview itself—the deepest structures through which a people come to recognise what is meaningful, desirable, and ultimately worth becoming.

### **The Colonial Militia: Most Dangerous Transformation**

The Pleasure Island's coachman does not do the work of transformation himself. He provides the island. The boys transform themselves, through their own indulgence, through the exercise of their own pleasure. The coachman's genius—and the genius of the Indonesian settler colonial project—is precisely that the mechanism of destruction requires minimal direct intervention once it is established. The transformed boys are sold to new masters who will work them. But in the Papuan case, the transformed subjects are not sold to new masters: they become, of their own free will, the administrators of the island for the next generation of arrivals.

This is what the foundational paper introduced within the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm<sup>24</sup> identifies as the most devastating property of the CPCV: the behavioural alteration that promotes transmission. The Papuan governor who administers the colonial project does not experience himself as a colonial agent. He experiences himself as a son of Papua who has succeeded (*sukses*) blessed or even ordained by Allah or Jesus, who is using his position to develop his people, who is a proof that Papuans can lead, that integration works, that the system is fair.

As established above, this is the CPCV's signature mechanism applied to its most consequential figure: sincerity, not deception, is what makes him effective. Jakarta could not staff the provincial government with Indonesian administrators without generating a resistance that would be internationally visible and politically costly. Instead, Jakarta generates Papuan administrators who govern the colonial project as an act of love for their own people.

These figures—colonised Papuan governors, regents, district heads, university rectors, church leaders, colonial parliamentarians, military officers and police commanders who are ethnically Papuan—constitute what this companion study names the *Colonial Militias of the Interior*. The term is not derogatory toward these individuals. They are, in the fullest sense, victims of the CPCV: people whose desire has been restructured so thoroughly that the exercise of that desire constitutes,

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<sup>24</sup> The foundational paper referred to throughout this study is Yamin Kogoya's *Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework* (Wone Press, 2026), which first introduces the three defining properties of the Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide Virus (CPCV): replication, concealment, and behavioural alteration.

at the collective level, the administration of an extinction project. But they are simultaneously, and without contradiction, the project's most effective instruments, because they inhabit positions of authority within Papuan communities that a Jakarta-deployed administrator could never occupy, and they exercise that authority with the moral confidence of people who believe, with complete sincerity, that they are doing good.

The most dangerous transformation, then, is not the transformation of the Papuan layperson who prays to a white Jesus and celebrates a new road. It is the transformation of the Papuan intellectual, the Papuan administrator, the Papuan pastor, the Papuan academic—the person whose CPCV induction is complete enough that they can produce sophisticated arguments, in the idiom of the dominant order, for why the four gospels are not mechanisms of extinction but genuine pathways to Papuan salvation, development and improvement. These figures are dangerous not because they are lying, but because they sincerely believe they are telling the truth. Their understanding of reality has already been reorganised. The standards through which they recognise what is good, desirable, responsible, successful, and worthy of defence have been shaped through years of Indonesian-medium education, evangelical theological formation, bureaucratic training, and participation within the institutions of the settler colonial state. They are not puppets, opportunists, or merely obedient functionaries. They are, in the most unsettling sense, fully themselves.

This is the final frontier of the Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide Virus. Colonial power no longer needs to speak through Jakarta alone. It acquires its most effective voice when Papuans themselves sincerely defend and reproduce the very order that is systematically dismantling the cosmobian world from which they emerged. At that point, they become more than administrators, pastors, teachers, politicians, or professionals.

*They become the living seal of the colonial system—the final confirmation through which the verdict of Papuan extinction is carried into Papuan society by Papuans themselves, not through coercion but through conviction.*

## **Four Gospels, One Logic**

The preceding chapters have shown that *religiosity*, *pembangunan*, *kemajuan*, and *sukses* operate in different domains of life—the sacred, the material, the temporal, and the personal—yet they share a common underlying logic. Each defines fulfilment, hope, and advancement according to standards that progressively reorient Papuan aspirations away from the survival and continuity of the Papuan cosmobian world. Taken together, they reveal not four independent ideological formations but a single civilisational architecture. The question that follows is therefore no longer how each gospel operates individually, but what gives them such coherence, durability, and psychological force that they function as a single civilisational system.

A civilisational death cult, as the term is used in this paper, does not refer to a group that consciously seeks death, destruction, or extinction, nor does it imply that its participants act with

malicious intent. Rather, it refers to a social, symbolic, and civilisational order whose highest ideals, sacred promises, and moral aspirations progressively and systematically organise a colonised people toward dismantling the very conditions that make their continued existence as a distinct cosmological world possible. It is a system that reproduces extinction not by demanding that people desire their own destruction, but by teaching them to pursue forms of life that gradually make that destruction possible while experiencing those pursuits as hope, fulfilment, and moral progress.

Its defining characteristic is therefore not violence alone but inversion. Elimination appears as fulfilment. Dispossession appears as development. Replacement appears as progress. Assimilation appears as success. Dependence appears as hope. What ought to be recognised as danger is experienced instead as liberation. The destruction of a people's lands, languages, memories, cosmologies, and civilisational continuity no longer appears as loss but as the necessary price of a better future. The deepest horror lies precisely here: the price itself becomes unrecognisable to those who pay it because the cognitive and cosmological framework required to recognise the sacrifice has already been reorganised. The colonised continue to pay the price, yet the conceptual world through which that price could be recognised as loss has disappeared.

Every cult possesses sacred promises, sacred objects, sacred rituals, sacred authorities, sacred language, and sacred scriptures that organise the desires and moral imagination of its participants. Like all scriptures, they do more than communicate ideas. They establish the moral universe of the cult. They define what is good and evil, worthy and unworthy, progressive and backward, sacred and profane. They teach successive generations what should be believed, desired, celebrated, rewarded, defended, and ultimately sacrificed.

The central argument of this paper is that religiosity, *pembangunan* (development), *kemajuan* (progress), and *sukses* (success) perform precisely these functions within the Indonesian settler colonial project in West Papua. They function not as four unrelated ideologies but as the four sacred gospels of a single civilisational death cult. Each proclaims its own form of "good news." Religiosity promises salvation and entry into a heavenly kingdom. *Pembangunan* promises material prosperity through development. *Kemajuan* promises movement toward a more advanced and civilised future. *Sukses* promises dignity, recognition, and fulfilment through individual achievement within the colonial order. Together they constitute the cult's sacred scriptures. They define what should be believed, desired, celebrated, rewarded, defended, and ultimately pursued. Through them, Papuan aspiration is progressively redirected away from the survival of the Papuan cosmopolitan world and toward deeper incorporation into the civilisational order responsible for its displacement.

