

**NATAKA Research Institute**

Wone Press

Kurumbi Wone Working Paper Series No. 9 (2026)

## **Re-thinking 64 Years of Papuan Resistance**

*From the Psychopathology of a Moral Spectacle to a Sovereign State-Building Strategy*

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*First published on PhilPapers: 9<sup>th</sup> May 2026 | This revised edition: 24<sup>th</sup> May 2026*

*Papuan ancestors never begged for survival. They engineered it. They did not ask the world for permission to exist; they organised their lives in such a way that they could not be eradicated. While empires were still learning the language of borders, Papuan societies already understood the grammar of resilience. Survival was never a plea — it was an intelligent system embedded in land, clan and memory. They did not survive by being seen. They survived by being unbreakable. A people who once shaped their world through cohesion and strategy were never meant to be reduced to fragments. The future belongs not to those who beg to live, but to those who redefine life itself. What was never built on begging cannot be restored through it. Yamin Kogoya*

## **ABSTRACT**

This paper provides a concise historical and strategic analysis of West Papua’s political development from 1945 to 2026, examining decolonisation, international mediation, incorporation into Indonesia, and the emergence of sustained resistance movements. Situating West Papua within broader post-colonial and Cold War geopolitical structures, it interrogates the tension between legal-political integration and indigenous self-determination. Despite decades of documentation, advocacy, and international appeals — including engagement with the United Nations, the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), and the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group — the structural conditions of domination remain largely intact. The paper argues that this persistence demands a fundamental rethinking of resistance strategy: a shift away from the psychopathology of permanent victimhood and moral spectacle, and towards sovereign state-building, civilisational reconstruction, and strategic leverage. Drawing on comparative cases from colonised cosmopolitan (peoples in cosmological relationship with their land and planet) societies in Australia, Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific, and rooted in the Psycho-Cosmocide theoretical framework, the analysis concludes with an unambiguous demand: Papuan resistance movements must transform their entire worldview — from sporadic protest to the concentrated, sovereign protection of Bumi Cenderawasih, the planet of the Bird of Paradise — or face extinction by default.

## **HISTORICAL TRAJECTORY: WEST PAPUA, 1945–2026**

Following the collapse of Dutch colonial administration across the broader Indonesian archipelago after the Second World War, the Netherlands retained control over West New Guinea — now commonly referred to as West Papua — and initiated a gradual programme aimed at preparing the indigenous Papuan population for self-governance and eventual independence. This political direction culminated on 1 December 1961 in Hollandia (now Jayapura), when Papuan national symbols, including the Morning Star flag and the national anthem, were formally introduced under a newly established Papuan representative council.

Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, however, the Republic of Indonesia intensified its sovereignty claims over the territory, arguing that West New Guinea formed an inseparable part of the former Dutch East Indies. These claims escalated militarily through Operation Trikora in 1961, initiated under President Sukarno to annex the territory by force if necessary. International pressure, particularly within the Cold War geopolitical climate, eventually produced the 1962 New York Agreement, brokered between the Netherlands and Indonesia under the auspices of the United Nations and the United States. Under this agreement, the territory was temporarily administered by the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) before being transferred to Indonesian control in 1963.

The political status of the territory was formally consolidated through the 1969 Act of Free Choice, in which 1,026 selected Papuan representatives — operating under heavily militarised and coercive conditions — voted unanimously for integration into Indonesia. Although recognised internationally through United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2504, the process remains deeply controversial and continues to be challenged by Papuans, scholars, activists, and international observers who argue that it violated the principle of genuine self-determination as outlined in the Charter of the United Nations.

Following integration, the Indonesian state rapidly expanded its administrative, military, and economic control over the territory. Indigenous resistance movements simultaneously emerged and consolidated under the banner of the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM), or Free Papua

Movement, which became the symbolic centre of Papuan political and armed resistance. From the 1970s onward, state-sponsored transmigration programmes, large-scale resource extraction, infrastructural expansion, and prolonged militarisation fundamentally transformed the demographic, ecological, cultural, and political landscape of the region.

During the post-1998 Reformasi era, the Indonesian government introduced Special Autonomy legislation for Papua in 2001, promising greater political representation, cultural recognition, and economic redistribution. Nevertheless, many Papuans view the policy as insufficient and largely ineffective in addressing the foundational questions of sovereignty, militarisation, demographic marginalisation, and historical injustice. Rather than resolving tensions, subsequent territorial fragmentation and the creation of new administrative provinces have intensified political contestation and social disintegration across the region.

As of 2026, the Indonesian state has divided West Papua into six provinces, forty-two regencies, and more than seven hundred districts, with further territorial expansion proposals continuing to emerge. Psycho-Cosmocide framework argues that this administrative proliferation functions not merely as a development strategy but as a mechanism of settler-colonial consolidation designed to restructure Papuan cosmopolitan society around dependency upon state-controlled administrative centres. Within this system, many indigenous Papuans are increasingly drawn into intense competition over bureaucratic positions, state funding, and material redistribution — at the expense of self-managed communal and independent forms of living that Papuan peoples have practised for millennia. These expanding administrative centres have simultaneously become demographic and political ecosystems through which large numbers of non-Papuan settlers continue to enter the territory and occupy dominant positions within government, commerce, security institutions, and strategic sectors of administration. Parallel to this process has been the continued expansion of military and police deployments, including the construction of permanent security bases under the justification of maintaining national stability and combating separatism.

The contemporary crisis of West Papua is therefore characterised by overlapping catastrophes: prolonged armed conflict, widespread and underreported human rights abuses, accelerating

ecological destruction, political imprisonment, mass displacement, refugee flows, demographic transformation, and unresolved questions of sovereignty for the indigenous Papuan people.

For the purposes of further background, readers may explore movements and organisations including the Free West Papua movement, Papua Merdeka, Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM), Tentara Pembebasan Nasional Papua Barat (TPNPB), Komite Nasional Papua Barat (KNPB), and the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP).

