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Building a Settler World inside the Papuan World
Colonial Consciousness and the Struggle for Reality in West Papua

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To rename a people is to rehearse their disappearance.

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ABSTRACT

This paper provides an analysis of Indonesia's settler colonial project in West Papua, examining its systematic dismantling of Papuan cosmobian societies across eight ontological domains: the physical-material, the biological-organismic, the cultural-mythological, the metaphysical-transcendental, the techno-scientific, the space-time-conscious, the domain of ultimate mystery, and the domain of memory. Grounding its analysis in the Psycho-Cosmocide theoretical framework developed by the author, and drawing on the Lani concept of *Inaorak* (verified cosmological belonging, from the root words *Inawi* [home, land, space] and *Worak* [exist, verified, ontologically valid]) as its primary Indigenous epistemological foundation, the paper argues that Indonesia's administrative proliferation of provinces, regencies, districts, and village units across West Papua cannot be understood solely as bureaucratic rationalisation: read cumulatively alongside demographic, military, cultural, and epistemic transformation, it also functions as a systematic ontological dissection of Papuan identity, memory, and cosmological jurisdiction. The paper traces the history of naming violence from the Netherlands New Guinea era through to the 2022 creation of five new provinces since 2001 and more than 42 regencies and hundreds of municipalities, documents the demographic function of the transmigration programme, which the framework interprets as a form of demographic warfare, analyses the militarisation of space as ontological enclosure, and examines the instrumentalisation of religious institutions as vectors of cognitive-semiotic erasure. The paper concludes that Papuan resistance lacks not vision, language, or alternative institutions but the one thing the settler programme will never willingly grant: the power to execute an alternative reality. Only a Wonesis—a cosmological return to the self-verified ground of Papuan being—can constitute the beginning of genuine reconstruction.

Keywords: Psycho-Cosmocide, Inaorak, cosmobian, ontological dissection, settler colonialism, West Papua, Wone, Wonesis, cognitive-semiotic erasure, cosmological enclosure, pemekaran, transmigration, administrative violence.

INTRODUCTION

Land Before the Name

Before Papuan existence was subordinated to the administrative and developmental time of the colonial state, Papuan cosmobian societies inhabited their own ecological, ancestral, and cosmological temporalities. Before the word *Papua* was invented, before *New Guinea* was invented, before any of the cartographic projections of European or Javanese political desire were cast upon it, there was the nature-based cosmobian society which the Lani people called *Inaorak*—from the root words *Inawi* (home, house, location, space, belonging) and *Worak* (validation, verification, acknowledgement, ontological confirmation).¹ In the precise philosophical register of the Lani language, *Worak* designates substance, reality, or an object that ontologically exists and has been verified: not myth, not fabrication, not fairytale, but a mode of being that the cosmos itself has testified to as real.

It is from this epistemological ground—from *Inaorak* as the foundational category of cosmologically verified Papuan existence—that this paper conducts its analysis. What Indonesia’s settler colonial programme has done, and continues to do, is not merely a political or administrative reorganisation of territory. It is a systematic assault on *Worak* itself: an attempt to delete the ontological verification of Papuan belonging to the land, and to install in its place a Jakarta-manufactured alternative—a counter-*Worak* that produces, in place of Papuan cosmobian societies, fragmented administrative subjects loyal to the territorial logic of the Indonesian state.

The paper proceeds in eight analytical sections corresponding to the eight ontological domains identified within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework²—the theoretical architecture developed by this author to account for the total, recursive, and cosmological dimensions of colonial domination. Each section analyses one layer of Indonesia’s assault on Papuan cosmobian societies, drawing on the documentary record of Indonesian administrative policy, on primary-language Indonesian governmental and journalistic sources, on the theoretical resources of decolonial and settler colonial studies, and on the broader Psycho-Cosmocide corpus developed across the author’s prior publications. The paper concludes with a reckoning of what Papuan resistance actually needs—not arguments, but power—and with the concept of *Wonesis* as the only cosmologically adequate response to what is being documented here. This structural parallel is developed at length elsewhere: colonial domination assaults land, culture, religion, memory, and consciousness not as isolated targets but as a single, interdependent ecosystem of existence—the Eight Atlases of Human Existence.³

¹ The Lani term *Inaorak* is a compound of *Inawi* (home, space, belonging, land) and *Worak* (verified, ontologically valid, testified). Yamin Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework for the Study of the Systematic Destruction of Indigenous Cosmologies, Consciousness, and Metaphysical Order,” *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 1 (2025), 8. PhilPapers record

² Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework,” 3–5.

³ Yamin Kogoya, “From the Wreckage: Eight Atlases of Human Existence Under Colonial Domination,” *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 11 (2026).

The ancient Greek myth of Procrustes—the innkeeper who captured travellers and adjusted them to fit a pre-made bed, cutting or stretching their bodies until they died perfectly fitted to his frame—is perhaps the only mythological analogue in the recorded archive of human civilisation that can adequately illustrate the logic of what is being described. Indonesia’s settler colonial project is a Procrustean bed. The beds were manufactured in Jakarta. The Papuan cosmopolitan societies were carried to the beds. The fitting is ongoing. And the death, this paper argues, is not metaphorical.

ANALYTICAL METHOD AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL POSITION

This paper’s central claim is that Indonesia’s presence in West Papua constitutes a settler colonial formation in the specific analytical sense established by Wolfe and Veracini: a structure, not an event, organised around the permanent replacement of an Indigenous population and its world by a settler population and its world. Settler colonialism is accordingly this paper’s principal thesis and object of analysis. The Psycho-Cosmocide framework, developed across the author’s wider corpus, is the interpretive apparatus brought to that thesis in order to name the specific ontological, cultural, and cosmological mechanisms through which settler-colonial replacement is accomplished in the Papuan case. The eight domains that structure this paper are accordingly domains of settler-colonial practice—administrative, demographic, cultural, religious, technological, temporal, epistemic, and mnemonic—read through the Psycho-Cosmocide framework’s vocabulary, rather than eight independent Psycho-Cosmocide categories to which settler colonialism has been added as illustration. Each domain is documented through a combination of Indonesian governmental and legal sources, Indonesian and Papuan journalism, human rights reporting, and comparative decolonial and settler-colonial theory, and is then interpreted through that vocabulary. The paper does not claim that this evidentiary base constitutes exhaustive empirical proof of every claim advanced; it claims that, read together, the eight domains demonstrate a coherent and mutually reinforcing pattern of settler-colonial structural transformation.

Why does the Papuan case qualify analytically as settler colonialism rather than ordinary internal administration? The criteria Wolfe and Veracini establish are satisfied cumulatively rather than by any single feature, and the domains that follow document each in turn. Territorial permanence: Indonesia treats its sovereignty over West Papua as permanent and non-negotiable, expressed in the state doctrine NKRI harga mati (“the unitary state is a fixed price”), which forecloses any legitimate path to self-determination and has driven security-first policy responses even to non-violent protest.⁴ Migration and settlement: the transmigrasi programme has relocated several hundred thousand settlers into Papuan territory since the early twentieth century, with a 2024 proposal to revive it at scale. Demographic restructuring: settler and settler-descended populations now constitute a substantial, and

⁴ On the “NKRI harga mati” doctrine and Indonesia’s rejection of Papuan self-determination, see Stephen C. Druce, “Political Impasse vs Economic Development: A History and Analysis of the West Papua Conflict in Indonesia,” in *Managing Conflicts in a Globalizing ASEAN*, ed. Mikio Oishi (Singapore: Springer, 2020), 89–116. See also “Nationalism: Poisoned Chalice or Panacea for Indonesia?,” *The Jakarta Post*, August 23, 2019.

in several urban centres majority, presence, altering the territory's demographic balance rather than merely administering it. Indigenous displacement: displacement figures exceeding 105,000 people as of January 2026 register the physical dimension of this restructuring. Institutional replacement: the pemekaran process has replaced Papuan customary and territorial jurisdiction with newly manufactured administrative units whose boundaries, names, and governing logic originate in Jakarta rather than in Papuan land relations. Assimilation and integration: Indonesian-language education, religious institutionalisation, and the civil service career structure each channel Papuan aspiration toward integration into settler institutions rather than toward the reproduction of Papuan cosmobian society on its own terms. Read together, these features distinguish the Papuan case from ordinary internal migration or ordinary administrative reform: they describe, in Wolfe's phrase, a logic of elimination whose object is not primarily Papuan bodies but the conditions of Papuan collective existence as a distinct people.

Three registers of claim recur throughout this paper and should be read as distinct. A documented policy intention is a claim supported by government statute, official planning documents, or public statements of purpose. A demonstrable institutional function is a claim about what a policy or institution does in practice, independent of whether that effect was consciously intended. An interpreted structural consequence is this paper's own theoretical reading, within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework, of what a documented pattern means for Papuan cosmobian existence. Where this paper describes an outcome as the product of the settler system, or attributes an effect to the "settler programmer," that language belongs to the second and third registers rather than the first: it names a demonstrable structural function or a theoretical interpretation of that function, not a claim that any specific official or agency consciously planned the outcome in question. "Programmer," throughout this paper, does not denote a single conscious actor; it denotes the distributed institutional machinery—administrative, military, religious, educational, economic, and technological—through which colonial categories, incentives, and representations are reproduced.