The word *cult* therefore refers not to irrationality but to structure. It denotes a comprehensive symbolic order capable of organising perception, aspiration, morality, memory, identity, and imagination around sacred promises that become increasingly resistant to internal criticism. The word *death* likewise refers not primarily to biological killing, although demographic elimination may accompany it. It refers instead to the gradual extinction of an entire mode of human existence:

a cosmological world that progressively loses the capacity to reproduce itself across generations while its disappearance is experienced as blessing, development, progress, success, and hope.

A civilisational death cult may therefore be defined as a symbolic and institutional order whose sacred promises gradually organise a colonised people to participate in dismantling the conditions of their own civilisational continuity while experiencing that participation as virtue, redemption, fulfilment, progress, and hope. The Four Gospels examined in this paper are the principal scriptures through which that order teaches its moral universe, reproduces its aspirations, and secures its continuity across generations.

The settler colonial scholar Lorenzo Veracini has characterised West Papua as a paradigmatic case of settler colonialism: a structure aimed not merely at exploitation but at the elimination and replacement of the indigenous population. What the Psycho-Cosmocide framework adds to this analysis is the claim that the most effective mechanism of elimination is not physical violence—though that too is present—but the reorganisation of Papuan desire itself. When the Papuan subject actively desires their own cosmobian reality to be developed and improved, the settler colonial project achieves a degree of stability and self-reproduction that no military apparatus could deliver.<sup>25</sup> This claim finds a precise counterpart in critical Indonesian scholarship. Father Yohanes Tara, a Catholic priest whose comments were reported in *Nadi Papua*, has characterised Indonesian development projects in Papua as a new form of “ecological colonialism,” observing that “when the forest is lost, the indigenous community loses their identity, their relationship with their ancestors, and their relationship with God”—noting, crucially, that *pembangunan* is thus not the improvement of Papuan life but its ontological destruction.<sup>26</sup>

## The Settler Colonial Theatre

The physical staging of the four gospels requires examination. Jakarta has, since the implementation of *Otonomi Khusus* in 2001, systematically expanded the administrative apparatus in West Papua: from one province to six, with a proliferating array of regencies, districts, and village-level administrative units. Each new administrative space is both a governance mechanism and a performative stage—a podium from which Papuan figures are positioned, funded, and deployed to embody the gospel of integration, *pembangunan*, *kemajuan* and *sukses*.

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<sup>25</sup> Lorenzo Veracini, quoted in Camellia Webb-Gannon, *West Papuan Decolonisation: Contesting Indigenous, Transnational, and Settler Colonial Histories* (Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2021). For the foundational argument that settler colonialism is a structure rather than an event, see Patrick Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387–409.

<sup>26</sup> “Kritik Keras Romo Yohanes Tara: Atas Nama Pembangunan, Papua Disalibkan,” *Nadi Papua*, 2026. Romo Yohanes Tara stated, “Ketika hutan hilang, masyarakat adat kehilangan identitas, kehilangan relasi dengan leluhur, dan kehilangan relasi dengan Tuhan” (“When the forest is lost, Indigenous communities lose their identity, their relationship with their ancestors, and their relationship with God”).

The religious apparatus discussed in Section III is itself part of this administrative theatre, and belongs here as much as in the discussion of religiosity proper. Jakarta has long recognised the immense psychic power of the religious apparatus within Papuan communities, and it is precisely for this reason that the Indonesian state, operating through its network of locally embedded Papuan intermediaries—governors, regents, district heads, community leaders—invests heavily in religious activities and institutions. The material wealth channelled through religious structures has itself become a further mechanism of psycho-cosmocidal capture: access to ecclesiastical leadership, to pastoral and ministerial office, is now sought and competed for as a form of sukses in its own right, fully integrated into the circuit of the four gospels and into the same administrative logic as the new province, the new regency, and the new government post.

Critical analysis of the settler colonial project in Sorong has documented how the expansion of infrastructure under *Otsus* has proceeded through the transformation of Indigenous Papuan subjectivity: Papuans do not merely lose their land—they are restructured as subjects who participate in the transactions that dispossess them, sometimes becoming landlords who sell to settlers, thereby internalising the commodification of the earth that their cosmologies had previously refused.<sup>27</sup>

The ideological architecture surrounding transmigration extends beyond economic development alone. It is also sustained by one of the foundational principles of the Indonesian state: *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (“Unity in Diversity”). Officially, this national motto presents Indonesia as a single nation composed of many peoples, languages, cultures, and religions living together within one political community. Within this vision, Papuans are recognised as possessing their own distinctive historical, cultural, linguistic, and cosmological traditions, yet these differences are understood as enriching a larger Indonesian national family rather than constituting the basis of a separate political or civilisational existence. From the perspective of the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm, however, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* functions as an important ideological component of the Four Gospels. It presents incorporation into the Indonesian nation as a moral and civilisational good, encouraging both Papuans and non-Papuans to understand national integration as a promise of harmony, development, progress, and shared prosperity. In this sense, it becomes another form of “good news” through which the expansion of the Indonesian state is represented as beneficial not only for Indonesia but also for the Indigenous peoples incorporated within it.

The philosophical argument advanced here does not deny the ethical aspiration expressed by the ideal of unity in diversity. Rather, it questions how that ideal operates within the historical conditions of Indonesian settler colonialism in West Papua. Where large-scale demographic change, economic marginalisation, and the gradual displacement and the eventual replacement of Papuan cosmopolitan communities accompany the expansion of the national project, the promise of unity coexists with processes that systematically and structurally shift the balance of the

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<sup>27</sup> Hatib A. Kadir and Bustamin Wahid, “Frontier Sands: Settler Colonialism, Resource Extraction, and Indigenous Dispossession in Sorong, West Papua,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 16, no. 1 (2026): 50–68. Published online May 18, 2025.

demographic, cultural, linguistic, and cosmological foundations of Papuan existence. Within the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm, this tension is central: an ideology that presents itself as a vision of coexistence and national harmony simultaneously functions, under particular historical conditions, as part of the civilisational architecture through which the distinctiveness and long-term continuity of the Papuan people are systematically destroyed.

Elmslie and Webb-Gannon, among others, have characterised this process as a “slow-motion genocide”—a systematic elimination conducted not through mass killing but through the cumulative operation of demographic, economic, cultural, and linguistic dispossession.

The Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm affirms this characterisation while extending it inward: the genocide is also, and perhaps most insidiously, a genocide of the inner world—of the cosmological world through which a colonised people produce meaning, relationship, and continuity.<sup>2829</sup>

## VIII. PHILOSOPHICAL IMPLICATIONS

### Power, Desire, and the Colonisation of Transcendence

Everything that follows is an implication drawn out of the Four Gospels themselves, not a separate inquiry alongside them. Section VII established the mechanism by which *religiosity*, *pembangunan*, *kemajuan*, and *sukses* cohere into a single system of extinction; the task now is to ask what that system entails for how we think about power, desire, time, and the very possibility of naming an atrocity of this kind.