### **WHERE ARE WE NOW? THE CRISIS OF STRATEGY AFTER SIXTY-FOUR YEARS**

For more than sixty-four years, the Papuan resistance has been caught in one of the most painful paradoxes of modern political history. The movement has succeeded in documenting suffering, exposing violence, preserving memory, and raising global awareness of West Papua's condition. And yet, despite decades of reports, protests, testimonies, documentaries, church campaigns, human rights appeals, international solidarity actions, and resolutions from regional bodies such as the Melanesian Spearhead Group and the Pacific Islands Forum, as well as appeals to the UN Human Rights Council, the fundamental structures of domination remain largely intact.

Papuan villages continue to be militarised. Villagers continue to be tortured, abused, and massacred. Forests continue to be cleared. Indigenous communities continue to be displaced. The political aspirations of the Papuan people remain unresolved, deferred, and systematically suppressed.

This reality demands serious intellectual and strategic *re-thinking*. After sixty-four years, the central question is no longer whether the world knows about the suffering of the Papuan people. It does, and not only the world, but every international socio-political and economic institutions that help support Indonesia settler administration while exploiting West Papua.

The deeper and more urgent question is whether the resistance has become trapped within a psychological and political framework that perpetuates the very conditions of its own existence — albeit unintentionally. In other words: has the struggle become dependent on demonstrating suffering on the global stage rather than building leverage through disciplined strategic planning?

## **THE LIMITS OF MORAL TESTIMONY**

For decades, the international visibility of the Papuan struggle has relied on tragic imagery and moral appeals. Images of burned villages, tortured bodies, displaced children, grieving mothers, militarised highlands, and devastated ecosystems have circulated globally, evoking sympathy, outrage, and humanitarian concern. This strategy emerged from necessity. When a people are denied political representation, moral testimony often becomes their only instrument. The resistance hoped that if enough people witnessed the brutality, international institutions and democratic governments would intervene to end it.

However, history does not fully support the belief that moral outrage alone can dismantle deeply entrenched systems of state, military, and corporate power. The situations faced by the Rohingya in Myanmar, Palestinians in Gaza, Sahrawis in Western Sahara, and Uyghurs in Xinjiang all reveal a recurring historical pattern: extensive documentation of suffering, widespread international awareness, periodic waves of global sympathy, yet limited structural resolution and continuing impunity.

From the perspective of psycho-cosmocide analysis, this reveals a fundamental characteristic of modern geopolitical systems: states and multinational power structures rarely operate primarily on the basis of moral guilt. International recognition of suffering does not automatically translate into justice, sovereignty, or protection. Power relations between states are often shaped more by strategic interests, military leverage, economic influence, diplomatic alliances, resource control, and geopolitical calculations than by ethical consistency alone.

If global moral outrage by itself were sufficient to secure Palestinian statehood, this paper argues that such recognition would already have materialised given the extraordinary international visibility, documentation, and humanitarian concern surrounding Gaza in recent years. Yet the persistence of the conflict raises a deeper political question: why does recognition of suffering not necessarily produce structural change? One answer lies in the reality that sovereign states primarily negotiate with other actors possessing tangible forms of political, economic, military, or strategic power. Israel, regardless of differing moral or political interpretations of the conflict, functions as an internationally recognised state with extensive institutional, military, economic, and diplomatic networks that shape how other states engage with it.

Similar dynamics can also be observed in other global conflicts. The war in Ukraine demonstrates how geopolitical interests rapidly mobilise international attention, military assistance, sanctions, and diplomatic coordination when major strategic interests are involved. Meanwhile, across parts of the African continent, prolonged civilian massacres and humanitarian catastrophes carried out by armed groups often receive inconsistent international engagement despite immense human suffering. These asymmetries reveal that global responses are rarely governed by morality alone, but by complex hierarchies of strategic value, visibility, alliances, economic interests, and geopolitical calculations.

Within this framework, psycho-cosmocide argues that oppressed or marginalised peoples cannot rely solely upon emotional appeal, humanitarian visibility, or moral sympathy as the foundation of long-term survival. While international solidarity, documentation, advocacy, and human rights work remain critically important, history repeatedly demonstrates that communities lacking organised political, economic, institutional, technological, and strategic power and consolidated armed resistance remain highly vulnerable within the global order.

*While humanitarian concern may generate temporary attention, symbolic condemnations, or aid programmes, it rarely restructures the underlying architecture of power.*

This is the central limitation of what might be termed the *Good Samaritan Syndrome* in Papuan resistance politics. Within this framework, resistance groups unconsciously position themselves as victims awaiting recognition, rescue, or intervention from morally awakened outsiders. No state, however, will come to the aid of another unless it possesses both the strategic interest and the power to do so. Religious solidarity, kinship ties, and ideological alignment do not substitute for capability and geopolitical will.

This, Psycho-Cosmocide argues, constitutes the conditioning of the colonised by the conditioner. The coloniser first engineers a deep psychological architecture of dependency in which the colonised are held captive without physical chains. Within this structure, the colonised subject is conditioned to perceive itself as permanently powerless, perpetually hopeless, eternally incomplete, and incapable of autonomous redemption. The psyche becomes trained to

continuously seek external salvation: a saviour, an intervention, sympathy, humanitarian rescue, foreign support, divine deliverance, miraculous transformation, or the arrival of some benevolent “good Samaritan” from outside history.

In this condition, resistance itself becomes psychologically trapped within the very architecture designed by the coloniser. Resistance leaders are transformed into wandering petitioners moving endlessly through the alleyways of global power, knocking upon the gates of imperial institutions, humanitarian organisations, diplomatic chambers, and the pandemonium temples where geopolitical warlords reside. They wait, appeal, beg, negotiate, submit reports, issue warnings, and plead for recognition, believing that somewhere within the machinery of global civilisation there still exists a conscience capable of rescue. Yet the system rarely arrives to dismantle the structures producing the suffering. Instead, it distributes symbolic gestures — temporary relief, humanitarian language, development packages, moral statements, blankets for survival — enough to sustain existence, but never enough to terminate the architecture of domination itself.

Thus, the colonised remain suspended within an endless theatre of managed suffering, where dependency is reproduced as a permanent condition. The resistance survives, but survival itself becomes absorbed into the logic of the cage. This is why Psycho-Cosmocide insists that the deepest form of colonisation is not merely territorial occupation, but the internal capture of the colonised imagination — the point at which a people can no longer conceive liberation outside the symbolic and psychological systems provided by the coloniser.