The Lani cosmological concepts used throughout this paper—Inaorak, Worak, Wone—are not treated as ethnographic data requiring external verification, but as the epistemological ground from which this paper's evaluative claims are made. Documentary and journalistic evidence establishes what has happened; the Psycho-Cosmocide framework, grounded in Lani ontology, provides the interpretive vocabulary through which this paper argues that what has happened does not merely damage but ontologically dissects. This is accordingly a work of interdisciplinary decolonial philosophy rather than positivist social science: it does not claim to statistically measure the outcomes it describes, and where a claim would require such measurement to be fully established, this paper flags it as a structural interpretation rather than a demonstrated finding.

Two terms carry unusual weight in this paper and are defined here rather than left to accumulate meaning by use. Extinction, as this paper's conclusion argues it, does not denote the disappearance of every biologically Papuan person. It denotes the destruction of the conditions through which Papuan peoples reproduce themselves as distinct cosmological, territorial, linguistic, mnemonic, and political worlds—the collapse of Papuan cosmobian existence as a self-reproducing world, whether or not

individual Papuans continue to live within the administrative boundaries of the Indonesian state. Settler colonialism is used throughout in Wolfe's specific analytical sense—a logic of elimination and replacement rather than a general synonym for colonial rule—and its applicability to the Papuan case is argued, not assumed, through the pattern of territorial permanence, demographic restructuring, and institutional replacement documented across the domains that follow. Finally, this paper does not claim that every Indonesian official consciously participates in a coordinated programme of Papuan cosmological destruction, nor that every administrative, religious, or technological institution produces identical effects across Papua. It analyses the cumulative structural consequences that emerge when these institutions are examined together through the Psycho-Cosmocide framework.

A Note on Conceptual Hierarchy

This paper deploys a substantial technical and metaphorical vocabulary, developed across the eight domains and the wider corpus. To orient the reader before the domain-by-domain analysis begins, the terms used throughout are organised here by analytical weight rather than order of appearance: concepts that carry argumentative load, mechanisms that name specific processes within the argument, and images that illustrate without themselves constituting evidence.

Primary Conceptual Vocabulary

Settler Colonialism: This paper's principal thesis and object of analysis (Wolfe, Veracini): a structure, not an event, organised around the permanent replacement of an Indigenous population and world by a settler population and world.

Psycho-Cosmocide: The interpretive apparatus this paper brings to that thesis: the destruction of the conditions through which a human world reproduces itself, developed across the author's wider corpus and applied here to the Papuan case.

Inaorak / Worak: Cosmologically verified belonging and existence (from Inawi, home or land, and Worak, verification); this paper's primary Indigenous epistemological ground, from which its evaluative claims are made.

Wonesis: The reconstruction of Papuan world-generating capacity from surviving fragments of oppositional memory, not a return to a precolonial state; this paper's answer to the destruction it documents.

Secondary Mechanisms

Cognitive-Semiotic Deletion: the destruction and replacement of Indigenous perceptual-symbolic systems (Domain Three).

Grammar of Unknowing: the three-part condition—not knowing; not knowing that one does not know; the contaminated reach—through which colonial knowledge structures obscure awareness of what has been lost (Domain Eight).

Cosmological Mining Pit: the extraction and reprocessing of Indigenous reality through mediated digital representation (Domain Five).

Cosmological Totalisation: the construction of a grand developmental narrative presented as universal and unchallengeable, foreclosing alternative Papuan futures (Domain Seven).

Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide Virus (CPCV): the corpus's term for the self-reproducing mechanism through which settler-colonial replacement propagates across domains, referenced here to name that self-reproduction rather than to introduce a new claim.

Cosmobian / Synthobian: two modes of being distinguished by generative logic: relationality and reciprocity, against extraction, production, and consumption—used here to characterise what is being replaced and what is doing the replacing.

Generative Sequence: the three movements of Wonesis: Recognition, Vision, Construction.

Illustrative Metaphors

The Procrustean Bed: the settler administrative template, manufactured in Jakarta, into which Papuan cosmobian life is cut and stretched to fit. Retained throughout as the paper's organising image; not itself a source of evidence.

Plato's Cave / The Settler Colonial Cave Wall: the settler-controlled surface upon which images of Papuan reality are projected, filtered, and controlled (Domain Five). An interpretive lens, not a documented mechanism in its own right.

Only the first two tiers carry argumentative weight in this paper; claims should be checked against the external and corpus citations attached to them, not against the metaphors that accompany them. The third tier illustrates the argument for the reader; it does not substitute for the evidence given alongside it.

THE FIRST DOMAIN: PHYSICAL-MATERIAL DISSECTION

Administrative Proliferation as Ontological Violence

Settler colonialism, as Patrick Wolfe has argued, is defined not by conquest but by replacement—its logic is not one of temporary occupation but of permanent elimination and substitution of the original population with the settler body.⁵ Lorenzo Veracini has extended this formulation to note that settler colonialism does not merely displace the Indigenous population spatially but works to dissolve the conditions under which Indigenous peoples can constitute themselves as a collective political subject.⁶ Indonesia's programme in West Papua enacts both dimensions simultaneously, and it does so first and

⁵ Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387–409.

⁶ Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 13.

most visibly at the physical-material register: through the relentless manufacture of new administrative space.

The cascade of naming is itself a historical record of violence. From the Netherlands New Guinea to Hollandia to Dutch New Guinea; from the first articulation of Papuan sovereign statehood at the New York Agreement to the dismemberment that followed; from Irian Barat to Irian Jaya under Suharto; from Papua under Law No. 21 of 2001 to Papua and Papua Barat under the Special Autonomy Law of 2001⁷: each renaming represents not a neutral administrative adjustment but a reconfiguration of the ontological field within which Papuans are permitted to understand themselves. Each new name assigns Papuans a new cosmological address—a new location within the Jakarta-manufactured reality—and in doing so, deletes one more layer of *Inaorak*.

The 2022 pemekaran (territorial partition) represents the most aggressive phase of this programme. Through Laws No. 14, 15, 16, and 29 of 2022, Indonesia created four additional provinces: Papua Selatan (capital Merauke), Papua Tengah (capital Nabire), Papua Pegunungan (capital Wamena), and Papua Barat Daya (capital Sorong).⁸ Together with the original Papua and Papua Barat, West Papua is now divided into six provinces—a multiplication that Indonesia frames as developmental rationalisation and that this paper identifies as a new phase of Procrustean dissection. The administrative map now contains 42 regencies and municipalities, hundreds of districts (*kecamatan*), thousands of administrative villages (*desa* and *kampung*), each carrying its own name, symbol, colour, seal, and bureaucratic infrastructure.⁹

The consequence of this physical dissection is not administrative efficiency but ontological fragmentation. Papuans are compelled—by law, by economy, by the spatial organisation of services—to understand themselves, define themselves, categorise their histories, organise their futures, map their boundaries, and calibrate their political aspirations within these newly created settler administrative containers. The Lani of Wamena, the Lani of Tolikara, the Lani of Mamberamo Tengah and the Lani of Intan Jaya are now officially residents of different provinces. Their administrative

⁷ On the 2001 Special Autonomy Law, see Republic of Indonesia, *Undang-Undang Nomor 21 Tahun 2001 tentang Otonomi Khusus bagi Provinsi Papua* [Law No. 21 of 2001 on Special Autonomy for Papua Province] (Jakarta: Sekretariat Negara, 2001). On the broader history of colonial naming in Papua, see Robin Osborne, *Indonesia's Secret War: The Guerrilla Struggle in Irian Jaya* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985), 1–10; and John Saltford, *The United Nations and the Indonesian Takeover of West Papua, 1962–1969: The Anatomy of Betrayal* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 1–12.

⁸ Republic of Indonesia, *Undang-Undang Nomor 14, 15, 16, dan 29 Tahun 2022 tentang Pembentukan Provinsi Papua Selatan, Papua Tengah, Papua Pegunungan, dan Papua Barat Daya* (Jakarta: Sekretariat Negara, 2022). See also “Pasca Pemekaran: 6 Provinsi, Daftar 42 Kabupaten/Kota di Tanah Papua,” *Nusantara.co*, accessed April 2025, Nusantara.co article.