### The Darkness Decorated: Why Colonised Peoples Cannot See the Mechanism

This paper’s analysis confronts a particular epistemological difficulty: the very subjects most deeply inducted into the four gospels are, by virtue of that induction, the least positioned to recognise their operation. The person who has staked their identity, their career, their family’s pride, and their understanding of God on the gospel of *sukses* and *pembangunan* does not experience themselves as colonised. They experience themselves as achieved, as arrived, as blessed. This is precisely what this paper calls the *counterfeit transcendental*: a way of thinking so complete that the darkness cannot recognise itself as darkness, colonisation, domination, subjugation, and possibility of extinction cannot recognise as such and will resist—with genuine emotion and sincere conviction—any analysis that seeks to illuminate its character. To offer such

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<sup>28</sup> Jim Elmslie and Camellia Webb-Gannon, “A Slow-Motion Genocide: Indonesian Rule in West Papua,” *Griffith Journal of Law & Human Dignity* 1, no. 2 (2013): 142–66; see also Lachlan McNamee, “Indonesian Settler Colonialism in West Papua,” *SSRN Electronic Journal* (2020).

<sup>29</sup> Jim Elmslie and Camellia Webb-Gannon, “A Slow-Motion Genocide,” *The International Journal of Human Rights* 17, no. 7–8 (2013): 839–854; Kyle J. Zarsky, “Autonomy over Life: The Struggle against Capitalist Development in West Papua,” *State Crime Journal* 13, no. 2 (2024): 173–200.

an analysis is not to demean those who have been inducted into the system, but to name the system itself.

Fanon's analysis of the "Manichaean" structure of colonial psychology—its production of a world divided between the light of civilisation and the darkness of primitivity—is essential here. Under this structure, Papuan who enters the administrative, religious, and educational apparatus of the colonial order experiences themselves as moving from darkness into light. The decolonial reversal required is not a simple inversion of that hierarchy but a more radical displacement of the entire frame: the recognition that the light/darkness binary is itself the instrument of colonisation, and that what was named as darkness—the original Papuan ontological world, the Papuan forest economy, the ancestral cosmology—contains the very resources of resistance and renewal that the colonial gospel has worked hardest to destroy.<sup>30</sup>

The corpus develops the same image independently through the figure of the cave: an institutional architecture built from what has been extracted, onto whose walls an apparatus of characters, images, and colours is projected to hold the attention of a population it has already dispossessed. What a captured population perceives as reality is, on this account, a projection cast onto walls it did not build, from a fire it cannot see. Recognising the wall as a wall — rather than simply arguing for better shadows — is, in the corpus's own terms, the prior and more fundamental act upon which any decolonial recovery depends.<sup>31</sup>

This epistemological difficulty is not merely a passive blind spot but, within the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm, a structural feature of the Four Gospels themselves. Highly integrated ideological systems often develop internal mechanisms that make fundamental critique increasingly difficult by interpreting criticism as evidence of error within the critic rather than within the system. In the context examined here, doubt within the first gospel of *religiosity* may be understood as spiritual weakness or opposition to God's will. Criticism of *pembangunan* may be dismissed as hostility to development or as a desire to keep Papuans poor. Criticism of *sukses* may be interpreted as resentment toward those who have achieved educational or professional success. Criticism of *kemajuan* may be portrayed as resistance to progress or as an attempt to preserve backwardness. These responses are not presented here as the inevitable reactions of every individual. Rather, the argument is that they function as recurring patterns through which the Four Gospels protect their own legitimacy. They operate as what may be called structural mechanisms of immunisation, redirecting attention away from the underlying system by framing criticism itself as misguided, irrational, or morally suspect. The consequence is that the more comprehensively

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<sup>30</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 37–40. For discussion of the Manichaean structure of colonial society and its psychological consequences, see also Hussein Abdilahi Bulhan, *Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression* (New York: Plenum Press, 1985).

<sup>31</sup> Yamin Kogoya, *Beyond the Papuan Rebel: Land as First Ontology*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, No. 23 (NATAKA Research Institute and Wone Press, 2026); and Yamin Kogoya, *Four Worlds, One Dying Earth: The Four Modes of Existence and the War on the Cosmopolitan World*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, No. 17 (NATAKA Research Institute and Wone Press, 2026).

the psycho-cosmocidal process is analysed, the more easily the analysis itself can be interpreted as an attack on religion, development, progress, or success rather than as an examination of the ideological architecture within which those aspirations have become organised.

The analysis developed in this paper is therefore most likely to resonate with those who have already begun, in some measure, to question the assumptions of the Four Gospels. Its immediate audience is unlikely to be the Papuan public as a whole, but rather those situated at the margins of the prevailing aspirational order, where its underlying logic has become more visible. From within the Four Gospels themselves, such voices are likely to be perceived not primarily as truth-tellers but as pessimists, extremists, or troublemakers because they challenge aspirations that have come to appear natural, desirable, and morally unquestionable.

This recognition marks one of the most difficult steps in decolonial analysis within the Papuan context. It does not require the rejection of education, spirituality, material improvement, or individual achievement as such. Rather, it requires that these goods be re-rooted in the survival—not the sacrifice—of Papuan languages, lands, memories, and cosmological inheritances. The defining feature of the Four Gospels, as analysed in this paper, is not that they promise these goods, but that, within the ideological architecture of Indonesian settler colonialism, they progressively organise those promises around the displacement of the Papuan world. It is this demand for sacrifice, rather than the goods themselves, that defines what this paper calls a civilisational extinction cult.

## **The Temporal Colonisation of Consciousness**

The analysis traced thus far is primarily spatial and structural: it maps the configuration of the CPCV at any given moment. A further dimension remains to be developed—the temporal dimension, the manner in which the CPCV restructures Papuan time itself.

The four gospels share a deep temporal logic: each orients the subject toward a future defined by the civilisational standard of the coloniser.

The Four Gospels do not merely colonise aspiration; they reorganise time itself. They divide the temporal world into three unequal domains; each assigned a distinct civilisational function. The past is progressively demonised, marginalised, or reduced to a primitive stage that must be overcome. Ancestral worlds become relics, Indigenous languages become obstacles, forests become undeveloped resources, and cosmological memory becomes something to outgrow rather than to inherit. The future, by contrast, is monopolised by civilisational promises. Heaven lies in the future. Development lies in the future. Progress lies in the future. Success lies in the future. Everything worth hoping for is continually displaced beyond the present, waiting just ahead.

The present then assumes a decisive political function. It is no longer experienced as the living continuity of a people's own cosmological existence but as the passage through which the past is progressively abandoned and the promised future is relentlessly pursued. The present becomes the corridor of transition, the historical space through which one world is dismantled while another is continually anticipated.