*As the black liberation thinker Frantz Fanon observed, liberation is not granted — it must be seized by reorganising power itself.<sup>1</sup>*

Humanitarian systems often alleviate suffering without dismantling the structures that cause it. Aid treats symptoms while occupation, resource extraction, cultural fragmentation, and manufactured dependency continue underneath. This is not a critique of solidarity, but an observation about structural limitations. The suffering body becomes an image consumed by the world rather than a force capable of reshaping it.

## **THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF PERMANENT VICTIMHOOD**

The Good Samaritan Syndrome poses both political and psychological dangers. When narratives of helplessness are rewarded on the international stage — because suffering attracts humanitarian attention — a people may begin over time to internalise the identity of permanent victims rather than that of sovereign historical actors. Resistance becomes about performing pain to maintain attention rather than reorganising power to alter the reality in which their own world is being deleted.

This dynamic is not unique to West Papua. In his analysis of anti-colonial movements, the Martinican theorist Aimé Césaire warned of the colonisation of the mind — the process by which colonial subjects come to see themselves through the eyes of the coloniser and internalise categories of inferiority, passivity, and dependence.<sup>2</sup> Frantz Fanon built on this, arguing that psychological decolonisation must accompany political struggle; otherwise, the liberated will remain structurally subordinate even after achieving formal independence.<sup>3</sup>

Within the Psycho-Cosmocide framework, this process is understood at a deeper ontological level. Colonial systems do not merely occupy territory. They colonise the psyche of the colonised and poison it from within. They divide clans, manipulate factions, commodify identity, institutionalise dependency, and gradually erode the cognitive and cosmological foundations through which a people understand themselves and the world around them. The result is not merely political dispossession; it is the systematic dismantling of the metaphysical architecture that enables a cosmopolitan Papuan society to be and to continue to be across generations.

Meanwhile, the perpetrators adapt. They learn to absorb international criticism while maintaining operations on the ground. Corporations develop public relations strategies to defuse outrage without altering their extraction practices. International institutions issue statements while avoiding structural confrontation. Global audiences become desensitised to tragedy through what Susan Sontag termed compassion fatigue.<sup>4</sup> The suffering body becomes an image consumed by the world rather than a force capable of reshaping it.

## THE DIGESTIVE SYSTEM OF THE BEAST: UNDERSTANDING PSYCHO-COSMOCIDE

The monster that devours the children of a village will continue feeding until one of two things happens: either the people find the strength and power to stop it, or there are no children left to consume. Yet within the framework of psycho-cosmocide, the monster is not always visible in simple black-and-white form. It is not merely a soldier entering a village with a weapon. That is only the visible mouth of the beast. Psycho-Cosmocide identifies something far deeper: the entire digestive system of the colonial-civilisational beast itself.

This beast operates through institutions, education systems, economic dependency, administrative structures, ideological conditioning, militarisation, religious restructuring, media narratives, and psychological adaptation. Over time, it poisons not only the victims, but also the minds of those who are expected to protect the children. The tragedy emerges when the colonised become so deeply embedded within the ecosystem of the beast that they begin to participate in its mechanisms while gradually losing the cognitive and moral capacity to distinguish between what is monstrous and what is normal.

Under such conditions, the monster no longer appears external. It becomes internalised. Its logic enters the language, aspirations, desires, fears, and survival systems of the colonised population itself. What once would have been recognised as destruction is rebranded as development. Occupation becomes administration. Dependency is mistaken for progress. Fragmentation is mistaken for representation. Psychological captivity becomes indistinguishable from freedom.

*Psycho-Cosmocide describes the process through which the coloniser restructures the colonised into instruments of their own elimination — while concealing this self-annihilating process from the consciousness of those undergoing it.*

This is why psycho-cosmocide is not merely physical conquest. It is the systematic destruction of a people's ability to recognise the destruction itself. The greatest danger within psycho-cosmocide is therefore not only external domination, but internal disintegration. A people may continue to

exist biologically while progressively losing the cosmopolitan capacities required for collective survival.

When memory collapses, when social trust fragments, when leadership becomes transactional, when communities become dependent upon the very systems that are dissolving them, resistance itself begins to weaken from within. Under these conditions, even genuine outrage and suffering can become trapped within cycles of emotional reaction without producing long-term structural transformation.

## **COSMOBIAN SOCIETIES UNDER COLONIAL DIGESTION: COMPARATIVE CASES**

### ***The Australian Frontier Wars and the "Black Troop" System***

One of the most devastating historical illustrations of the monstrous system's inner logic can be found in the Australian frontier wars and the expansion of British colonial settlement across the continent. In many regions, Aboriginal men were recruited, coerced, or strategically incorporated into colonial policing systems and paramilitary patrols used to track, capture, and suppress other Aboriginal communities. In Queensland particularly, the Native Police system became one of the most feared instruments of frontier expansion. These forces — known in colonial administrative records and later in community memory as the "black troopers" or colloquially as "black troop" — consisted of Aboriginal trackers and mounted personnel operating under the command of white colonial officers.<sup>5</sup>

The Native Police operated for decades across Queensland, New South Wales, and the Northern Territory, participating in massacres, dispersals, and the systematic destruction of Aboriginal community life. Historical research has documented that these forces were sometimes deliberately recruited from nations with existing territorial disputes with the communities they were deployed against — a method of transforming inter-clan tensions into instruments of colonial pacification.<sup>6</sup> The colonial system did not simply conquer Aboriginal Australia through direct military force alone. It reorganised the internal incentive structures, fears, and survival pathways of colonised communities so deeply that some among the oppressed became absorbed into the machinery that destroyed their own people's foundations.

Within the framework of Psycho-Cosmocide, this represents one of the most lethal manifestations of the monstrous system: when the colonised themselves are transformed into instruments for the destruction of their own cosmopolitan world. The line between victim and instrument becomes tragically blurred. The colonised subject may believe he is surviving — gaining protection, wages, status, or strategic advantage — while unknowingly participating in the elimination of his own people's ecological, cultural, and political existence.