⁹ On the full count of administrative units following the 2022 pemekaran, see “4 Provinsi Baru di Papua Plus Ibu Kotanya, Menggenapi 38 Provinsi di Indonesia,” *Tempo.co*, March 24, 2023, Tempo.co article; and Pemerintah Provinsi Papua Tengah, “Sekilas Pandang,” *papatengahprov.go.id*, accessed April 2025, Papua Tengah government page.

identity separates them from one another in ways that the land never did and that their Lani ontological community would never have. The physical-material sphere of colonial domination thus operates not through physical annihilation alone, but through the manufacture of a grid of spatialised identities that replaces the organic cosmological jurisdiction of *Inaorak* with the state-issued coordinates of Jakarta.¹⁰ This physical dissection is possible only because land itself functions as the ontological ground of Papuan cosmobian reality: every metaphysical, cultural, and cosmological system presupposes the ecological world from which it arises, so that redrawing the land is never a merely administrative act but an assault on the very condition of possibility for Papuan being.¹¹

Ecological Destruction, Political Economy, and the Colonial Trap

The physical dissection of Papuan cosmobian space is accompanied by the systematic destruction of the cosmobian ecological order that gave that space its meaning. The original Papuan cosmobian ecosystem constitutes what this framework names a *living cathedral* and *scripture*: a nature-based cosmological archive in which landscape, fauna, flora, waterway, and forest are not inert geography but active participants in the ontological community of *Inaorak*. Indonesia's settler colonial programme targets this ecological archive directly. Transport infrastructure—roads, airstrips, river channels—is driven through forest not merely for developmental purposes but because access is the precondition of control. Once the road is built, the resource extraction follows: logging, mining, hunting of protected fauna, and the elimination of the natural ecological cover within which Papuan resistance movements have historically been able to sustain themselves, disappearing into a landscape that the colonial administration cannot adequately map or penetrate.¹²

Jakarta's investment in the new administrative centres performs a second, structurally significant function: it converts the colonial administrative position into the only meaningful economic prize available within the settler system. The position of governor (*gubernur*), regent (*bupati*), district head (*camat*), or village head (*kepala desa*) becomes, within the settler colonial economy, the highest-income, highest-status, and most powerful position available to any Papuan. The civil service appointment (*Pegawai Negeri Sipil*, or PNS) becomes the aspirational horizon of the educated Papuan trained within the settler educational system. Since only one person can occupy any given

¹⁰ On the Lani as a highland cosmological and territorial community whose jurisdiction predates and exceeds the administrative divisions now imposed upon them, see Danilyn Rutherford, *Raiding the Land of the Foreigners: The Limits of the Nation on an Indonesian Frontier* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 20–34. The analysis of administrative fragmentation as ontological dissection is developed within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework in Kogoya, "Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework," 12–15.

¹¹ Yamin Kogoya, "Beyond the Papuan Rebel: Land as First Ontology: A West Papuan Philosophical Perspective," *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 23 (2026).

¹² On the destruction of Papuan ecological systems through infrastructure and resource extraction, see Elisabeth Pisani, *Indonesia Etc.: Exploring the Improbable Nation* (London: Granta Books, 2014), 278–283; and Human Rights Monitor, *Papua Quarterly Report Q4 2025: Securing Development Through Force*, February 18, 2026, <https://humanrightsmonitor.org/reports/papua-quarterly-report-q4-2025/>. On the historical role of natural cover in Papuan resistance, see Osborne, *Indonesia's Secret War*, 76–83.

administrative post, the entire structure of Papuan cosmopolitan sociality—its collective family, clan, kinship, and tribal bonds, its imported religious identity networks—is converted into a field of internal competition. Every Papuan who runs for a colonial administrative post is placed directly against the members of their own community. Whatever the stated administrative rationale for these appointments, the structural effect is the fragmentation of Papuan collective power into competitive individual units whose energy is directed inward, toward competition with one another, rather than outward, toward resistance against the settler system. This paper does not claim that Indonesian policymakers designed the appointment structure specifically to produce this fragmentation; it claims that fragmentation is a discernible institutional effect the structure produces, regardless of the intentions behind it.¹³

The third dimension of the physical-material domain is what this framework terms the ‘*All Roads Lead to Rome*’ economic architecture: a settler colonial fiscal system in which a substantial proportion of the economic value generated by Papuans, from Papuans, in Papua, for Papuans, is recirculated into the hands of the settler commercial class that controls the infrastructure of exchange. Because *Papuans now consume what they do not produce and produce what they do not consume*—their subsistence economy having been replaced by a cash economy whose supply chains run from Jakarta through settler-owned supermarkets, shops, malls, hotels, transport networks, and telecommunications infrastructure—much of the value that enters Papuan hands exits again into settler commercial circuits. Jakarta’s developmental transfers to Papua, whether measured in billions or trillions of rupiah, may therefore become structurally self-liquidating where the principal supply chains, businesses, and service infrastructures remain externally controlled: on this reading, the money circulates briefly through Papuan hands before settling in settler ones. The structural relationship may be illustrated through an analogy: it is as though a thief entered your house, took ownership of it, rented it back to you, provided everything within it at a price, and then paid you a wage from which you paid for all of it—the *burial precedes the death*. The economic system does not merely impoverish Papuans; it produces a situation in which Papuan economic participation actively funds the infrastructure of their own elimination.¹⁴

¹³ On the function of PNS appointment as a colonial disciplinary mechanism in Papua, see Rutherford, *Raiding the Land of the Foreigners*, 112–18. The analysis of competitive individualisation as a structural colonial outcome is developed within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework in Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework,” 29–31.

¹⁴ The ‘All Roads Lead to Rome’ economic framework is developed from the Psycho-Cosmocide analysis of settler colonial economic capture. See Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework,” 33–35. On the structural dispossession of Papuan economic participation within Indonesian settler commercial networks, see also Yamin Kogoya, “West Papua: Ontological Cages and Colonial Consent,” *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 4 (2026), 18–21.

THE SECOND DOMAIN: BIOLOGICAL-ORGANISMIC RECATEGORISATION

Transmigration, Demography, and the Elimination of the Papuan Body

Once the physical grid is established, the settler colonial programme moves to populate it—not with Papuans, but with settlers who will occupy the new administrative spaces and constitute the majority demographic within them. Indonesia’s instrument for this phase is the transmigration programme (*transmigrasi*), which has operated as a demographic technology of replacement since the colonial period, and which represents the biological-organismic register of settler colonial violence.

The programme, which began under the Dutch colonial administration in 1905 and was substantially expanded under Suharto’s New Order from the 1960s onwards, relocated Javanese, Balinese, and other Indonesian populations to West Papua on a massive scale.¹⁵ By 1999, Indonesian government records documented that approximately 78,000 families—between 312,000 and 390,000 individuals—had been settled in Papua through official transmigration channels. Unofficial and subsequent migration, which Indonesian authorities have consistently declined to count or acknowledge as a continuation of the programme, has been substantially larger. Peer-reviewed demographic research corroborates the scale of this shift independently of government transmigration figures: using Indonesian Central Statistics Agency (BPS) census data, demographer Jim Elmslie has traced the Indigenous Papuan share of the population falling from approximately 96 percent in 1971 to 59 percent in 2005 and to roughly 50 percent by the 2010 census, with the non-Papuan population growing at nearly six times the Indigenous rate over the same period.¹⁶

The framing of transmigration as a “development” initiative—as a neutral and benevolent redistribution of economic opportunity across Indonesia’s archipelago—is, within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework, a defining example of what Fanon identified as the colonial production of false causality: the conversion of dispossession into gift, of elimination into improvement.¹⁷ Research by Dr La Pona of Cenderawasih University has documented the longstanding social tensions produced by transmigration, including the structural marginalisation of Indigenous Papuans from their own

¹⁵ According to Indonesian government records, approximately 78,000 families (312,000–390,000 individuals) had been resettled in Papua under the transmigration programme by 1999. See “Warga Papua Khawatirkan Rencana Presiden Prabowo Untuk Hidupkan Kembali Program Transmigrasi,” Jubi Papua, November 5, 2024, <https://jubi.id/polhukam/2024/>; and “Migrasi Penduduk ke Papua, Dengan dan Tanpa Program Transmigrasi,” Kalawai.org, November 2, 2024, <https://kalawai.org/migrasi-penduduk-ke-papua-dengan-dan-tanpa-program-transmigrasi/>.

¹⁶ Jim Elmslie, “The Great Divide: West Papuan Demographics Revisited: Settlers Dominate Coastal Regions but the Highlands Still Overwhelmingly Papuan,” *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 15, no. 2 (2017), drawing on Indonesian Central Statistics Agency (BPS) census data.

¹⁷ On the colonial production of false causality — the conversion of dispossession into gift and elimination into improvement — see Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 149–163.

economic and geographic territory as settlers come to control infrastructure, commerce, and institutions.¹⁸

The biological-organismic register of settler colonial domination operates, in Wynter's terms, through the production of a new "overman"—a category of human whose presence in the land is authorised by the state, and against whom the Indigenous Papuan is implicitly positioned as the sub-human, the backward, the not-yet-developed.¹⁹ Under this biopolitical logic, the settler body becomes the normative body in the newly created administrative space; the Papuan body becomes residual, a problem to be managed, a demographic that must be either integrated (converted) or displaced. President Prabowo's 2024 plan to revive full transmigration—which drew immediate and widespread Papuan protest—signals that this biological dimension of settler colonial violence is not historical but actively ongoing. The mechanism at work here has a precise structural analogue in *Sacculina carcini*, a parasitic barnacle that does not destroy its crab host's reproductive capacity but redirects it, so that the host continues to labour and invest in reproduction while the object of that reproduction becomes the parasite's own continuity rather than its own lineage; transmigration and its accompanying demographic architecture operate on cosmopolitan Papuan society by the same logic of redirection rather than outright destruction.²⁰

THE THIRD DOMAIN: CULTURAL-MYTHOLOGICAL REPLACEMENT

Symbol, Story, and the Manufacture of New Cosmopolitan Subjects

The physical grid and the demographic population are insufficient without a cultural mythology that makes the new reality feel legitimate, inevitable, and even desirable to those within it. This is the third area of Indonesia's settler colonial project: the systematic replacement of Papuan cosmopolitan cultural mythology with a manufactured counter-mythology expressed through language, symbol, image, colour, story, slogan, and sign.