Within the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm, this temporal reorganisation constitutes one of the deepest operations of the CPCV. The past is emptied of authority. The future is occupied by civilisational desire. The present becomes the machinery through which both are brought into alignment. The result is that a people no longer inherit their future from their ancestors. They inherit a future designed elsewhere, while the ancestral world that once gave meaning to both past and future is systematically deleted.

The most devastating achievement of the Four Gospels is therefore not simply that they promise another future. It is that they remove the temporal continuity of a cosmopolitan existence. The past is no longer remembered as the foundation of the future but condemned as something to escape. The future is no longer the unfolding of the ancestral world but its replacement. The present becomes the portal through which that replacement is carried out, willingly, by those who believe they are moving toward liberation while participating in the disappearance of the world that made them.

This temporal colonisation is perhaps the most complete form of psycho-cosmocide, because it determines what counts as real. Within this colonised temporal order, the ancestral world is not merely devalued; it is ontologically demoted to the category of what was, of what is over, of the pre-modern, even the dark period, age of evil. To identify with it is to be assigned no future. To refuse the four gospels is to be cast as choosing to remain in a past that the arrow of time has already surpassed.

What the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm ultimately requires is a temporal decolonisation as profound as its cosmological and epistemic decolonisation. The challenge is not simply to recover Indigenous knowledge or defend ancestral traditions, but to reclaim the very temporal architecture through which the Papuan world understands continuity, inheritance, responsibility, and becoming. The Four Gospels reorganise time into a civilisational hierarchy. The past is progressively emptied of authority, reduced to a primitive condition that must be overcome or remembered only as heritage. The future is occupied by promises of heaven, development, progress, and success, each directing aspiration toward a world imagined elsewhere. The present becomes the historical passage through which this temporal replacement is carried out. It is the portal through which the ancestral past is progressively abandoned and the future of the Papuan cosmopolitan world is displaced by another future organised according to the logic of the settler colonial state.

Temporal decolonisation therefore requires something more radical than simply recovering the past. The Papuan cosmopolitan world is not a stagnated primitive world that belongs to history while modernity belongs to the future. It embodies a different relationship with time altogether. Its future does not emerge through the abandonment of ancestors but through their continuing presence. Its continuity is not measured by perpetual movement away from the past but by the capacity of each generation to carry land, language, memory, and reciprocal obligations forward into lives yet to be lived. The deepest deception of the Four Gospels is therefore not simply that they promise another

future. It is that they persuade a people that their own future has already ended. They teach that the ancestral world belongs to yesterday, while the only future worth inhabiting lies elsewhere.

The Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm rejects this temporal reorganisation. The Papuan cosmobian world is not a vanished past. It remains present wherever Papuan languages continue to be spoken, wherever ancestral relationships to land are maintained, wherever forests continue to organise life rather than merely supply resources, and wherever the ancestors remain participants in the moral imagination of the living. This presence is not nostalgia, romantic memory, or cultural sentiment. It is an ontological reality. The task of temporal decolonisation is therefore not to return to the past, but to restore the interrupted continuity through which the Papuan world can once again generate its own future on its own cosmobian terms.

### **What Makes Psycho-Cosmocide Different: Beyond Genocide, Epistemicide, and Cultural Genocide**

Before specifying what the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm contributes, it is worth establishing here what existing frameworks can and cannot explain—since a new concept earns its place in philosophy not by assertion but by demonstrating that the existing vocabulary cannot do the required work. The question, then, is not merely whether the CPCV is a useful addition to the conceptual repertoire of settler colonial studies, but whether the phenomena this paper describes are genuinely invisible to the frameworks that precede it.

Genocide, in Lemkin’s original formulation and in the 1948 Convention, is standardised to register violence applied against a people who resist it: killings, deportations, the destruction of institutions. It presupposes an executioner and a victim whose interiority remains sufficiently intact to be wronged. What it cannot account for is a process in which the victims’ own desire becomes the instrument of destruction—in which the executioner need not appear, because the destruction is accomplished through reprogramming the victims’ own desire. Cultural genocide, as a concept, extends Lemkin’s reach to the external expressions of cultural life: languages, ceremonies, institutions. It addresses what is done to a people’s practices, and a way of life. But it remains a framework calibrated to register destruction from the outside, and it preserves the presumption that something internally intact is being externally threatened. Epistemicide, in Boaventura de Sousa Santos’s formulation, goes further: it names the destruction of knowledge systems, the suppression of non-Western ways of knowing as a consequence of the dominance of a single global episteme. This is closer to what the present analysis requires, but even epistemicide’s target is the knowledge system as such—the archive of what a people knows—rather than the desire-structure through which a people determines what is worth knowing, preserving, and fighting for.

Quijano’s concept of the colonality of power, and Mignolo’s development of it, identify the endurance of colonial structures of knowledge, subjectivity, and authority beyond formal decolonisation—what Quijano calls the “matrix of power” that persists after independence. This framework is indispensable for situating the West Papuan case within the global history of colonial

modernity, and the present paper draws on it. But coloniality, as an approach, describes the persistence of a structure; it does not specify the mechanism through which colonised subjects come to reproduce that structure not reluctantly but enthusiastically, with love, as the deepest expression of their own parental care. Patrick Wolfe’s analysis of settler colonialism as a “structure rather than an event”—aimed at the elimination and replacement of the indigenous population—captures the eliminatory logic of the West Papuan case with precision. But elimination, in Wolfe’s framework, is still primarily a structural and institutional process: it operates through law, demography, and policy. What the CPCV names is something that operates at a level below and prior to all of these: the reorganisation of desire itself, such that the colonised subject seeks, celebrates, and transmits their own elimination as the highest expression of human aspiration.

The gap that none of these frameworks closes is the gap between structural constraint and enacted sincerity. They can explain why Papuans are constrained to pursue *sukses* and *pembangunan*; they cannot explain why many Papuans pursue these things with genuine joy and transmit that joy to their children as success story and love. They can identify the colonial pattern; they cannot account for the fact that that pattern is reproduced most effectively not by colonial administrators but by Papuan parents, pastors, and politicians who experience themselves as doing something good. The CPCV is introduced not to replace these frameworks but to name precisely what they leave unexplained: the way colonial power reaches the generative source of desire itself, restructuring not merely what people do but what they want, and thereby producing a form of self-reproducing elimination that no external pressure is required to maintain.<sup>32</sup>

This is why one of the central arguments developed throughout the Psycho-Cosmocide corpus understands the relationship between the Papuan cosmobian world and the Four Gospels through the structural logic of parasite and host. The claim is not that Papuans themselves are the parasite. The Papuan cosmobian world is the host. The CPCV is the parasitic process that enters, settles, reorganises, and ultimately reproduces itself through the host’s own living structures. Religion, development, progress, success, state ideology, educational systems, administrative institutions, and other civilisational formations become the principal carriers through which this reproduction occurs. They do not simply occupy Papuan society from outside. They gradually reorganise the conditions through which Papuans think, hope, remember, educate their children, imagine the future, and understand what is worth becoming. Within this process, West Papua is transformed from a world capable of generating its own cosmological future into a living host that increasingly reproduces realities organised elsewhere. Foreign doctrines, political projects, theological systems, educational models, bureaucratic practices, and civilisational agendas and vision are implanted, nurtured, normalised, and eventually experienced as though they had always belonged there. The host slowly ceases to reproduce its own world and begins reproducing another, and in doing so, the host is either changed, transformed, or rendered extinct.