The parallel for contemporary Papua is direct and urgent. The Indonesian state's strategy of recruiting, promoting, and creating a class of Papuan administrators, military auxiliaries, parliamentary representatives, and regional bureaucrats who operate within and legitimise the very system of their people's dispossession represents the same structural logic. This is the "Indonesianisation" of Papuan consciousness — the gradual recalibration of Papuan aspirations, identities, and survival strategies to operate entirely within the temporal, institutional, and epistemological frameworks of the Indonesian state.

### ***Indonesianisation and the Politics of the Instant Noodle Horizon***

There is no more precise analogy for this process than the instant noodle — the colonial system's most seductive proxy for food sovereignty. Papuans who once lived within rich, complex, multigenerational food systems embedded in land, seasonal knowledge, and clan exchange now increasingly live within the administered dependency of government-supplied infrastructure, market food, and state employment. The colonial diet is not only literal. It is temporal. It is epistemological.

The Indonesianisation of Papuan consciousness has produced a generation of Papuans who are encouraged — through schooling, employment, media, religion, and administrative incentives — to envision their futures within the temporal horizon of the Indonesian state's development programmes: two-minute noodle programmes, short-term infrastructure contracts, bureaucratic appointment cycles, and electoral seasons. This is a civilisationally catastrophic contraction of the Papuan temporal imagination. A people who once planned across generations — through agricultural cycles, cosmological calendars, and clan-based ecological stewardship — are now

conditioned to think in terms of the next quarterly budget, the next regional election, the next infrastructure grant from Jakarta.

This temporal colonisation is among the most effective and least visible dimensions of psychocismocide. It does not require soldiers. It requires schools, salaries, and sufficiently attractive alternative futures — all defined within and bounded by the very system that is simultaneously erasing the cosmopolitan foundations of Papuan life.

### ***The Sahrawi People: Recognition Without Leverage***

The Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) has been recognised by over eighty states, has a functioning government in exile, and has maintained the Polisario Front as an organised liberation movement since 1973. Yet Morocco continues to physically control Western Sahara. International recognition without strategic leverage produces symbolic sovereignty, not real self-determination.<sup>7</sup> This is among the most important and sobering lessons available to the Papuan resistance: moral legitimacy and international recognition are necessary but categorically insufficient conditions for the recovery of sovereignty.

### ***The Vietnamese Model: Discipline as Liberation***

The Vietnamese resistance under Hồ Chí Minh demonstrated that a people facing a technologically and militarily superior power — first French colonialism and then the full force of American military intervention — could prevail through the cultivation of extraordinary internal discipline, ideological coherence, long-range strategic planning, and the integration of military, political, diplomatic, and psychological instruments of struggle. The National Liberation Front did not win by making the world feel guilty about Vietnamese suffering. It won by transforming suffering into organisation and organisation into power.<sup>8</sup>

### ***The African National Congress: Institution-Building in Exile***

The African National Congress under Oliver Tambo's leadership during the decades of exile represents another critical example. Rather than fragmenting under the pressure of internal divisions and external repression, the ANC built diplomatic networks across three continents, maintained ideological discipline, sustained international solidarity campaigns as one instrument

among several, and — crucially — prepared a generation of leadership capable of governing when the moment of transition arrived. The lesson is not that the ANC's path was perfect or without its own contradictions, but that a liberation movement must build institutional capacity commensurate with its civilisational ambitions.<sup>9</sup>

### ***Timor-Leste: The Strategic Conversion of Moral Argument***

Timor-Leste's remarkable achievement of independence in 2002, despite facing the same Indonesian state apparatus that occupies Papua, was built on decades of careful institution-building, diaspora network organisation, strategic use of international law, and the deliberate conversion of moral arguments into political leverage at a moment when Indonesia was geopolitically and economically vulnerable following the 1997 Asian financial crisis.<sup>10</sup> The lesson here is decisive: moral argument becomes politically decisive only when organised forces are positioned to convert it into leverage at the right historical moment.

### ***The Jewish Strategic Model: Spirit and Organisation***

Consider the Jewish people, who occupy the most favoured status in the missionary Christian cosmology that was used to pacify Papuans. In that tradition, no people on Earth hold a more sacred position — chosen nation, bearers of scripture, people of the covenant, ancestors of the Messiah, and inheritors of both earthly promise and heavenly favour. By the logic of that tradition, if any people were ever entitled to wait for divine rescue, it would be them.

And yet. Despite the many mythological accounts of divine deliverance recorded in ancient texts — from Egypt to Babylon to Rome — it has always been Jewish people themselves who have fought, organised, bled, and built institutions to secure their survival. From the Maccabean revolt against the Seleucid Empire in 167 BCE, to the formation of the Haganah and Irgun as organised underground military structures decades before the establishment of the State of Israel, to the intelligence operations of the Mossad and the combined arms doctrine of the Israel Defence Forces today — it has been rigorously trained and strategically organised human beings who have secured the continued existence of their people across three thousand years of exile, persecution, and near-annihilation.<sup>11</sup>

This is not an assessment of the morality of any modern conflict, nor an endorsement of the policies of any particular state. Palestinians have their own legitimate history and grievances that deserve full recognition. The observation here is purely strategic and civilisational: the Jewish people demonstrate, with greater historical clarity than almost any other people on Earth, how to combine a deep spiritual identity with ruthless strategic discipline. They did not abandon their faith; they refused to allow it to become a substitute for organisation, preparation, and the willingness to fight.

The parallel for Papuans is direct and urgent. The same missionary tradition that elevated the Jewish people to the pinnacle of sacred history taught Papuans to pray, wait, be meek, trust in providence, and defer their liberation to God's timing. It taught them to see themselves as recipients of salvation rather than agents of their own destiny. This was no accident. Spiritual pacification has historically been one of the most effective instruments of colonialism — far cheaper and more durable than military suppression alone.

## **THE PAPUAN ANCESTORS NEVER BEGGED TO EXIST**

Rethinking Papuan resistance requires remembering what Papuan peoples were before the onset of colonialism. The ancestors of today's Papuans did not survive millennia of ecological and geopolitical challenge by appealing to the goodwill of strangers or the mercy of sky gods. They identified threats, reorganised their communities, and delivered strategic responses. The Papuan highlands, lowlands, and coastlines were not spaces of passive suffering but of active, adaptive cosmopolitan life — life organised around, within, and through the planet itself.