Every newly created administrative unit carries with it a cultural apparatus. Regency names, district names, village names, school names, church names, government building names: each is selected and assigned by the Jakarta-coordinated administrative machinery, and each carries within it a semiotic charge—a set of assumptions, values, hierarchies, and myths—that begins to replace the Indigenous

¹⁸ On the structural marginalisation of Indigenous Papuans by transmigrant populations during the special-autonomy period, see La Pona, "Transmigrasi Era Otonomi Khusus di Provinsi Papua" [Transmigration in the Era of Special Autonomy in Papua Province], *Humaniora* 21, no. 3 (2009): 350–63, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.1333>. For the broader structural dynamics of settler commercial displacement of indigenous Papuan economic actors, see also Rutherford, *Raiding the Land of the Foreigners*, 50–68.

¹⁹ Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation—An Argument," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003): 260–265.

²⁰ Yamin Kogoya, "Colonial Parasites and Colonised Hosts: The Psycho-Cosmocide of Cosmopolitan Existence in West Papua," *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, *Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series*, no. 18 (2026).

semiotic ecology of Papuan cosmobian life. Rivers are renamed, mountains are renamed, animals receive their Bahasa Indonesia appellations. The landscape—which in Lani cosmology is not inert geography but a living relational partner in the ontological community of *Inaorak*—is reclassified as natural resource, as provincial asset, as development opportunity.²¹

The cultural mythology of the settler colonial project is also deployed hierarchically: the new administrative geography generates an internal system of cultural value in which proximity to the Jakarta centre is coded as civilisation, and distance from it is coded as backwardness, primitivism, and underdevelopment. This civilisational hierarchy operates through what this paper terms a colonial value gradient: *a certain kind of moral value, judgement, and projection assigned to each dissected identity within an administrative region, in which one region is treated as more civilised, more moral, more kind, more religious, more ethical, more good than others, and others are displayed as more primitive, more savage, more dangerous, more evil, more backward*. This civilisational hierarchy is not incidental; it is structurally necessary, because it generates an internal competition among Papuans—a competition whose structural effect, whatever its administrative rationale, is to forestall the coalescence of unified Papuan national consciousness.

The Psycho-Cosmocide framework names this process Cognitive-Semiotic Deletion: the destruction of the Indigenous alphabet of perception—its grammar, vocabulary, symbols, images, and signs—and the installation of a colonial counter-alphabet.²² This is not merely cultural loss. It is the destruction of the cognitive instruments through which Papuan cosmobian societies might name their condition, understand it, and organise against it. A people whose semiotic ecology has been replaced can still know that something is wrong; but they cannot know with adequate precision what it is that is wrong, nor can they name it in terms that build collective power. Boaventura de Sousa Santos has named a related process “epistemicide”—the killing of knowledge systems.²³ The Psycho-Cosmocide framework deepens this concept by insisting that what is killed is not only knowledge but the cosmological instruments through which knowledge about the self is possible at all. What is at stake in this cultural replacement is not degree but generative logic: a cosmobian world reproduces itself

²¹ The reclassification of Papuan cosmobian landscape as developmental resource and provincial asset is documented within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework’s analysis of semiotic ecology. See Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework,” 19–22; and Kogoya, “West Papua: Ontological Cages and Colonial Consent,” *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series*, no. 4 (2026), 9–12.

²² The concept of Cognitive-Semiotic Deletion is an original formulation within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework. See Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework,” 11–14; and Yamin Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: The Silent Invasion of Mind, Meaning, and Cosmos,” *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series*, no. 2 (2026), 28–33. For the related decolonial concept of border thinking and the colonial difference from which this framework departs, see Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 3–8.

²³ Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2014), 92–97. On the Psycho-Cosmocide framework’s deepening of this concept to encompass the destruction of the cosmological instruments of self-knowledge, see Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework,” 11.

through relationality and reciprocal obligation across land, kin, and cosmos, while the mythology being installed in its place reproduces itself through extraction, production, and consumption—a Synthobian order with no independent generative capacity of its own.²⁴

THE FOURTH DOMAIN: METAPHYSICAL-TRANSCENDENTAL IMPOSITION

Religion, State, and the Colonisation of the Sacred

The fourth area of Indonesia's settler colonial project operates at the level of metaphysics and transcendence: the organised replacement of Papuan cosmobian sacred orders with imported theological systems that are structurally aligned with the interests of the colonial state. This is, within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework, the dimension that is most difficult to resist—because the colonised are made to experience the imported sacred as their own deepest truth, and the original sacred as superstition, error, or heathenism. Within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework, this dimension can be read racially as well as cosmologically: racialised religious imagery can produce a metaphysical hierarchy in which whiteness becomes associated with purity, divinity, and salvation, while Papuan Blackness is experienced as distance from those attributes, so that colonised Black Papuans can come to feel guilt or shame for being Black and Papuan. Read this way, the civilisational and colonial programmer installs metaphysical imaginaries saturated with whiteness, orienting Papuans psychologically and spiritually away from their own Blackness, their land, and their Papuan identity, toward mythological metaphysical realms imagined somewhere beyond the distant clouds, where all goodness, purity, salvation, and humanity supposedly reside. Within this colonial cosmology, humanity itself is figured as conditional on acceptance by white cosmic metaphysical entities believed to rule that higher dimension—a structural interpretation of racialised religious representation this paper offers rather than a documented psychological finding.

The historical instrument of this metaphysical colonisation in West Papua has been Christian missionary activity, operating in explicit partnership with colonial and post-colonial state power. The Evangelical Christian Church of the Land of Papua (Gereja Kristen Injili Tanah Papua, or GKITP), established formally in 1956, has come to claim the affiliation of approximately thirty percent of the Papuan population—making it virtually the only non-colonial Papuan institution that Papuans experience as their own and sacred.²⁵ It is precisely this quality—the sense of sacred ownership—that makes the church a strategically significant site of contest within the metaphysical-transcendental domain.

²⁴ Yamin Kogoya, "Cosmobian and Synthobian: Two Modes of Being: From Ecological Reciprocity to Synthetic Civilisation," *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 26 (2026).

²⁵ On the GKITP and the history of Christian missionary activity in West Papua, see Rutherford, *Raiding the Land of the Foreigners*, 88–102; and Vine Deloria Jr., *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion*, 3rd ed. (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2003), 249–258, on the structural role of Christianity in indigenous dispossession.

Whatever its pluralistic or administrative rationale, Jakarta's funding of religious institutions in Papua—including both Christian and Islamic organisations—also creates a relationship through which the state can shape authorised religious discourse. Within the settler colonial logic documented here, it can function as an investment in the institutionalisation of induced acquiescence: the use of religious authority to channel Papuan spiritual energy into frameworks of acceptance, patience, and transcendental deferral (“We leave everything up to God, Jesus, Allah”) rather than into frameworks of ontological resistance and cosmological reconstruction. The Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs operates across Papua through a network of formally funded institutions whose curricula and community guidance programmes are explicitly oriented toward what the ministry terms *moderasi beragama* (religious moderation)—a programme that, within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework, can function to redirect Indigenous cosmological assertion into state-sanctioned forms of religious moderation.²⁶

The Psycho-Cosmocide framework identifies this as the destruction of the metaphysical-transcendental domain of Papuan cosmobian existence: the replacement of Papuan sacred geography, Papuan cosmological time, and Papuan ontological jurisdiction over the relationship between the living and the ancestors, with an imported teleological framework in which history moves from Papua-as-heathen to Papua-as-saved, and in which salvation is indistinguishable from assimilation.²⁷ The Vine Deloria Jr. insight—that Indigenous land-based sacred orders and imported universalist religions are structurally incompatible because the former are rooted in a specific cosmological relationship to a specific place while the latter dissolve all places into a universal abstraction—is nowhere more precisely illustrated than in the Papuan case.²⁸ This metaphysical imposition does not operate in isolation. It functions as one of four coordinated ideological formations—religiosity, development (pembangunan), progress (kemajuan), and success (sukses)—each presented to Papuans as its own gospel of salvation, so that the reorganisation of Papuan cosmological life is experienced not as loss but as good news.²⁹ This eschatological absorption has a specific geography: within global Christian missionary cartography, West Papua has been narrated as the ‘omega point’ of a sacred history that began in Jerusalem—the last frontier reached by the gospel—a framing that recasts Papuan suffering

²⁶ Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework,” 18.

