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The Papuans: A Cosmobian Society Stranded on the Highway of Civilisation

Deep History, Colonial Betrayal, and the Making of Psycho-Cosmocide in West Papua

Yamin Kogoya

“To be cosmobian is to exist in a world that knows your name; to survive psycho-cosmocide is to remember it.”

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that the Papuans of Western New Guinea — now administered by Indonesia as its easternmost provinces — represent one of the world's last surviving cosmobian societies: peoples whose historical continuity depended not upon extractive imperial expansion but upon long-term reciprocal relationships with ecology, cosmology, ancestry, and land. Drawing upon deep archaeology, decolonial theory, archival colonial history, Indigenous studies, and political anthropology, this paper develops and extends the concept of Psycho-Cosmocide to describe how it destroys Indigenous bodies, territories, and languages together with cosmological systems, metaphysical foundations, ecological consciousness, and civilisational continuity. The paper situates Papuan societies within a chronological arc spanning more than fifty thousand years of continuous human habitation, positioning the Papuan peoples as among the first agricultural innovators on the planet, among the earliest subjected to Austronesian and later European colonial intrusion, among the first in the Pacific to articulate modern anti-colonial nationalism, and ultimately among the first to be formally betrayed by the international community's decolonisation apparatus. West Papua today occupies what this paper terms the waiting room of civilisation: a condition of suspended decolonisation in which the formal language of self-determination exists within international law, yet the material structures of sovereignty, demography, ecology, and historical narration remain externally imposed and actively manipulated. The analysis extends the Psycho-Cosmocide framework by mapping its operation across the Eight Atlases of Human Existence, naming its operative mechanism as the Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide Virus, and situating the Papuan case within the broader Cosmobian/Synthobian civilisational distinction developed elsewhere in this research programme. The conclusion argues that the fate of West Papua is not merely a regional territorial dispute but a far-reaching civilisational crisis, and that Psycho-Cosmocide represents a conceptual advance necessary to name and theorise what is occurring there. The paper closes not only in diagnosis but in Wonesis, the reconstructive counter-framework through which this civilisational destruction is met with a disciplined orientation toward return.

Keywords: West Papua, Psycho-Cosmocide, cosmobian society, Synthobian, Eight Atlases, CPCV, Wonesis, Papuaphobia, Inaorak, Lani ontology, decolonisation, settler colonialism, Indigenous cosmology, Act of Free Choice, civilisational crisis, Melanesia, Anthropocene.

INTRODUCTION

The Darkest Corner of the World's Civilisational Conscience

The dominant history of world civilisation has long been narrated through a particular grammar: the rise of cities, the emergence of writing systems, the development of settled agricultural systems, the expansion of empires, the acceleration of industry, and the progressive conquest of nature by human reason. Within this grammar, societies that remained outside large-scale imperial and industrial formations were routinely marked as peripheral, primitive, pre-historical, or historically stagnant — waiting in the anteroom of civilisation for their eventual invitation to join the modern world. Yet this grammar is not only wrong, it is profoundly violent. It forecloses the recognition of alternative human achievements, erases millennia of sophisticated ecological knowledge, and renders invisible the ways in which certain peoples were not absent from history, but deliberately removed from the possibility of shaping their own historical futures.

Among the most extreme cases of such removal in the contemporary world are the Papuans of Western New Guinea. Their situation is, in almost every dimension, a study in historical superlatives. They are among the first peoples to have settled the continent of Sahul, crossing from Wallacea into the world's second-largest island at least fifty-five thousand years ago (Summerhayes et al., 2017). They are among the earliest independent agricultural innovators on the planet, with evidence of sustained wetland cultivation at Kuk Swamp dating to more than ten thousand years before the present (Denham et al., 2003). Their linguistic and cultural diversity is arguably unparalleled anywhere on Earth, with the island of New Guinea containing more than eight hundred languages representing extraordinary depths of civilisational variation (Ethnologue, 2025). And yet they are now among the last peoples on Earth still denied full sovereignty over their own territories, still excluded from meaningful participation in the international structures that theoretically exist to guarantee their rights, and still subject to a slow, cumulative destruction of the cosmological, ecological, and cultural foundations of their existence.

This paper is an attempt to illuminate that condition with the intellectual seriousness and archival depth it demands. It does so by advancing two key theoretical concepts. The first is the cosmopolitan society, defined here as a society whose existence is organised not primarily through extractive expansion or industrial accumulation, but through sustained reciprocal relationships between cosmology, ecology, ancestry, land, and collective consciousness. The second is Psycho-Cosmocide, defined as the systematic destruction of cosmological systems, metaphysical order, ecological relationships, symbolic worlds, and Indigenous modes of being — a form of destruction that acts upon consciousness — not simply upon bodies or territories — as its primary target and primary casualty.