The Lani, Dani, Asmat, Kimyal, Biak, Mee, and hundreds of other peoples built complex systems of governance, cosmology, exchange, and warfare long before the legends of Rome and Sparta were formed — and long after they faded. These were not primitive survivalists. They were sophisticated cosmopolitan architects whose knowledge systems, political structures, and ecological practices represented millennia of accumulated intelligence about how to exist sustainably and powerfully within a specific planetary environment.

*Papuans are not moral beggars. Their ancestors were original warriors — in every sense of the word — before the empires of the ancient world had drawn their first boundary line.*

Colonialism did not destroy this capacity. It buried it. The work of this generation is not to invent something new from the ruins. It is to unbury what was always there, to re-activate the political intelligence, strategic discipline, and cosmopolitan knowledge that enabled Papuan peoples to thrive for forty thousand years before the arrival of the colonial machine.

## **FROM EMOTIONAL REACTION TO CIVILISATIONAL PROJECT**

The next phase of Papuan resistance cannot be based solely on protest. It must also involve reconstruction. This process must cultivate internal cohesion, strategic education, economic self-organisation, technological literacy, psychological resilience, cultural continuity, and disciplined political coordination. Most importantly, it must generate power bases so that Papuans can sit at the bargaining table with leverage rather than dependency.

If a system that devours Papuans is itself systemic—structured, institutionalised, programmed, and executed with clear objectives, precise time management, resource coordination, laws, regulations, curricula, symbols, images, colour systems, and mechanisms of display—then Papuan resistance must respond with equal or even greater rigour.

The sentiments behind Papuan resistance are strong and valid, but sentiment alone cannot erupt only in temporary moments of outrage whenever another tragedy occurs. Tragedies will continue to occur. What Papuans need is not merely reactive emotion, but the construction of an alternative system—an alternative reality grounded in long-term vision, organisation, discipline, memory, and collective survival.

Communities that are fragmented and possess little organised power cannot negotiate effectively. A divided resistance movement remains perpetually vulnerable to infiltration, co-optation, exhaustion, and manipulation. The failure of many anti-colonial movements — from the early nationalist movements in sub-Saharan Africa to the internal fractures within Palestinian political

organisations — demonstrates that movements are not defeated primarily because they lack moral legitimacy. They are defeated because they lack coordination.<sup>12</sup>

The required transformation is as much psychological as political. The Vietnamese resistance under Hồ Chí Minh, the internal discipline of the Cuban revolutionary movement, and the long-term strategic planning of the ANC under Oliver Tambo all illustrate the same principle: a liberation movement that does not develop strong institutional capacity will not survive a prolonged encounter with a determined and well-resourced state apparatus.<sup>13</sup>

This does not mean abandoning humanitarian advocacy. International solidarity still matters. Human rights documentation still matters. Global awareness still matters. However, these must function as secondary instruments within a broader strategy rather than forming the central foundation of the movement. Without internal strategic development, increased visibility produces only dependency. External solidarity is meaningful only when anchored in a robust internal organisation.

### **THE FINAL RECKONING: BUMI CENDERAWASIH OR OBLIVION**

This is the final and most important argument of this paper, and it must be stated without euphemism, without diplomatic softening, and without the comfortable vagueness that has characterised too much commentary on the Papuan situation. It is stated here as a civilisational ultimatum — not to outsiders, but to Papuans themselves, and most directly to those who claim to speak for, lead, and protect the Papuan people.

The world — including the United Nations, the European Union, the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group, the Pacific Islands Forum, the Melanesian Spearhead Group, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and the BRICS grouping — deals with the Indonesian state in Jakarta because that state has the power and means to compel engagement. As a sovereign people under Indonesian occupation, Papua possesses immense and lethal potential power: land, resources, geography, strategic location, and cosmopolitan continuity spanning forty millennia. But Jakarta has been exploiting this power for decades to build its own empire while Papuans have been

petitioning, demonstrating, and performing their suffering for audiences that lack both the will and the leverage to intervene on their behalf.

*You cannot beg the United Nations, the Pacific Islands Forum, the Melanesian Spearhead Group, ASEAN, or the BRICS — because they are not made up of human beings with consciences, but of platforms where states gather to manage their interests. Papua has been on the menu for a very long time.*

Papuan resistance leaders must now make a cosmopolitan decision — not a political manoeuvre, not a tactical adjustment, not another resolution or press release or social media campaign. A cosmopolitan decision. They must decide whether to remain in the posture of the sheep waiting for rescue, or whether to reorganise the totality of Papuan political will, cultural memory, economic capacity, and strategic intelligence around the only foundation from which real sovereignty can be generated: Bumi Cenderawasih — the planet of the Bird of Paradise — the land itself.

### ***The Only True Protector is the Planet***

If Papuan resistance groups are true protectors of Papua — not merely of a political flag or an identity category or a diaspora brand — then their entire worldview must be transformed. Not reformed. Transformed.

The shift required is not from one form of protest to another. It is from a paradigm of reactive, sporadic, moment-to-moment activities — protests, rallies, lobbies, resolutions, appeals to international bodies, victim-hood performances on social media — to a paradigm organised around one absolute, non-negotiable centre of gravity: the protection, sovereignty, and regeneration of Bumi Cenderawasih.

Bumi Cenderawasih is not a metaphor used in this paper. It is the actual planetary substrate of Papuan life, identity, cosmology, economy, and future. The forests, rivers, mountain systems, coastal ecologies, species networks, and climate systems of the island of New Guinea constitute the only non-negotiable condition of Papuan civilisational continuity. Without the land, there is no language. Without the language, there is no memory. Without the memory, there is no people. The

protection of Bumi Cenderawasih is therefore not one policy priority among several. It is the condition of possibility for every other priority.

Every Papuan resistance leader, intellectual, diaspora activist, community organiser, clan elder, religious figure, and young person who claims commitment to the Papuan future must answer this question honestly: are your current activities — your meetings, your posts, your rallies, your negotiations, your positioning — increasing or decreasing the sovereign protective capacity of Bumi Cenderawasih? If the honest answer is the latter, then those activities are not resistance. They are participation in the very system of destruction they claim to oppose.