²⁷ The replacement of Papuan sacred geography and cosmological time with an imported teleological framework in which salvation is indistinguishable from assimilation is analysed as the destruction of the metaphysical-transcendental domain of cosmobian existence within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework. See Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework,” 20–23; and Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: The Silent Invasion,” 18–21.

²⁸ Deloria, *God Is Red*, 61–100. Deloria’s argument is applied comparatively here: his analysis concerns North American indigenous contexts, but its structural logic — that land-based sacred orders and imported universalist religions are cosmologically incompatible because the former are rooted in specific cosmological place-belonging while the latter dissolve all places into universal abstraction — applies precisely to the Papuan case.

²⁹ Yamin Kogoya, “The Four Gospels of a ‘Civilisational Death Cult’ in West Papua: Religiosity, Development, Progress, and Success,” *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 21 (2026).

itself as prophetic destiny rather than the product of political and military structures, and so completes the deletion of Papuan cosmological space with which this domain began.³⁰

THE FIFTH DOMAIN: TECHNOLOGICAL INFRASTRUCTURE AS CONTROL

Digital Enclosure and the Hierarchy of Connectivity

The fifth space through which Indonesia's settler colonial project operates is the techno-scientific: the deployment of technological infrastructure—roads, communications networks, digital connectivity, electricity grids, surveillance systems—not as neutral development goods but as instruments of ontological enclosure and internal hierarchy.

The infrastructure map of West Papua's new administrative geography is not random. It follows the logic of the *Procrustean bed*: areas that are most firmly integrated into the settler administrative grid receive the greatest technological investment. The regional capitals—Jayapura, Nabire, Wamena, Merauke, Sorong—are relatively well-connected to digital infrastructure. The highland communities whose physical geography makes settler administrative projection more difficult receive the least connectivity, and are accordingly classified by the Jakarta developmental lexicon as “terpencil” (remote), “marginalised,” “left behind.”

Within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework, this technological hierarchy performs a crucial psychological function: it can generate a developmental orientation in the Papuan psyche in which the connected, urbanised, administratively integrated areas are represented as the future, and the unconnected highlands as the past. This urgency then becomes a tool of internal politics, as different Papuan communities compete for Jakarta's developmental attention and thus implicitly accept the settler administrative framework as the legitimate arbiter of what constitutes progress. The digital network does not merely deliver connectivity; it delivers a cosmological orientation in which Jakarta is the centre and the Papuan highlands are the periphery—and in which the direction of aspiration is always toward the centre, never toward a Papuan cosmological alternative.³¹

Military infrastructure mirrors this logic. As of 2025, Papua has 306 subdistricts, each theoretically served by a Koramil (Military Subdistrict Command), and 4,443 administrative villages, each designated for a Babinsa (Village Development Non-Commissioned Officer).³² The planned addition

³⁰ Yamin Kogoya, “Capturing Papuan Cosmological Consciousness,” *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 7 (2026).

³¹ Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: The Silent Invasion,” 44–48.

³² As of 2025, Papua has 306 subdistricts, each theoretically served by a Koramil (Military Subdistrict Command), and 4,443 administrative villages, each designated for a Babinsa (Village Development Non-Commissioned Officer). See “A Lopsided War: 83,000 Soldiers and Police Powering Indonesia's Violent Agenda in Papua,” Project Multatuli, April 8, 2026, <https://projectmultatuli.org/en/a-lopsided-war-papua-militarization-83000-soldiers-and-police/>; “Indonesian Army to Establish Six New Regional Commands in Major Expansion,” Jakarta Globe, August

of six new regional military commands (Kodam) to the existing national structure—three combat battalions already deployed to Merauke—and 100 Territorial Development Battalions announced by the Ministry of Defence in November 2024³³ constitutes a technological overlay of military presence upon the entire administrative grid. The result is a space in which Papuan mobility, assembly, and political organisation are under permanent physical surveillance—and in which the question of what technologies Papuans have access to, and who controls them, is always already answered in Jakarta’s favour.

The Social Media Battlefield: Plato’s Cave and the Cosmological Mining Pit

The proliferation of administrative spaces across every layer of Papuan life generates a further and specifically contemporary dimension of settler colonial control: the creation of hundreds and thousands of social media groups, platforms, WhatsApp networks, Facebook pages, Instagram accounts, and digital community spaces, each organised around the names, symbols, logos, signs, and images of the newly created administrative units. Every new province, regency, district, village, school, church, and community organisation spawns its own digital presence—and within that digital presence, the perceptions, feelings, emotions, meanings, values, ideas, and understandings of Papuans, Indonesians, and the broader global public about each of those settler-created spaces are manufactured, filtered, and reprogrammed on a continuous basis.³⁴

The result is what this paper names, drawing on Plato’s allegory of the cave, the *settler colonial cave wall*: a surface upon which an endless procession of images, colours, symbols, signs, words, characters, dates, and figures is projected. Some images are dressed in rainbow colours; others in the colours of royalty. Some Papuans appear in palace settings, others in the dirt. Some are displayed as poor, others as rich. Some are shown within what the colonial lexicon codes as monstrous jungle; others recline in comfortable hotel rooms with abundance. Some appear in Singapore or Europe or heaven, surrounded by white gods and white angels; others appear in hell, surrounded by black demons, black darkness, fire. Some carry cars and modern houses and smiling faces; others are shown as tortured, imprisoned, criminalised, hunted. These images are manufactured, created, controlled, and

8, 2025, <https://jakartaglobe.id/news/indonesian-army-to-establish-six-new-regional-commands-in-major-expansion>; and Human Rights Monitor, “Growing Human Rights Concerns Amidst Significant Expansion of Military Presence Across the West Papuan Central Highlands,” October 14, 2025.

³³ The Indonesian Ministry of Defence, as reported in a working session with the House of Representatives, November 24, 2024, announced plans for 100 Territorial Development Battalions. See “Expansion of the Indonesian Army: A Creeping Dual Function?” Fulcrum, January 24, 2025, <https://fulcrum.sg/expansion-of-the-indonesian-army-a-creeping-dual-function/>.

³⁴ On the proliferation of digital community groups within Indonesian administrative units and their role in the manufacture of local identity, see Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: The Silent Invasion,” 44–48.

disseminated twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, every day of every year, across every available settler-controlled and resistance-accessed media outlet. The cave wall never goes dark.³⁵

This digital space has become, within the Psycho-Cosmocide analytical framework, the most lethal contemporary battlefield for the Papuan mind. Jakarta's settler intelligence apparatus, Indonesianised Papuan administrators, and Papuan resistance movements all compete within the same digital cave—each attempting to project their own images, their own truths, their own propaganda, their own visions of what Papua is and what it might become. The effect of this competition, however, is not clarity but a condition the Psycho-Cosmocide framework terms the *cosmological mining pit*: a space in which Papuan reality, Papuan time, and Papuan space are simultaneously wounded, suspended, tortured, and deleted. The cave wall does not merely display false images alongside true ones; it makes the very distinction between the true and the false—between *Worak* and its absence—unavailable to those trapped within it. What remains is not knowledge and its negation but an undifferentiated flood of stimulation within which the cognitive instruments necessary for Papuan cosmological reconstruction are progressively dissolved.³⁶ Standing before this wall is a specific and carefully positioned class of Papuan society—known locally as *Tokoh*, elites who are elevated, resourced, and displayed as living proof that the settler order's promises are real. They are not imported strangers but the prisoner repositioned within the cave itself: given a role between the fire and the wall, their own shadows cast large across the consciousness of their own people.³⁷

THE SIXTH DOMAIN: SPACE-TIME-CONSCIOUS FRAGMENTATION

Colonisation of Papuan Cosmological Space-Time and Collective Imagination

The physical, biological, cultural, metaphysical, and technological spaces of Indonesia's settler colonial project converge upon a sixth dimension that is in some ways the most devastating of all: the colonisation of Papuan space-time consciousness itself—the restructuring of how Papuans experience, narrate, and project themselves in time and space.

Walter Mignolo has argued that the colonial project always involves a restructuring of temporality: the imposition of a linear, developmental time that positions the colonised as behind, as pre-modern,

³⁵ The allegory of Plato's cave is here applied not merely as a philosophical analogy but as a structural description of the settler colonial image-manufacturing apparatus. Plato, *The Republic*, trans. G. M. A. Grube, rev. C. D. C. Reeve (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1992), 514a–520a. On the racial coding of divine imagery in colonial theological frameworks, see Deloria, *God Is Red*, 68–74.

³⁶ The concept of the cosmological mining pit is an original formulation within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework, designating the digital space in which indigenous cosmological reality is systematically extracted, processed, and replaced with colonial simulacra. See Kogoya, "Psycho-Cosmocide: The Silent Invasion," 50–54. On the broader epistemic dimensions of digital colonial domination, see Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*, 106–12.