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<sup>32</sup> On the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm and the CPCV, see Yamin Kogoya, *Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework* (Wone Press, 2026); and Yamin Kogoya, *Parasites of the Cosmopian World*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper (NATAKA Research Institute and Wone Press, 2026).

This is the deepest tragedy of the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm. The parasite does not merely consume the host. It teaches the host to nourish it, defend it, celebrate it, and pass it to the next generation as though it were its own inheritance. The Papuan world gradually becomes the biological, psychological, institutional, and cosmological environment through which another civilisation continually regenerates itself. At that point, the logic of domination reaches its most terrifying form. The CPCV no longer depends primarily upon external force, military occupation, or continuous coercion. It has become self-reproducing through the very world whose continuity it is gradually dismantling. The host now protects the parasite, and in doing so unknowingly participates in the disappearance of the world that once made the host possible to be and exist. The tragedy is therefore not simply that a world is destroyed. It is that the living world entrusted with carrying that cosmobian into the future is gradually transformed into the mechanism of its own replacement.

### ***The Lemkin Gap and the Psycho-Cosmocide Extension***

Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term genocide and drafted the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, was primarily concerned with the physical and biological destruction of national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups. The Convention's definition focuses on acts committed "with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group," including killing, causing serious bodily or mental harm, deliberately inflicting destructive conditions of life, preventing births, and forcibly transferring children. Cultural genocide—the destruction of a group's cultural life—was debated during the drafting of the Convention and deliberately excluded from the final text.<sup>33</sup>

The Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm addresses not merely the Lemkin Gap—the exclusion of cultural genocide from the legal framework—but a further dimension that even the concept of cultural genocide does not reach. Cultural genocide, as conventionally understood, targets the external expressions of a group's cultural life: its language, ceremonies, myths, stories, and its practices. The CPCV targets the internal generative source of those expressions: the desire, the orientation of will, the cognitive power of evaluation through which a people determines what is worth preserving, what is worth fighting for, what constitutes their own humanity.

When this cognitive source is colonised, the external forms of cultural life do not disappear immediately. They are maintained—but their meaning is changed, destroyed and eventually replaced or deleted. Papuan cosmobian clans and tribes sing their unique songs at cultural festivals, but they sing them as artefacts: performances of something that was once alive but is now

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<sup>33</sup> For Raphael Lemkin's original conception of genocide, see Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944). For discussion of the exclusion of cultural genocide from the 1948 Convention, see William A. Schabas, *Genocide in International Law: The Crime of Crimes*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 221–25.

displayed. They wear traditional dress for the tourist photographer, but the dress is no longer the lived expression of a cosmological relationship with the world; it is a costume. The ceremony is performed, but its performers have been formed by an education system that has systematically dismantled the ontological framework within which the ceremony was once genuinely constitutive of reality. The form persists while the substance it was the form of has been evacuated.<sup>34</sup>

This is the specific quality of the psycho-cosmocidal horror that distinguishes it from every prior taxonomy of atrocity. It does not destroy from outside. It does not destroy the form. It destroys the living interior of the form, leaving the form intact as a shell, a display, a museum exhibit—and then presents this preservation of the shell as evidence that no destruction has occurred. The language is still spoken, somewhat. The ceremony is still performed, occasionally. The elders still exist, for a few more years. The culture is being preserved, the government says, pointing to the cultural festival it funded and the documentary it commissioned. What is not said—what cannot be said within the grammar of the four gospels—is that what is being preserved is not the culture but its corpse.

## IX. WHAT IS BEING LOST THAT CANNOT BE NAMED FROM WITHIN THE LOSS

One of the central claims of the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm is that every institution operating within a settler colonial or civilisational system ultimately confronts the same philosophical question: does it contribute to the protection, continuity, and regeneration of the original cosmopolitan world, or does it participate in its progressive reorganisation according to the logic of the Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide Virus (CPCV)? Within this framework, governments, schools, churches, development agencies, security institutions, markets, and administrative systems are not judged primarily by their stated intentions or organisational forms, but by the direction in which they reorganise the conditions of existence. Do they enable a people to continue generating their own world, or do they progressively redirect that world toward another civilisational horizon?

This distinction is fundamental because the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm argues that what is threatened is far greater than the loss of language, land, forests, knowledge, cultural practices, or political sovereignty taken individually. These are visible manifestations of a deeper reality. What is ultimately at stake is the disappearance of an entire mode of being human: a distinct cosmological world through which reality is perceived, relationships are organised, memory is transmitted, and future generations are formed.

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<sup>34</sup> For discussions of the concept of cultural genocide and its relationship to Raphael Lemkin's original conception of genocide, see Lawrence Davidson, *Cultural Genocide* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2012); and Elisa Novic, *The Concept of Cultural Genocide: An International Law Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

For this reason, the framework developed within the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm introduces the concept of the *cosmobian world*. The term is necessary because no conventional category within modern social science adequately captures what is being described. It is more than culture, identity, tradition, and more than ontology understood in an abstract philosophical sense. The cosmobian world is the living totality within which human existence is generated. It is the relational world in which forests are not merely resources but living relatives, rivers are genealogical pathways, ancestors remain active participants in the moral life of the community, and language is not simply a tool of communication but the cognitive architecture through which reality itself becomes intelligible. The conflict analysed in this paper is therefore not simply a conflict between two political systems but between two fundamentally different reality logics.

The cosmobian world generates life through reciprocity, ecological embeddedness, ancestral continuity, and relational responsibility. The civilisational order examined here increasingly depends upon extraction, expansion, consumption, administrative integration, and the continual transformation of living worlds into economic, political, or technological resources.

Within the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm, the relationship between these two logics is structurally asymmetrical. The expansion of the civilisational system depends upon extracting material, ecological, cultural, and human energy from the very cosmobian worlds whose continued existence it simultaneously destroyed.