### ***Consolidating Power from the Planet Outward***

The strategic architecture of a genuine Papuan sovereignty movement must begin from the planet and work outward — not begin from foreign capitals and work inward. This means building the following, in this order:

*First*, ecological and territorial consolidation. Every village, clan, and community structure must be reoriented towards the active defence, documentation, and governance of its specific territory within Bumi Cenderawasih. This is not romantic traditionalism — it is the most strategic act available to a stateless people in the twenty-first century. The mapping of land, the documentation of ecological knowledge, the establishment of community-controlled resource governance, and the formation of territorial alliances across clan boundaries constitute the material foundation of any future negotiating position.

*Second*, economic self-organisation. The dependence of Papuan communities on Indonesian state administration, corporate employment, and externally controlled market systems is not a natural condition — it is a manufactured one, engineered through the same psycho-cosmocidal processes described throughout this paper. Reversing it requires deliberate investment in community-controlled economic infrastructure: food systems, cooperative enterprise, and the strategic development of Papuan capacity to extract value from Papuan resources on Papuan terms.

*Third*, psychological and intellectual reconstruction. The colonisation of the Papuan mind — through missionary religion, Indonesian educational systems, and the constant internationalisation of Papuan suffering as the primary frame of Papuan identity — must be systematically reversed through the cultivation of Papuan intellectual and cultural institutions. This includes universities, research institutes, publishing houses, media organisations, and cosmological schools rooted in Papuan knowledge traditions, including those of the Lani, Dani, Biak, Asmat, Mee, and all the other cosmopolitan nations of the island.

*Fourth*, strategic political consolidation. The fragmentation of the Papuan resistance across dozens of competing organisations, diaspora factions, regional interests, and ideological positions is not a sign of political vitality — it is the most dangerous gift the Papuan movement has given to the Indonesian state. Without a unified, disciplined, and strategically coherent political structure — one that can speak for the people of Bumi Cenderawasih with a single negotiating voice — no amount of international sympathy, no volume of documentation, and no number of resolutions will produce sovereignty.

*A united voice creates legitimacy, and legitimacy generates power. That power becomes the ultimate weapon of bargaining, negotiation, and survival. This is not fundamentally about truth, morality, ethics, heaven, hell, who is right or wrong, or even who has suffered the most—although resistance movements are often consumed and paralysed by these internal battles until they eventually collapse. Colonial systems rarely operate according to moral truth alone. They respond primarily to power: organised power, strategic power, economic power, demographic power, diplomatic power, and psychological power. For this reason, a resistance movement cannot survive on outrage, symbolism, or moral appeal alone. It must transform itself into a disciplined and enduring force capable of building legitimacy, unity, structure, and long-term influence.*

*Fifth*, real-world leverage construction. States negotiate when instability becomes costly. Corporations adjust when extraction becomes politically dangerous. International actors respond when geopolitical conditions change. The Papuan movement must identify, develop, and apply the specific forms of leverage available to it: ecological leverage, strategic geographic leverage,

international legal leverage, diaspora economic leverage, and the leverage of sustained, organised disruption of the systems that profit from Papuan dispossession.

*Sixth*, civilisational non-participation and symbolic reclamation. This is perhaps the most radical, yet also the most necessary phase — and the only remaining possibility with the potential to prevent Papua from becoming a permanent host-body for the parasitic systems consuming it from within.

As consistently diagnosed through the Psycho-Cosmocide paradigm across our publications, human beings — and indeed all organisms, species, and forms of life on this tiny planet suspended within the vast cosmos — exist within layered systems of cages. These cages operate simultaneously across the physical, cultural, metaphysical, scientific-technological, space-time, memorial, mortal, and unknowable dimensions of existence. Human civilisation itself unfolds within eight critical atlases or existential spaces: the physical, cultural, metaphysical, scientific, temporal, memorial, mortal, and mysterious unknown. Yet among these, two cages remain overwhelmingly dominant in structuring human existence: the physical and the cultural. The metaphysical may claim transcendence in principle, but historically no metaphysical religion or philosophical movement has fundamentally dismantled these cages. At best, they become survival technologies operating within them. The human species continues to remain trapped within inherited structures of meaning, merely reorganising the prison walls rather than abolishing them.

The physical world can therefore be understood as an empty canvas. Upon this canvas cultures paint language, symbols, colours, signs, myths, images, stories, concepts, assumptions, and systems of belief. These symbolic constructions regulate perception; perception shapes emotion; emotion orients desire; desire produces meaning; and meaning ultimately governs the direction of collective existence. Colonisation therefore does not begin with military occupation alone. Its deepest project is the evacuation and replacement of the original symbolic architecture through which a people perceive reality itself.

Papua may physically remain Papua, yet the meaning encoded within that land — through ancestral languages, sacred names, totems, songs, dances, stories, cosmologies, and memory systems — is systematically erased. In its place, Indonesia repaints the land with its own

vocabulary, colours, grammar, maps, symbols, developmental dreams, institutional logic, and civilisational imagination. This process is occurring continuously through schools, universities, textbooks, churches, bureaucracies, development programs, settler-colonial institutions, road signs, digital screens, maps, administrative language, and the Indonesian renaming of nearly every sacred geography across West Papua.

The Indonesian project is therefore not merely external occupation. It is internal implantation. It enters perception itself — grammar, vocabulary, imagination, emotional orientation, aspiration, and consciousness. A people are gradually consumed from the inside outward, precisely in the manner a parasite consumes its host-body while leaving the external shell temporarily intact. This is the essence of Psycho-Cosmocide. The Psycho-Cosmocidal virus does not initially attack the external world. It penetrates the inner world — the psyche — and transforms that psyche into a self-alienated psycho-state. Once perception itself is colonised, the colonised mind unconsciously participates in the destruction of its own cosmos. The psyche becomes weaponised against the very world that once gave it meaning.

From this diagnosis emerges the following radical yet necessary response. Whether colonised Papuans will fully comprehend or collectively enact such a framework lies beyond the power of this paper. Yet the central purpose of the Psycho-Cosmocide framework is precisely this: to diagnose the civilisational sickness and to offer conceptual antidotes before total dissolution becomes irreversible.