The paper proceeds through seven movements. It begins with the deep pre-colonial history of Papuan civilisation, establishing the antiquity and sophistication of Papuan societies. It then traces the long history of colonial intrusion — from Tidore's tributary empire through Dutch

administration to the Cold War betrayal of Papuan self-determination. It examines the structural machinery of Indonesian occupation, including militarisation, transmigration, resource extraction, and epistemological suppression. It develops the theoretical framework of Psycho-Cosmocide in detail, mapping its operation across the Eight Atlases of Human Existence. It analyses the suspended condition of West Papuan decolonisation. It turns, in a seventh and final movement, to Wonesis — the reconstructive counter-framework through which this research programme names the possibility of return. And it concludes with a reflection on why the fate of the Papuans concerns not only a particular people but the entire question of what kind of civilisational futures are possible in the Anthropocene.

PAPUANS AND THE DEEP HISTORY OF SAHUL

The First Migration into Sahul

Long before the walls of Eridu rose from the Mesopotamian mud, before the first Pharaoh unified the Nile, before the Achaean Greeks composed their earliest epics, the ancestors of today's Papuans had already accomplished one of the most remarkable feats in human history. They crossed the open ocean from Wallacea — a zone of deep-water straits between continental Asia and the ancient landmass of Sahul — and established the first human habitation on what is now the island of New Guinea. Archaeological and genetic evidence places this extraordinary migration at between fifty and sixty-five thousand years ago (Summerhayes et al., 2017; Malaspinas et al., 2016). The so-called long chronology, supported by the most comprehensive recent mitogenome analyses, suggests initial Sahul arrivals as early as sixty to sixty-five thousand years before the present (Gandini et al., 2025).

This was not a passive drift but a deliberate, organised maritime crossing that required the kind of navigational sophistication, collective planning, and ecological intelligence that no other hominin species had demonstrated.

New Guineans, in the words of one major genomic study, '*represent one of the oldest locally continuous populations outside Africa, harboring among the greatest linguistic and genetic diversity on the planet*' (Malaspinas et al., 2016).

The populations who arrived in Sahul spread rapidly across the continent within a remarkably short span of human generations, adapting to radically different ecological environments including tropical rainforests, highland grasslands, coastal zones, and interior river systems. This was not a society stranded on the margins of history. It was a society that opened the frontier of human civilisation on the eastern edge of the habitable world.

Independent Agricultural Innovation

The achievement that most forcefully challenges the conventional civilisational myth maker — the assumption that agriculture, and therefore the preconditions of complex society, arose exclusively in the Fertile Crescent, the Yellow River Valley, or Mesoamerica — is the independent development of agriculture in the New Guinea Highlands.

Multidisciplinary investigations at Kuk Swamp in the Wahgi Valley of what is now Papua New Guinea have produced decisive evidence that agriculture arose independently in New Guinea by at least six thousand nine hundred and fifty to six thousand four hundred and forty calibrated years before the present (Denham et al., 2003).

Even more significantly, the evidence reveals that plant exploitation and some form of cultivation were underway on the wetland margin at ten thousand two hundred and twenty to nine thousand nine hundred and ten calibrated years before the present, making this among the oldest known agricultural traditions anywhere on Earth (Denham et al., 2003).

What was cultivated at Kuk? Taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) was utilised in the early Holocene. Bananas (*Musa* spp.) were being intensively cultivated by at least six thousand nine hundred and fifty years ago. Mounding cultivation — a sophisticated technique for managing soil and moisture — had developed by the same period, and ditched cultivation appeared by four thousand three hundred and fifty years before the present (Denham et al., 2003; Haberle et al., 2012). The Kuk Swamp site has since been inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site precisely because it represents one of the few places on Earth where the independent origins of agriculture can be directly observed in the archaeological record. Papuans were not passive recipients of agricultural knowledge diffused from elsewhere. They were among its primary inventors.

This fact carries enormous theoretical weight. The conventional narrative of civilisation positions the Papuans as pre-agricultural, pre-civilisational, and therefore prior to history in any meaningful sense. The archaeological record at Kuk demolishes this position entirely.

The Papuans of the New Guinea Highlands were cultivating food, managing landscapes, and developing complex subsistence systems at roughly the same time — and independently from — the earliest agricultural communities of the Fertile Crescent. The absence of cities, temples, and standing armies from the New Guinea record does not indicate an absence of civilisational achievement. Rather, it reflects a different civilisational trajectory: one oriented toward ecological integration rather than ecological extraction, and toward cosmological equilibrium rather than territorial expansion.