³⁷ Yamin Kogoya, "Plato's Cave and the Architecture of Psycho-Cosmocide in West Papua," *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 8 (2026).

as requiring progress, and that positions the colonial present as the universal standard against which all historical trajectories are measured.³⁸ Indonesia's project in West Papua performs this temporal colonisation through the machinery of the administrative grid: each new province, regency, and district carries its own founding date, its own anniversary calendar, its own commemorative events—a temporal architecture that replaces the seasonal and cosmological time of Papuan cosmobian societies with the bureaucratic time of the Indonesian state.

The spatial dimension of this space is equally total. The Psycho-Cosmocide framework argues that the newly created administrative spaces function not merely as physical containers but as psychological cages—spaces within which Papuan collective imagination is held captive, fragmented from the imagination of other Papuan communities by the administrative walls between provinces and regencies.³⁹ A Papuan from Papua Pegunungan Province and a Papuan from Papua Barat Daya Province are now, in the spatial logic of the Indonesian state, residents of different political entities with different governors, different development plans, different administrative identities. Their cosmological continuity as Papuan cosmobian peoples is structurally denied by the very geography they are compelled to inhabit. Where civilisational existence organises time around the transformation of the world, cosmobian existence organises time around participation within it—a distinction the settler programme exploits by imposing a linear, developmental temporality onto a people whose relationship to space-time was never organised around transformation at all.⁴⁰ The depth of what is fragmented here is registered in the Lani language itself: the word for the sun, O'negen, compresses space, time, cosmos, and living relationship into a single term—O, the eye of which sees—so that the imposition of an administrative, developmental time is not merely a political intervention but a rupture of the linguistic architecture through which the Lani hold space and time as one.⁴¹

As of January 1, 2026, more than 105,878 Papuan civilians across multiple regencies had been internally displaced due to military operations and armed conflict.⁴² This displacement is not merely humanitarian tragedy; it is the physical enactment of space-time fragmentation. The displaced Papuan is a person removed from their cosmological address—from the specific land that is the ground of their *Inaorak*—and relocated within a settler administrative map in which their original belonging is

³⁸ Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs*, 17–22.

³⁹ The concept of the administrative space as psychological cage — a space within which Papuan collective imagination is held captive and fragmented from that of other Papuan communities by administrative walls — is developed within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework. See Kogoya, “West Papua: Ontological Cages and Colonial Consent,” *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 4 (2026), 22–27; and Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework,” 16–18.

⁴⁰ Yamin Kogoya, “Four Worlds, One Dying Earth: The Four Modes of Existence and the War on the Cosmобian World,” *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 17 (2026).

⁴¹ Yamin Kogoya, “The Mystery of ‘O’ in Papuan Lani Cosmology: Being, Space, Time, and the Living Universe,” *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 15 (2026).

⁴² As of January 1, 2026, more than 105,878 civilians across multiple regencies had been internally displaced. Human Rights Monitor, *Papua Quarterly Report Q4 2025*.

unrecognised. They become, in the precise Lani ontological sense, persons whose *Worak* has been deleted: cosmologically unverified, administratively repositioned, and collectively separated from the memory and consciousness that constituted them as a cosmopolitan community.

THE SEVENTH DOMAIN: COLONISING THE POSSIBLE

The Elimination of Papuan Cosmological Possibility

A living cosmological system must retain some domain of the unknown, the mysterious, the not-yet-revealed—a space in which the impossible becomes possible, in which the world can become other than it currently is. This domain of ultimate mystery is the seventh space of human cosmological existence, and it is the domain through which genuine historical transformation always operates. The settler colonial project, in its *totalising logic*, cannot permit this domain to remain open: to do so would be to permit the possibility of a Papuan future that is not manufactured by Jakarta.

Indonesia's project eliminates this domain of possibility through what the Psycho-Cosmocide framework terms "*cosmological totalisation*": the construction of a grand narrative—development, progress, integration, democracy, national unity—that is presented as universal, inevitable, and unchallengeable. Within this narrative, there is no room for a Papuan cosmological alternative because the Indonesian state has already defined what the good life is, what development means, what the future contains, and what identity is legitimate. The settler programme creates, manufactures, and distributes desires, wants, dreams, agendas, and visions; it then uses locally appointed Papuan elites to carry out the execution of those manufactured desires, so that the elimination of Papuan cosmological possibility appears to be freely chosen.⁴³

This totalisation operates through explicit legal instruments as well as narrative. Government Regulation 77/2007 formally prohibits the display of the Morning Star flag—the primary symbol of Papuan self-determination—across Papua, and raising it is routinely prosecuted as *makar* (treason or rebellion) under Articles 106 and 110 of the Indonesian Criminal Code, carrying sentences of up to twenty years or life imprisonment.⁴⁴ Independence activist Filep Karma served eleven years under this provision after a 2004 flag-raising; in December 2021 police charged eight young Papuans, several of them university students, with treason for raising the flag during a peaceful commemoration, and at

⁴³ On the colonial instrumentalisation of locally appointed elites to carry out the elimination of indigenous cosmological possibility while making dispossession appear freely chosen, see Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 97–144. The Psycho-Cosmocide framework's analysis of manufactured desire and cosmological totalisation is developed in Kogoya, "Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework," 24–27.

⁴⁴ Republic of Indonesia, *Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 77 Tahun 2007 tentang Lambang Daerah* [Government Regulation No. 77 of 2007 on Regional Emblems] (Jakarta: Sekretariat Negara, 2007), art. 6. On the case of Filep Karma, see Human Rights Watch, "Indonesia: Release Papuan Flag-Raisers," November 18, 2009.

least 110 people were arrested for the same act in a single weekend in 2019.⁴⁵ The legal apparatus does not merely punish acts after the fact; it defines the horizon of legitimate Papuan political imagination in advance, so that self-determination itself becomes, in the state's own legal vocabulary, criminal rather than merely unwelcome—the institutional mechanism by which cosmological totalisation, described above in theoretical terms, is enforced in practice.

This is the dimension that Fanon identified as the deepest work of colonialism: not the taking of land but the taking of the imagination—the destruction of the colonised people's capacity to conceive of a world beyond the colonial frame.⁴⁶ Aníbal Quijano's coloniality of knowledge captures part of this: the installation of European epistemological frameworks as the only legitimate modes of knowing.⁴⁷ But the Psycho-Cosmocide framework goes further, arguing that what is at stake is not merely knowledge but cosmological possibility itself—the capacity to imagine a reality that does not exist yet, to hold the unknown as fertile rather than threatening, to generate new reality from the ground of Indigenous being rather than from the blueprint of the colonial administration.

The result, as this paper observes, is that every Papuan who competes within the system is competing within a game whose rules, prizes, and punishments are set by the settler administrative order, regardless of whether any single official designed them to function this way. Those who fail are told that failure is the will of God, or the will of nature, or the result of their own inadequacy. Those who succeed are rewarded—and in being rewarded, are more deeply incorporated into a system whose cumulative structural effect is their people's elimination.

THE EIGHTH DOMAIN: MEMORY—THE FIRST CASUALTY

The Manufacture, Distortion, and Deletion of Papuan Cosmopolitan Memory

Memory is the first space of casualties in Indonesia's settler colonial project—and it is also the last frontier of Papuan resistance. The eighth and most foundational register of the project's operation is the systematic manufacture, distortion, and deletion of the memories through which Papuan cosmopolitan societies have carried their identity across generations.

⁴⁵ Republic of Indonesia, *Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana* [Criminal Code], arts. 106, 110, as enacted by Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 1946 tentang Peraturan Hukum Pidana. On specific prosecutions under these provisions, see Human Rights Watch, "Indonesia Arrests Yet More Indigenous Papuans," December 5, 2019; and Asia Pacific Report, "Indonesian Police Charge 8 Papuan Youths with 'Treason' over Flying Morning Star," December 4, 2021.

⁴⁶ Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 149–80. The passage on the colonial destruction of the colonised people's capacity to conceive of a world beyond the colonial frame runs throughout Fanon's analysis of national consciousness and its pitfalls.

⁴⁷ Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America," *Nepantla: Views from South* 1, no. 3 (2000): 533–580, particularly 540–549 on the installation of European epistemological frameworks as the exclusive legitimate mode of knowing.

The relationship between memory and colonial domination has been extensively theorised. Marie Battiste's concept of *cognitive imperialism*—the systematic replacement of Indigenous cognitive frameworks with colonial ones—identifies the school as the primary instrument of memory replacement.⁴⁸ In West Papua, this instrument has operated across the entire educational infrastructure: from the thousands of primary and secondary schools within the new administrative units, to the universities and colleges that train Papuan elites for integration into the Indonesian state apparatus. The curriculum, the language of instruction (Bahasa Indonesia rather than Papuan languages), the historical narrative, the civic values—all are instruments of memory replacement operating before the Papuan child is fully conscious of their Papuan identity.