### **The Non-Participatory Strategy**

The first response is the doctrine of non-participation. This proposes that Papuans cease participation within Indonesian-controlled systems and structures altogether: schools, bureaucracies, institutions, religious systems, developmental apparatuses, state markets, and imposed economic structures. Instead, Papuan Cosmopolitan societies must return to land, kinship, subsistence, memory, and local language-based institutions capable of preserving the original physical and cultural worlds now facing erasure. This would require rebuilding local economies, restoring indigenous systems of exchange, reviving ancestral languages, reconstructing communal educational systems, and re-establishing memory infrastructures rooted in Papuan cosmological

realities rather than imported state abstractions. Participation in Indonesian systems would gradually be abandoned through a collective act of civilisational withdrawal and autonomous reconstruction.

Within the Psycho-Cosmocide paradigm, this principle is what Wonesis fundamentally signifies.<sup>14</sup> It is not merely resistance. It is departure. Like the symbolic departure from the Pharaohic order of Egypt, it represents an exodus from parasitic structures of domination. Yet this departure is not geographical migration toward some distant promised land. For Papuan Cosmopolitan societies, the departure means return: return to land, return to memory, return to language, return to ancestral cosmology, return to Papua itself — the lost paradise, the violated little heaven of *Bumi Cenderawasih*. Such reconstruction begins first through symbolic reclamation. Indonesian and foreign names imposed upon mountains, rivers, forests, villages, species, and sacred geographies across West Papua, Papua New Guinea, and the wider New Guinea island must be removed from the colonised mental map. The stolen names of beings, places, spirits, organisms, and landscapes must be restored. Foreign paint layered upon the land must first be erased from consciousness itself — from memory, language, imagination, and perception.

The framework argues that nearly all colonial and civilisational projects throughout history have ultimately functioned to prevent precisely this level of existential revolution. For such a revolution does not primarily occur through violence. It occurs through collective consciousness and civilisational non-participation — through refusing to continue reproducing the symbolic systems that sustain occupation. It is the deliberate deletion of foreign inscriptions imposed upon land, memory, history, perception, and future possibility itself.

### ***A Final Word to Papuan Resistance Leaders***

The strategic dream required of this moment is not a dream dreamed at night in the privacy of sleep. It is not a vision received in prayer or in the comfort of a diaspora city far from the burning villages. It is a consequential, real-world, strategic dream — the kind of dream that is built in daylight, through organisation, sacrifice, and the disciplined application of intelligence to the problem of survival.

You cannot make fatalistic and consequential decisions about Papuan sovereignty after spending the night absorbed in visions of Jerusalem, white heavens, white angels, white gods, or religious figures appearing in dreams as if they will rescue your people like Moses. Nor can you formulate national policy because a bird flew through a bedroom window, without realising it entered simply because the window was left open. You cannot interpret a pig dying slowly during a hunt as a cosmic sign of political destiny when the real reason may be that the arrow missed its heart.

These practices must be questioned. Decisions that affect the survival of an entire people cannot be based solely on superstition, mystical interpretation, emotional symbolism, or religious indoctrination. What is needed is real intelligence: accurate knowledge about enemies, allies, traitors, leverage points, weaknesses, strengths, resources, timing, and geopolitical realities. Only then can decisions be made that genuinely affect the future of Papuan cosmopolitan life.

This is the major paradigm shift that this paper attempts to convey. It is not claiming that dreams, symbols, spirituality, or ancestral intuitions are meaningless or invalid. Rather, it argues that when an entire world is burning, survival demands disciplined thought in addition to spiritual imagination. One cannot remain trapped between a collapsing original cosmopolitan world and an imported religious worldview that also fails to provide practical pathways for collective survival. At some point, a people must stop waiting for metaphysical rescue and begin constructing strategic intelligence, institutional capacity, and civilisational resilience with their own hands. This is when you truly reclaim your humanity, which has been subjected to more than five hundred years of Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide programming.

The Papuan resistance must move beyond the expectation that moral truth automatically produces political victory. History shows otherwise. Many oppressed peoples were morally correct and remained colonised because morality alone cannot reorganise power. The Psycho-Cosmocide framework terms what is needed here 'decolonial praxis': not just critique, but reconstruction; not just resistance, but sovereignty; not just memory, but the political will to act from that memory in the real world, against real opponents, with real consequences.

A monster that has fed for sixty-four years will not stop because you have explained yourself well. It will not stop because you have documented your suffering with greater precision. It will stop because you have become too expensive to consume — because the cost of devouring Bumi

Cenderawasih has been raised beyond what any state or corporation is willing to pay. That transformation in cost is not created by prayer, or by protest, or by petitions to bodies that have already shown they will not act. It is created by power — organised, disciplined, sovereign, and rooted in the only home Papuans have ever had: the planet of the Bird of Paradise.

If Papuan resistance is real — if it is not merely a performance of identity, a diaspora brand, or an emotional inheritance — then it must consolidate all power from Bumi Cenderawasih outward, and begin bargaining with any state and any entity that possesses real consequence in the real world. Not in heaven. Not in the imagined rescue of a Good Samaritan who will never arrive. Not in the dreams dreamed at night that dissolve at dawn. But in the consequential, strategic, daylight reality where civilisations are either built or erased.

*It will only stop when you wake up and realise that you are inside the digestive system of the belly of a beast — and you dismantle every structure that sustains it: root by root, grammar by grammar, god by god, symbol by symbol, institution by institution. Know what you are facing. Then begin.*

## A Manifesto On The Nature Of Coloniser And Colonised Psychopathology

*The colonial system has no human soul;  
Colonialism is not a person;  
Although colonialism appears as a person, it is not a human being;  
It carries no soul;  
It holds no human mind;  
It moves without human spirit;  
It was never endowed with ethics, cursed with morality, burdened with integrity, or graced with virtue.*

*Do not mistake the hand for the machine;  
Do not hate the instrument and forget the system.  
It is a system.*

*A system does not sleep, love, tire, or care about your thoughts, beliefs, desires, morality, or compassion;  
This system has its own morality;  
This system is not immoral — it is simply different;  
It has constructed its own ethics, logic, definitions, targets, objectives, meanings, and purposes;  
It operates with perfection — for itself.*