What is being lost in places such as West Papua therefore exceeds the categories through which loss is normally described in civilisational literatures and discourse. The disappearance is not simply of languages, forests, rituals, or customary institutions considered individually. It is the gradual interruption of a generative process through which a distinctive form of human consciousness has continually renewed itself across generations. Every generation of Lani, Dani, Mee, Amungme, Biak, and countless other Papuan peoples has inherited not merely knowledge but an entire way of perceiving, remembering, relating, and inhabiting reality. When that generative architecture is dismantled, what disappears is not an artefact that can later be restored but the living process through which that world continually recreates itself. This is also why the loss becomes increasingly difficult to recognise from within. The ability to perceive what has disappeared depends upon precisely those cognitive, linguistic, ecological, and cosmological structures that are themselves being dismantled. A child who grows up without fluency in a Papuan language does not ordinarily experience that absence as loss. It becomes the normal condition of existence. They have not forgotten a world they once possessed; they have been formed without access to the world that previous generations inhabited.

Here the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm reaches what may be its most unsettling conclusion. *At the generational threshold, loss gradually loses its own witnesses.*

The grandmother who still speaks a Papuan timeless original language, who knows the names of places, addresses the ancestors, and recognises the living relationships that organise the forest can perceive what is disappearing because she has inhabited both worlds. When she is gone, however, the community that follows may no longer possess the conceptual, linguistic, or cosmological

resources required even to recognise what has vanished. The disappearance is completed not only because a world has been destroyed, but because the capacity to name that destruction has disappeared with it.

*This is what the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm means by a loss that cannot be named from within the loss itself.*

The deepest tragedy is not simply that a world disappears. It is that the disappearance that systematically erases the very conditions through which that world could still be remembered, recognised, defended, or regenerated. Once that threshold is crossed, extinction no longer appears as extinction. It becomes the ordinary condition of life for those who inherit only the world that remains.

The corpus names this asymmetry directly: no global index measures the vitality of an ancestral language with anything like the authority with which it measures gross domestic product, and no development assessment captures the integrity of a cosmological tradition with the precision it reserves for infrastructure investment. The things being lost here are, definitionally, the things no dashboard of progress was built to see.<sup>35</sup>

### ***The Voice That Turns Into a Bray: Language as the Last Frontier***

In Collodi's *Pleasure Island*, the first audible sign of the transformation is the change in the boys' voices. They begin to bray. They hear each other braying and they laugh, not yet understanding what they are hearing, not yet understanding that the laugh will shortly be a bray as well. The voice is the last frontier of the human, and it is the first thing that the transformation colonises.

In the Papuan context, the voice is language. Every Papuan cosmopolitan language is not merely a communication medium: it is the specific phonological, syntactic, and semantic architecture through which the Papuan cosmopolitan world is understood, transmitted, and reproduced. When a Papuan child grows up speaking primarily Indonesian, they do not merely lose a language in the way one might lose a skill or forget a set of vocabulary items. They lose the cognitive structure embedded in the language: the specific ways that Papuan encodes the relational ontology of the cosmopolitan world, the grammatical structures that make certain perceptions possible and others not, the lexical resources that name dimensions of reality for which Indonesian has no equivalent and no interest.

The voice that turns into a bray is the Papuan speaker who, after years of Indonesian-medium education, government employment, and evangelical church membership, finds that they can no longer speak Papuan language with the fluency and range necessary to address the ancestral world, to perform the ceremonies that constitute relatedness to the forest and the dead, to transmit to their

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<sup>35</sup> Kogoya, *The Labyrinth of Papuan Extinction*, No. 19.

children the specific forms of attentiveness that the cosmobian world requires to exist in their own moral, ethical and cosmological universe.

They can still produce original Papuan sounds. They can still use Papuan words in a simplified, Indonesian-inflected form. But the full range of Papuan language as a complete cognitive language—the Papuan that can think and feel and understand the world on its own terms—is no longer available to them in the way it was available to their grandparents. They bray in the language of their ancestors without knowing that they are braying. And their children hear the bray and reproduce it, confident that they are hearing the authentic voice.<sup>36</sup>

The Indonesian state has, of course, understood this from the beginning. The systematic suppression of Papuan languages in the education system—the insistence on Indonesian as the sole medium of instruction from primary school onward, the demotion of Papuan languages to the status of local content (*muatan lokal*)—is not an incidental feature of the integration project but one of its most precisely designed instruments. A people whose children cannot fully think in their own language cannot fully inhabit their own cosmobian world. A people whose children’s deepest cognitive formation is Indonesian cannot generate the specific forms of resistance that emerge from the ontological ground of Papuan existence. They can protest in Indonesian, which is heard and managed within the Indonesian political system. They cannot constitute a genuinely Papuan polity, because the constitutional architecture of such a polity—the cosmobian world from which it would emerge—is being systematically dismantled in the schoolrooms of countless districts across West Papua, every day, with the blessing of the colonised local church, governor, regent, local districts and elected colonial official and the enthusiasm of Papuan parents who love their children and want them to succeed.<sup>37</sup>

### ***The Specific Terror of the Celebrated Extinction***

The preceding paper opens with a question that it deliberately leaves unresolved: what does it mean for an entire people to celebrate their own disappearance? The present companion study takes that question as its point of departure and develops it to its logical conclusion. It argues that the deepest achievement of the CPCV is not merely to reorganise institutions, aspirations, or behaviour, but to reorganise the very conditions through which a people recognise reality, hope, loss, and their own future. It is this transformation that makes celebrated extinction possible.

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<sup>36</sup> On the relationship between language and human world-understanding, see Wilhelm von Humboldt, *On Language: The Diversity of Human Language-Structure and Its Influence on the Mental Development of Mankind*, trans. Peter Heath (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988 [1836]); and David Abram, *The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception and Language in a More-Than-Human World* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1996).

<sup>37</sup> On the role of language policy within Indonesian governance in West Papua, see Benny Giay, *Menuju Papua Baru: Beberapa Pokok Pikiran Sekitar Emansipasi Orang Papua* (Jayapura: Deiyai and ELSHAM, 2000); and Eben Kirksey, *Freedom in Entangled Worlds: West Papua and the Architecture of Global Power* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

The celebration of disappearance is not, within the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm, a paradox. It is the most revealing expression of the Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide Virus (CPCV). The Papuan subject who celebrates a new road, a new church, a new government office, a scholarship, an academic degree, or a public appointment may do so with complete sincerity and genuine joy. Those emotions are neither fabricated nor imposed. They are real. Yet it is precisely within that reality that the deepest tragedy unfolds. The milestones being celebrated may also mark successive stages in a longer historical process through which the cosmological world that once made Papuan humanity is displaced, replaced and deleted.

This is what makes the CPCV so difficult to recognise. Its success does not depend upon fear, nor upon continuous coercion. It becomes most effective when the desires, achievements, and celebrations of the host are systematically reorganised so that the reproduction of another civilisational reality comes to appear as the fulfilment of one's own hopes.

The celebration is therefore not false; it is genuine. That is precisely what makes it so tragic. Its sincerity reveals how profoundly the structures through which a people recognise hope, achievement, and meaning have already been reorganised for a self-destruct.