The Psycho-Cosmocide framework's concept of the *Grammar of Unknowing* is precisely applicable here.⁴⁹ The Grammar of Unknowing operates in three areas: *not knowing* (the direct deletion of Indigenous knowledge); *not knowing that one does not know* (the replacement of Indigenous knowledge with colonial knowledge that feels Indigenous); and *the contaminated reach* (the condition in which the very cognitive instruments available for seeking knowledge are themselves colonial in structure, so that even the most searching Papuan inquiry reproduces colonial epistemological logic). Whatever its formal educational objectives, the cumulative structural effect of the Indonesian educational and cultural apparatus in West Papua is to produce all three domains of the Grammar of Unknowing simultaneously.

Memory in the Lani ontological framework is not merely personal or documentary. It is cosmological: it is the living thread of connection between the present community and the ancestor-grounded *Inaorak* that justifies their existence on the land.⁵⁰ To delete this memory—through renaming, administrative fragmentation, the imposition of imported sacred orders, the displacement of populations and through the replacement of Papuan semiotic ecology with a colonial counter-alphabet—is therefore not merely to cause cultural loss. It is to sever the ontological cord that connects Papuan cosmopolitan societies to the cosmological ground of their being. It is to make them, in the precise Lani sense, *Ap-ap*: counterfeit hollow humans whose cosmological substance has been extracted and replaced with a colonial simulacrum.

And yet memory is also the location of resistance. Oppositional memory—the fragments of *Inaorak* that survive within Papuan communities in the form of language, song, cosmological practice, agricultural knowledge, and land relationship—constitutes what the Psycho-Cosmocide framework

⁴⁸ Marie Battiste, *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 2013), 13–18, 73–82, on cognitive imperialism as the systematic replacement of indigenous cognitive frameworks with colonial ones, and the school as the primary instrument of that replacement.

⁴⁹ The Grammar of Unknowing is an original concept within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework. Its three domains — not knowing, not knowing that one does not know, and the contaminated reach — are developed in Kogoya, "Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework," 13–16; and Kogoya, "Psycho-Cosmocide: The Silent Invasion," 29–33. For a related analysis of how colonial cognitive frameworks are internalised as indigenous by those they have displaced, see also Deloria, *God Is Red*, 61–65.

⁵⁰ Kogoya, "West Papua: Ontological Cages and Colonial Consent," 14.

terms the *Semiotic Genesis of Cosmological Reconstruction*: the raw material from which a new Papuan cosmological reality can, in principle, be constructed. The question is whether the conditions for that construction can be created before the memory is fully extinguished.⁵¹

CONFRONTING THE DEVELOPMENTAL COUNTER-NARRATIVE

A settler-colonial reading of these eight domains is stronger for confronting, rather than ignoring, the developmental case each domain's policies are officially defended in. The rival explanation is not a straw position; in each instance below, it identifies something real. What it cannot explain is the pattern across all eight domains taken together.

Pemekaran. The Indonesian argument is that territorial subdivision brings government and services closer to remote communities. This is not false: smaller administrative units can shorten travel to a clinic or a district office. But even where services measurably improve, territorial subdivision simultaneously restructures collective political identity along Jakarta-drawn lines and creates the elite-competition structure documented in the Physical-Material domain above. A policy can deliver real services and still perform the settler-colonial function of fragmenting Indigenous political capacity; the two effects are not mutually exclusive, and the developmental justification does not answer the structural one.

Roads and infrastructure. Roads provide health access, education, trade, and mobility, and Papuans who gain a clinic or a market road because of one are not wrong to value it. But infrastructural benefit does not negate simultaneous extractive, military, and administrative function: the same road that carries a patient to hospital also carries logging trucks out and Koramil patrols in, and its route is set by settler administrative priority rather than Papuan need. Benefit and extraction are not alternative descriptions of the same road; they are two things the same road does at once.

Transmigration. Internal migration is ordinary within any large state, and Indonesian citizens have a general right to move and settle within their own country. The relevant question, however, is not movement as such but its asymmetrical demographic consequence within a specific Indigenous territory: a programme that relocates settlers into Papuan land at a scale sufficient to alter the territory's demographic balance is not equivalent, in its structural effect, to ordinary domestic migration between provinces with no Indigenous population at stake.

Christianity. Papuans have themselves embraced, indigenised, and in many cases led the institutions of Papuan Christianity, and Papuan churches are documented later in this paper as sites of resistance and alternative identity in their own right. This is a genuine complication, not a detail to explain away.

⁵¹ The concept of the *Semiotic Genesis of Cosmological Reconstruction* — the use of surviving oppositional memory as raw material for the construction of a new cosmological architecture — is an original formulation within the *Psycho-Cosmocide* framework. See Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework,” 35–39; and Kogoya, “West Papua: Ontological Cages and Colonial Consent,” *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 4 (2026), 30–34.

Indigenous appropriation does not erase the historical transformation of Papuan sacred geography documented in the Metaphysical-Transcendental domain; it produces a hybrid field in which the same institution carries both colonial displacement and Indigenous reappropriation simultaneously, depending on who is speaking through it and to what end.

None of these responses claims that Indonesian policy is uniformly malicious or that its stated developmental rationale is invented. They claim that developmental benefit and settler-colonial function are not alternatives between which a single case must be decided; a settler-colonial reading does not require Indonesian intentions to be uniformly bad, only that the cumulative structural effect, across all eight domains, is the one this paper documents.

THE RECURSIVE ARCHITECTURE OF SETTLER-COLONIAL PRACTICE

The eight domains analysed above have been presented sequentially, but their force is cumulative rather than additive. Settler colonialism, in Wolfe's formulation, is a structure rather than an event precisely because its domains of operation feed one another: no single domain alone would produce the totality this paper describes, but each domain's output becomes the next domain's precondition.

Administrative partition manufactures the demographic vacancy that transmigration fills. Demographic change produces the economic dependence documented in the 'All Roads Lead to Rome' architecture, in which Papuan communities consume what they do not produce. Economic dependence makes the symbolic reclassification of Papuan identity—backward, undeveloped, in need of salvation—credible in a way it could not be if Papuan communities were not visibly poorer within a settler economy that has made them so. That symbolic reclassification is what religious and educational institutions then have to work with: a population already primed to receive imported metaphysical and developmental frameworks as improvement rather than displacement. Religious and educational reorientation supplies the settler-legible workforce and civic subject that technological integration then connects, unevenly, back into the Jakarta-centred network—producing the temporal displacement in which Papuan futures are measured against a settler-defined present. Temporal displacement forecloses the domain of cosmological possibility: a people oriented toward catching up to a settler timeline has less capacity to imagine a future organised on its own terms. And the loss of that imaginative capacity is what finally makes memory loss durable, since a community that can no longer conceive of an alternative future has correspondingly less reason, and eventually less capacity, to preserve the memory of an alternative past. Memory loss, in turn, deepens dependence on the administrative reality with which this chain began, since the cosmological resources that might have contested that reality are precisely what has been lost.

This is a loop, not a line: administrative dependence is both the chain's starting condition and its reinforced endpoint. It is also why no single-domain reform can dismantle what this paper describes. Better-designed pemekaran, more equitable roads, a paused transmigration programme, or a decolonised church would each interrupt one link; none, alone, breaks the loop, because the remaining links continue to regenerate the interrupted one. This recursive structure is what settler colonialism, in

Wolfe's sense, names as structure rather than event—and it is the specific object that the Psycho-Cosmocide framework's vocabulary, deployed domain by domain above, has been used to make visible.

THE QUESTION OF POWER

Why Resistance Is Necessary But Insufficient

Papuan resistance has never lacked vision, language, or institutional form. The OPM (Organisasi Papua Merdeka), the ULMWP (United Liberation Movement for West Papua), the diplomatic networks across Pacific Island nations, the Papuan churches, the student dormitory networks, the cultural organisations—these collectively constitute a rich ecosystem of alternative identity, alternative memory, alternative cosmological possibility. They possess the vocabulary, the symbols, the myths, and the institutional structures of a Papuan counter-reality. What they do not possess is the one thing the settler programme will never willingly grant them: the power to execute. That this ecosystem has persisted for sixty-four years without dislodging the structural conditions of domination is itself the argument for a fundamental reorientation of strategy—away from the psychopathology of permanent victimhood and moral spectacle, and toward sovereign state-building and civilisational reconstruction.⁵²

This is not a failure of courage or creativity. It is the structural logic of the settler colonial programme. Wolfe's logic of elimination applies not only to Indigenous bodies but to Indigenous power: whatever the intentions of individual officials, the programme functions to ensure that no Papuan institution ever accumulates sufficient power to constitute a structural threat to the administrative order.⁵³ Papuan political parties are permitted within the Indonesian electoral framework—and thus operate always within the rules of the game the settler programme has set. Papuan cultural organisations are permitted to perform culture—but on the managed podium of the colonial administrator. Papuan churches are permitted to preach—but within the theological frameworks that have been instrumentalised for acquiescence. The programme can tolerate and even fund Papuan resistance that performs on its stage; however, the settler administrative order moves, without mercy or apology, to eliminate any resistance that begins to constitute a genuine alternative power. Read against a fuller taxonomy of power, the settler programme's tolerance for performative resistance is explicable: coercive, symbolic, epistemic, and ontological power can each be conceded in small, controlled doses precisely because none of them

⁵² Yamin Kogoya, "Rethinking Sixty-Four Years of Papuan Resistance: From the Psychopathology of a Moral Spectacle to a Sovereign State-Building Strategy," *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 9 (2026).