*You cannot judge it by the laws of your god, your morality, your ethics, and your virtue;  
It does not live under your god's law;  
It has written its own scripture;  
It follows its own covenant;  
It executes that covenant without hesitation, apology, or mercy.*

*It does not apologise;  
The system does not say sorry;  
It does not feel guilty;  
It does not forgive — because to forgive would imply that it believes it has wronged you;  
It does not believe it has wronged you;  
Mercy is not something it understands;  
You cannot appeal to its conscience;  
It has no conscience.*

*Those who kneel before it, asking for grace, are kneeling before a machine and calling it God.  
The machine will not answer. The machine will continue.  
It does not speak your language;  
The colonised speak a language that the system neither understands nor wants to understand;  
Your arguments, your morality, your logic, your vocabulary of dignity,  
and your syntax of sovereignty are sounds it cannot hear —  
not because it is deaf, but because it has decided your language does not exist.  
It has built its own grammar. It writes in its own tongue.*

*When you argue with the coloniser using the colonised's language,  
it is like speaking into a closed room — an echo chamber in the belly of the beast's digestive system;  
The door was never designed to open from your side.*

*The coloniser's heaven is the colonised's land: rich, open, and taken;  
For the coloniser, paradise is not earned. It is extracted.  
The coloniser and the colonised worship different gods;  
They speak different languages;  
This is not a misunderstanding — it is a structure;  
invented, controlled, and managed for the extinction of the colonised*

*and the survival of the colonisers.*

*You are not fighting a misunderstanding;  
You are not fighting people who simply need educating;  
You are fighting a system that has its own substitutes for soul, conscience, and mercy: logic, law, and power.*

*It will not stop because you explained yourself well;  
It will not stop because you made human rights resolutions at the UN, the PIF, the MSG, or the ACP;  
It will not stop because you scream for human rights —  
because the system will never recognise your right to be human;  
It will not stop because you pray to your god, gods, goddess, or messiah;  
It will not stop because you march, cry, or scream on the street;  
It will not stop because you hold weekly, monthly, and annual meetings;  
It will not stop because your social media profile carries revolutionary slogans and many followers.*

*It will only stop when the colonised realise that the coloniser's hell  
is the resurrection of the colonised —  
the moment the dead rise and remember who they were before the land was taken from them.*

*It will only stop when you wake up and realise that you are inside the digestive system  
of the belly of a beast —  
and you dismantle every structure that sustains it:  
root by root, grammar by grammar, god by god,  
symbol by symbol, image by image, institution by institution.*

*Know what you are facing.  
Then begin.*

## NOTES

1. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 1–62. See also Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948); Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979).
2. Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, trans. Joan Pinkham (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000 [1955]).
3. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967 [1952]).
4. Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 93–114.
5. Jonathan Richards, *The Secret War: A True History of Queensland's Native Police* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2008); Raymond Evans, *A History of Queensland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 69–102. See also Timothy Parsons, *The African Rank-and-File: Social Implications of Colonial Military Service in the King's African Rifles, 1902–1964* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999).
6. Ros Kidd, *The Way We Civilise: Aboriginal Affairs—The Untold Story* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1997). See also Henry Reynolds, *This Whispering in Our Hearts* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1998).

7. Erik Jensen, *Western Sahara: Anatomy of a Stalemate*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2012); Stephen Zunes and Jacob Mundy, *Western Sahara: War, Nationalism and Conflict Irresolution* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2010).
8. William J. Duiker, *Ho Chi Minh: A Life* (New York: Hyperion, 2000); David W. P. Elliott, *The Vietnamese War: Revolution and Social Change in the Mekong Delta, 1930–1975*, 2 vols. (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2003).
9. Luli Callinicos, *Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeli Mountains* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2004); Raymond Suttner, *The ANC Underground in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2008).
10. Sara Niner, *Xanana: Leader of the Struggle for Independent Timor-Leste* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2009); Damien Kingsbury, *East Timor: The Price of Liberty* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
11. Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy* (London: Collins, 1986); David Tal, *War in Palestine, 1948: Strategy and Diplomacy* (London: Routledge, 2004); Benny Morris, *1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).
12. Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).
13. Vladimir Tismaneanu, ed., *The Revolutions of 1989* (London: Routledge, 1999); Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959–1976* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
14. The concept of “Wonesis”—the ninth and final stage of the civilisational sequence within the Psycho-Cosmocide paradigm, denoting the return and regeneration of cosmopolitan consciousness after civilisational collapse—is developed in full theoretical detail in Yamin Kogoya, “Psycho-Cosmocide: A Foundational Theoretical Framework,” *NATAKA Research Institute Working Paper Series* (Wone Press, 2025–2026). Readers approaching this concept for the first time are directed to that work for the complete conceptual treatment, including the nine-stage civilisational sequence from Wone through Wonesis Return.

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## **NATAKA Research Institute**

The NATAKA Research Institute is an independent civilisational research initiative dedicated to the study of Indigenous cosmologies, memory systems, existential survival, extinction trajectories, ecological destruction, and the psycho-cosmological mechanisms through which colonial systems reorganise reality, consciousness, and human existence.

## **About the Author**

Yamin Kogoya is a Papuan philosopher, writer, and independent researcher from the central highlands of Western New Guinea, now based in Australia. His work explores the philosophical, cosmological, anthropological, and psycho-political dimensions of colonisation, with particular focus on Indigenous memory systems, ecological destruction, civilisational violence, and decolonial thought. He is the creator of the theory of Psycho-Cosmocide, a conceptual framework describing the systematic destruction of Indigenous cosmologies, sacred systems, and ecological relationships under modern colonial structures. Kogoya holds qualifications in Religious Studies, Indigenous Studies, Community Development, Asia-Pacific Studies, and Anthropology, including a Master of Applied Anthropology and Participatory Development from Australian National University, with further studies in Theory of Knowledge at University of Oxford. His writings and commentaries have appeared in SBS News, RNZ Pacific, Fiji Times, The Jakarta Post, and other regional and international publications. He is the author of Papuan Tragedy and other works published through Wone Press under the auspices of the NATAKA Research Institute.

*“We were sent here from the memory of the first fire—to walk through the death of worlds—to preserve what must never be forgotten—and to light the final flame before the Earth falls into silence.”*

Published by Wone Press | An imprint of the NATAKA Research Institute  
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