The most terrifying moment in Collodi's story is not when the boys discover they have become donkeys. It is the moment, earlier, when they hear each other beginning to bray, and they laugh. They think it is funny. They do not yet understand what the sound means. The laughter is the sound of a people who are in the process of losing the cognitive tools through which they would be able to recognise what they are losing. They are laughing because they are still able to laugh, and the laughter feels like freedom, and the freedom is the last sensation available to them before the transformation is complete.

West Papua, in 2026, is at the moment of the laughter, transformation is not complete and the cosmopolitan world is not yet entirely a corpse. The Lani language and many original Papuan cosmopolitan languages are still spoken by elders, still known at some level by many people of the middle generation, still present in the forests and the ancestral sites that have not yet been cleared. The ancestors are still addressed, in some households, in some ceremonies. There are Papuan intellectuals and artists and activists who have perceived what is happening and are working, against enormous structural odds, to name it and resist it. The forest is still, in significant parts, a forest.

But the momentum of the four-gospel apparatus is not slowing. It is accelerating. Each new generation of Papuans is formed more thoroughly within the CPCV than the generation before it. Each new province, each new regency, each new administrative unit creates new positions that will be filled by Papuans whose formation is more complete than their predecessors. Each new church that is built, each new school that opens, each new scholarship that is awarded, each new road that is inaugurated, extends the circuit of the Pleasure Island further into the highlands, further into the communities that have so far remained at the margins of the full psycho-cosmocidal apparatus. The tree-cutting is accelerating. The forest is not gone. But the rate at which it is disappearing means that the question is no longer whether, but when.

## Philosophical Contributions: Fanon, Decolonial Theory, and Beyond

The British extermination of the Palawa people in Tasmania was a crime whose full horror became visible only after the archive was constructed: the photographs, the depositions, the ethnographic records, the legal documents, the newspaper reports that could, retrospectively, be assembled into a narrative of what had happened. The archive was constructed partly by the perpetrators' descendants and partly by scholars working within the institutions that the perpetrators built. It was constructed because the perpetrators were a literate civilisation that generated documentary records as a matter of institutional routine. The horror could be named because it was, inadvertently, documented.

The documentation of what is happening in West Papua is being produced. The human rights reports, the academic studies, the journalistic investigations, the testimonies of survivors and exiles, the databases of documented killings and disappearances—these exist, and they will constitute, for future scholars, the archive of a crime. But there is a dimension of the crime that the conventional human rights archive cannot capture, because it is calibrated to document physical violations: killings, imprisonments, forced displacements, enforced disappearances. The psychocismocidal dimension—the dismantling of the cosmopolitan world, the colonisation of desire, the transformation of Papuan persons into instruments of their own extinction—does not appear in the incident database. It does not generate a body count. It is not registered by the metrics of the human rights system, because the human rights system was constructed within the very civilisational grammar that the Psycho-Cismocide Paradigm identifies as the grammar of the crime.

This is the crime of the archive: that what will be documented, by the institutions that have the authority to witness, is the surface of the atrocity. The bodies. The prison terms. The military operations. The demographic statistics. What will not be documented, within the existing archival apparatus, is the specific quality of what is being destroyed: the living cosmopolitan world, the Lani language in its full cognitive range, the ancestral ontological structure through which a specific form of human consciousness generates itself. These things leave no forensic trace. They cannot be photographed. They cannot be counted. They can only be testified to, in the language of those who carry them, before that language is no longer available as a complete cognitive instrument.

The Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series is, among other things, an act of archival emergency: an attempt to construct, while the witnesses are still alive and the language is still operative, a documentary record of what is being destroyed that goes beyond the incident database and reaches the ontological dimension of the crime. This companion study is part of that emergency. The horror it describes will be visible, to future scholars, only if it is named now, while there are still people alive who can perceive it as horror because they have lived on both sides of it.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> On the limits of archival representation and the violence of historical absence, see Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (2008): 1–14. The archival dimension of the Psycho-Cismocide Paradigm builds upon Hartman's insight while extending it beyond the archive itself to encompass the disappearance of living worlds, languages, cosmologies, and the conditions of their intergenerational continuity.

## X. CONCLUSION

This paper has argued that the four dominant ideological formations of contemporary Papuan public life—*religiosity*, *pembangunan*, *kemajuan*, and *sukses*—operate not as independent cultural phenomena but as a coordinated system of psychic colonisation: a civilisational extinction cult whose deepest operation is the systematic dismantling of the Papuan cosmobian world under the sign of hope, salvation, and a better future. Drawing upon the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm, and engaging with the work of Fanon, Wynter, and critical scholarship on settler colonialism, the paper has traced the mechanisms through which these four gospels converge upon a single civilisational logic.

The analysis culminates in three closely related claims. First, it identifies a form of destruction that existing concepts only partially capture. Genocide, cultural genocide, and epistemicide each illuminate important dimensions of colonial violence, yet none fully explains a process in which a people's own aspirations become the principal vehicle of their dispossession, and in which that dispossession is experienced not as loss but as fulfilment. The central problem addressed by this paper is therefore how to name a form of destruction that operates primarily through sincerity rather than coercion. Second, the paper proposes the CPCV as a conceptual model for understanding that process. The CPCV names a mechanism that reproduces itself through the host's own existence, desires, and structures of recognition. Its distinctive feature is not deception alone, but the systematic reorganisation of the very capacities through which reality is recognised, evaluated, and desired. At that point, critique becomes increasingly difficult because the framework through which critique would ordinarily emerge has itself been transformed. Third, the paper extends the study of settler colonialism beyond the analysis of territorial occupation and institutional replacement to the deeper reorganisation of aspiration itself. If elimination can proceed not only through violence but through desire, then the success of a settler colonial project cannot be measured solely by demographic change, political domination, or economic integration. Its deepest achievement occurs when the colonised increasingly come to experience the continuation of the colonial order as the fulfilment of their own hopes.

These three claims constitute the paper's principal philosophical contribution. They are not offered as a programme of political action, nor does naming a mechanism dismantle it. What the paper offers is a diagnostic framework: a way of identifying the psychic terrain upon which the continuity of the Papuan cosmobian world is increasingly decided. The Four Gospels derive much of their power precisely from their invisibility. They appear not as mechanisms of dispossession but as pathways to hope, dignity, progress, and a better life. To identify the rainbow as deception is not to deny the sincerity of those who follow it. It is to argue that, under particular historical conditions, sincerity itself can become the principal vehicle through which a civilisational order reproduces itself. The implications extend beyond West Papua. If the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm is correct, the mechanisms described here are not confined to a single place or people. Wherever a dominant civilisation succeeds in reorganising the aspirations of those it incorporates, making its own continuation appear identical with hope, fulfilment, and moral progress, similar psycho-cosmocidal processes may be at work, even if in less complete forms.