⁵³ Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 402–6, on the structural design of settler colonial systems to prevent indigenous institutional accumulation of power. See also Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 149, on the colonial management of permissible resistance.

is trust—the durable, generational, cosmologically grounded cohesion that alone constitutes power sufficient to threaten the administrative order.⁵⁴

The Psycho-Cosmocide framework distinguishes several positions Papuan activity can occupy relative to the settler-colonial structure, rather than a single binary between dismantling the system and reinforcing it. Not all resistance that fails to dismantle the structure functions as distraction or anaesthesia; the framework instead identifies a spectrum of resistance capacity, from activity that reproduces the settler system to activity capable of building a genuine structural alternative to it.

1. System-reproductive activity: directly strengthens settler structures—for example, competing for administrative office on the terms the settler system sets, or channelling Papuan energy into the state-sanctioned religious moderation documented in the fourth domain above.

2. Managed or symbolic resistance: expresses opposition without altering structural capacity—protest, commemoration, and public statement that the settler system can absorb without conceding ground.

3. Protective resistance: preserves people, land, memory, and institutions without yet building the capacity to contest settler authority directly—a school that keeps a Papuan language alive, a human-rights organisation that documents abuse and protects individuals.

4. Capacity-building resistance: develops durable collective organisation, economic self-reliance, or institutional infrastructure that could eventually support a structural challenge.

5. Transformative resistance: creates alternative governing, economic, epistemic, or territorial power sufficient to constitute a genuine alternative to settler administrative authority.

What the framework’s account of “attention-entertainment distraction” correctly identifies is the first category and, in its more absorptive forms, the second: activity whose apparent agency is precisely what prevents the accumulation of the trust-based power described above. It does not follow that a language school, a documentation project, or a diaspora advocacy network is equivalent to distraction merely because it cannot by itself dismantle the extinction project; protective and capacity-building resistance are structurally necessary preconditions for transformative resistance, even though they are not sufficient for it on their own. What makes the first two categories difficult to dismantle from within is that participation in them is rarely experienced as complicity: the CPCV does not merely limit Papuan agency in these registers, it disables the perceptual and cognitive faculties through which that limitation could be recognised as such, so that system-reproductive activity proceeds carried forward by the energy of people who believe themselves fully awake.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Yamin Kogoya, “The Metaphysics of Power: Indigenous Survival and Lani Cosmology,” *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 5 (2026).

⁵⁵ Yamin Kogoya, “The Labyrinth of Papuan Extinction: Paradox, Participation, and the Collapse of Recognition,” *Psycho-Cosmocide Studies*, Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series, no. 19 (2026).

You cannot stand at a distance making noise and threatening to kill the monster that is consuming everything in your village when you do not actually possess the power or means to destroy it and save the people. As the Lani would say: you cannot announce the hunt to the village when there is no hunted prey in your hands to show them. This is not a game. This is the question of to be or not to be—to live or die, to survive or become extinct.

Wonesis: Reconstructing Papuan World

If the preceding sections have shown what is destroyed, this section indicates, without claiming to prescribe, what reconstruction would need to rebuild. The Generative Sequence introduced above—Recognition, Vision, Construction—names three movements rather than three sequential steps: recognising what survives of Inaorak beneath the settler administrative grid; envisioning a cosmological order organised on Papuan rather than Jakarta-manufactured terms; and constructing the institutions, practices, and infrastructures through which that order can reproduce itself across generations. What follows sketches eight dimensions along which this construction would need to proceed, corresponding to the eight domains of dissection this paper has documented. None is sufficient alone; together they indicate what Wonesis would look like as a project rather than only as a concept.

Territorial and institutional reconstruction answers the physical-material and technological domains together. It means the recovery, where possible, of Papuan jurisdiction over land use, resource extraction, and the boundaries through which Papuan communities are administratively divided—not necessarily through the reversal of pemekaran, which may be politically unavailable, but through customary land councils, Indigenous mapping projects, and Papuan-controlled resource-management authority operating alongside or beneath the settler administrative layer. It also means Papuan-governed digital and communications infrastructure, community-controlled networks, and Papuan media capacity that does not depend on Jakarta-routed connectivity for its existence.

Economic and food-system reconstruction answers the biological-organismic domain and the economic architecture documented in the physical-material domain: the rebuilding of subsistence and mixed-market food systems that do not route Papuan consumption through settler-owned supply chains, and the development of Papuan-owned enterprise and cooperative structures capable of retaining value within Papuan communities rather than recirculating it into settler commercial networks.

Language, mnemonic, and epistemological reconstruction answers the domains of cultural-mythological replacement, memory, and cosmological possibility together: the deliberate transmission of Lani and other Papuan languages, oral history, song, and land-relationship knowledge to a generation raised within the settler educational system, through mechanisms that do not depend on that system's goodwill; and the development of Papuan-led research, educational curricula, and knowledge institutions in which Papuan categories, rather than imported developmental or theological

categories, determine what counts as a legitimate account of Papuan reality—the condition without which the domain of ultimate mystery cannot be reopened.

Intergenerational and political reconstruction answers the metaphysical-transcendental and space-time-conscious domains, and the argument of the Question of Power directly. It means the cultivation of specifically Papuan cosmological, ceremonial, and temporal practice among the young, alongside rather than necessarily instead of the imported religious institutions many Papuans have made their own; and it means recognising that the protective and capacity-building resistance described above is Wonesis in its early stages, not merely resistance short of Wonesis—every language programme, documentation project, and diaspora advocacy network that survives and grows is laying infrastructure that transformative resistance will eventually require. Technological appropriation on Papuan terms—Papuan-governed platforms, Papuan-led digital archives, Papuan control over the representation of Papuan reality online—closes the loop back to the cave wall described in the fifth domain, replacing a settler-controlled surface of projection with one Papuans control.

None of this constitutes a political programme, and this paper does not offer one. What it offers is a demonstration that Wonesis is not simply the negation of Psycho-Cosmocide—a return to a precolonial state the framework itself insists no longer exists to return to—but a positive architecture with the same structural comprehensiveness as the destruction it answers, addressed domain by domain to the same eight registers of Papuan cosmobian existence.

CONCLUSION

Return to Inaorak

This paper has traced, across eight ontological domains, the comprehensive logic of Indonesia's settler colonial project in West Papua. It is a project that operates simultaneously at the level of administrative geography (the manufacture of new territorial identities), demographic biology (the transmigration of settler populations), cultural mythology (the replacement of Papuan semiotic ecology with a colonial counter-alphabet), metaphysical transcendence (the instrumentalisation of religious institutions for induced acquiescence), technological infrastructure (the production of ontological hierarchy through connectivity differentials), space-time consciousness (the fragmentation of Papuan collective imagination into administrative cages), cosmological possibility (the totalisation of the settler narrative as the only permissible future), and memory (the systematic deletion of the cosmological ground of Papuan cosmobian being). These eight domains do not operate independently; they form a recursive, self-reinforcing system in which each corrupted register strengthens the corruption of every other.

The paper's analytical conclusion is severe and must be stated without mitigation: if Papuan cosmobian societies remain within Indonesia—now, in the coming decade, across the coming century—the structural trajectory documented here, if these processes remain uninterrupted, is toward Papuan extinction, in the precise sense defined at the outset of this paper: not as an aspiration of individual bad actors within the Indonesian state, but as the structural output of a system whose

foundational logic is the replacement of Indigenous Papuan presence with settler presence and settler reality. The individual Papuan who succeeds within this system does so at the cost of their cosmological identity; the community that remains does so within an administrative grid designed to fragment and dissolve it.

What, then, is adequate? Only the *Wonesis* this paper has already described: not a return to a pre-colonial past that exists nowhere but in the manufactured mythology of romantic indigenism, but the construction, from the fragments of oppositional memory that survive, of a new cosmological architecture rooted in *Inaorak* rather than in the Jakarta administrative grid. The obstacles to that construction are the entire apparatus documented across the eight domains of this paper; the paper does not pretend they are small, or that the path is clear.⁵⁶

But the paper does insist that the only adequate response to a Procrustean bed is not to argue with the innkeeper about the appropriate length of the traveller's legs. It is to leave the inn: not to abandon the land, but to refuse to treat the settler administrative architecture as the final horizon within which Papuan reality must be imagined and built. And to build, on the ground of *Inaorak*—on the cosmologically verified belonging of Papuan cosmopolitan peoples to a land that existed before the word Papua, before the word Indonesia, before any of the names that have been imposed upon it—a world whose foundational terms are determined by Papuans themselves.

⁵⁶ *Wonesis* as the concept of cosmological return and the Generative Sequence (Recognition, Vision, Construction), see Kogoya, "Psycho-Cosmocide: A Theoretical Framework," 29; and Kogoya, "West Papua: Ontological Cages and Colonial Consent," 30–34.

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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.

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