The foundational paper<sup>39</sup> notes that the analysis extends beyond West Papua to speak to a recurring pattern in settler colonial governance globally. This companion study presses that claim to its most universal formulation: what is happening in West Papua is not merely a Papuan emergency. It is a demonstration, in real time, of the most complete form of civilisational atrocity that human history has yet produced. And its completion, if it is allowed to complete, will constitute a loss for the entirety of the human species that cannot be recovered.

This claim requires justification. The cosmobian world of the Papuan peoples is not merely a regional cultural variety within a global diversity of cultures. It is a specific cognitive arrangement—a specific way of being conscious of perceiving the world, of constituting the self in relation to the non-human—that has been generated over tens of thousands of years of human life in the island of New Guinea. It contains forms of ecological knowledge, forms of relational ontology, forms of attentiveness to the living world that the dominant civilisational order not only does not possess but actively cannot perceive, because its own cognitive formation is calibrated to see the forest as a resource rather than a relative, the ancestor as a memory rather than a presence, the land as property rather than a living participant in the community of existence.<sup>40</sup> The destruction of this architecture does not merely impoverish the Papuan peoples. It impoverishes the cognitive and ontological resources available to the human species as a whole at the precise historical moment when those resources are most urgently needed: the moment of ecological catastrophe, of the consequences of the dominant civilisational order's relationship to the living world beginning to become visible even to those who have been most sheltered from them. The Papuan cosmobian world knows things about how to live in relatedness to a forest ecosystem that the dominant order needs to learn and cannot learn from within its own tradition. When the last fluent Papuan speaker dies, and the last Papuan-speaking community is dissolved into the Indonesian national project, those things will be gone. Not merely for Papua but for humanity.

This is why the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm insists upon the language of extinction. The primary claim is not one of biological extinction, although, under particular historical and demographic conditions, that question may itself become a matter of legitimate concern beyond the scope of the present analysis. The concern developed here is different. It is the extinction of a distinctive form of human consciousness, a distinctive mode of relational existence, and a distinctive way of being in the world. What is systematically and structurally disappearing is not simply a population, a language, or an ethnicity considered in isolation. It is an entire cosmological world through which generations of Papuan peoples have understood reality, inhabited the land, related to their ancestors, organised social life, and imagined the future. The argument of this paper is that this world has been systematically reorganised, displaced and replaced for more than six decades through civilisational and colonial institutions organised around these four cults: *religion*,

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<sup>39</sup> See Yamin Kogoya, *Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework* (Wone Press, 2026).

<sup>40</sup> On the ecological knowledge embedded in Indigenous cosmologies and its significance for contemporary ecological thought, see Wade Davis, *The Wayfinders: Why Ancient Wisdom Matters in the Modern World* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 2009).

*development, progress, and success.* The deepest tragedy is not only that this process continues, but that it is experienced, celebrated, and defended by many of those colonised living through it as the very path to salvation, fulfilment, and a better future.

The roads are still being built, the scholarships still awarded, the sermons still preached, and the population they are forming is, by every gospel's own measure, still flourishing. The question that this study, and the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm as a whole, addresses to the world is not merely: how do we stop what is happening in West Papua? It is the prior question: can you see it? Can you see it as horror while it is happening? Because the historical record of every comparable atrocity suggests that, without witnesses who can see and name the horror while the event is in motion, by the time the archive is assembled and the naming is possible, there will be nothing left to save.

The corpus does propose a counter-orientation to the condition diagnosed here, under the name Wonesis: not a return to a fabricated origin, nor arrival at any destination the four gospels could recognise as progress, but the deliberate recovery of a relational, land-grounded mode of being through detection, distinction, reorientation, preservation, transmission, and return. This paper does not attempt that recovery. Its more modest task has been diagnostic: to show precisely what must be recovered from, and why the four gospels make that recovery so difficult to begin.<sup>41</sup>

The closing declaration of the Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm speaks of becoming “the last voice of the first peoples and the first voice of the last peoples.” Within the argument developed here, that declaration is not intended as rhetorical flourish but as a philosophical warning. A civilisation does not disappear only when its people vanish. It also disappears when the conditions through which it remembers, recognises, and regenerates itself are systematically dismantled until they can no longer be recovered from within. The central question therefore remains unanswered, not because philosophy cannot answer it, but because history has not yet done so. Is there still sufficient continuity of language, land, memory, and cosmological life for the Papuan world to generate its own future on its own terms? The Psycho-Cosmocide Paradigm cannot answer that question. It can only insist that what is at stake is not merely the fate of one Indigenous people, but the disappearance of one possible way of being human. Every such disappearance narrows the range of realities through which humanity is able to know itself.

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<sup>41</sup> Kogoya, *Wonesis*, No. 16.

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## About the Author

Yamin Kogoya is a Papuan philosopher, writer, and independent researcher from the Central Highlands of New Guinea (West Papua), currently based in Australia.

His work investigates one of the most enduring questions of human existence: how worlds are created, transformed, and destroyed. He is the originator of the Psycho-Cosmocide paradigm, an interdisciplinary philosophical framework that examines the destruction of human worlds not only through physical violence, occupation, or ecological devastation, but through the systematic reorganisation of perception, memory, meaning, and reality itself. Within this framework, he argues that words, images, symbols, signs, colours, institutions, and technologies do not merely represent the world—they participate in creating, reorganising, and erasing the conditions through which human beings inhabit it.

Kogoya introduced the concepts of the Cosmobian World and the Synthobian World to distinguish two fundamentally different modes of human existence. The Cosmobian World refers to forms of life constituted through reciprocal relationships with land, ancestry, kinship, memory, ecology, language, and the cosmos. The Synthobian World refers to synthetic, engineered systems of existence organised through abstraction, institutions, technology, production, and civilisational processes. The relationship between these two worlds forms the central philosophical architecture of his research.

Drawing upon Indigenous cosmologies together with philosophy, anthropology, history, religion, mythology, and civilisation studies, Kogoya develops original conceptual frameworks for interpreting the contemporary human condition. His work re-examines humanity's foundational myths, epics, tragedies, religions, and philosophical traditions as enduring civilisational architectures through which societies organise reality, negotiate meaning, confront mortality, remember the past, imagine the future, and participate in their own survival or extinction. Although grounded in the historical experience of West Papua, his research addresses broader philosophical questions concerning civilisation, consciousness, memory, belonging, power, and the future of human worlds.

He holds a Master of Applied Anthropology and Participatory Development from the Australian National University. His academic background also includes Religious Studies, Indigenous Studies, and Asia-Pacific Studies, and he undertook advanced study in epistemology at the University of Oxford. His research and commentary have appeared in *SBS News*, *RNZ Pacific*, *Asia Pacific Report*, *The Fiji Times*, and *The Jakarta Post*.

Kogoya is the founder of the NATAKA Research Institute, an independent research institute dedicated to the philosophical and historical study of human worlds and the conditions under which societies survive, transform, or become extinct.

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