From this observation emerges one of the central propositions of Yamin Kogoya's Psycho-Cosmocide framework: that human societies have historically tended toward two essentially different modes of organising existence.

The first is the *civilisational-extractive mode*, structured around accumulation, expansion, territorial domination, and the intensive exploitation of both nature and human labour.

The second is what this paper terms the *cosmobian mode*, structured around reciprocity, ecological balance, cosmological continuity, and relational coexistence between human communities and the living world. The tension between these two modes, this paper argues, has shaped some of the deepest conflicts in human history. Elsewhere within this research programme, the civilisational-extractive mode is named more precisely as the *Synthobian mode*: societies organised around synthetic, manufactured, and infinitely substitutable relationships to land, ancestry, and meaning, set against the Cosmobian mode's given and irreplaceable relationships (Kogoya, 2026a). Read in these terms, the encounter between Papuan societies and the Indonesian settler-colonial project is not merely a regional political dispute. It is a direct historical collision between a Cosmobian and a Synthobian civilisational order.

Linguistic and Cosmological Diversity as Civilisational Achievement

New Guinea possesses one of the highest concentrations of linguistic diversity anywhere on the planet, with more than eight hundred distinct languages spoken across the island, representing multiple deep language families and dozens of language isolates with no known relatives (Ethnologue, 2025). This extraordinary diversity is not simply an anthropological curiosity. It is evidence of long-term cosmobian continuity. Languages evolve, differentiate, and develop in isolation over millennia. The linguistic landscape of New Guinea encodes thousands of years of distinct social, ecological, and cosmological experience. Each language community represents not merely a different way of speaking, but a different way of orienting oneself within the cosmos — a distinct relationship between human beings and the living world they inhabit.

The Lani people of the central highlands, for instance, possess a cosmological vocabulary that articulates relationships between land, ancestry, ecological cycle, and human consciousness that have no direct equivalent in any Indo-European language or any framework developed within Western philosophical traditions. Central to this vocabulary is the concept of *Inaorak* — a compound derived from *Inawi* (home, land, space, belonging, territory) and *Worak* (to be verified, validated, ontologically confirmed, testified). An *Inaorak* is one whose very being is verified by the land and cosmos to which they belong — a being whose existence is not self-declared but ontologically confirmed by the reciprocal relationship between person, place, and cosmological order. In the longer formulation *Inawi Worak*, the Lani language names the rightful custodian, the original landlord, the one whose dwelling is not merely physical occupation but cosmological jurisdiction (Kogoya, 2026f). This is not ownership in the extractive legal sense of modern property relations. It is something prior and more fundamental: a mode of being in which one's existence is inseparable from, and answerable to, the living world one inhabits. The *Inaorak* concept thus provides the Lani ontological definition of what this paper terms the cosmobian: a being verified by land, cosmos, and ancestral continuity as rightfully present,

rightfully inhabiting, and rightfully responsible for the living world they are part of. To destroy such a system — to replace it with consumer culture, evangelical Christianity, and Indonesian nationalist ideology — is not simply cultural change. It is the annihilation of a cosmologically grounded mode of being human: the destruction not merely of what people believe, but of the ontological framework through which they know themselves to exist.

This distinction between the Inaorak and the identity imposed upon Papuans by Indonesian nationalism can be sharpened through the categories of the *Given* and the *Constructed* developed elsewhere within this research programme (Kogoya, 2026c). The Inaorak is a Given mode of being: an identity that arrives already verified by land, ancestry, and cosmological order, prior to any act of naming, registration, or legal recognition. Indonesian citizenship, by contrast, offers Papuans only a Constructed identity — a status assigned from outside, through identity cards, transmigration quotas, and administrative categories, which can be granted, withheld, or revoked by the very authority that constructs it. Psycho-Cosmocide, read through this lens, is in part the forced substitution of a Given ontology by a Constructed one: the replacement of a self confirmed by the cosmos with a self that must be perpetually applied for.

THE LONG HISTORY OF COLONIAL INTRUSION: FROM TIDORE TO THE COLD WAR

Tidore, VOC, and the Hongi Fleets

The entanglement of Western New Guinea within external political systems began long before European colonialism proper. The Sultanate of Tidore, a major power in the eastern Maluku archipelago, maintained claims over the coastlines of the Bird's Head Peninsula and parts of New Guinea's northern coast, exercising a form of tributary sovereignty that the Dutch East India Company (VOC) would subsequently inherit through its own territorial agreements with the Tidore sultanate from 1649 onwards (Huizinga, 1998; Chauvel, 2005). The Tidore sultans periodically dispatched hongi fleets — large formations of war prows — to the Papuan coastlines, where they collected tribute in the form of bird of paradise feathers, tortoiseshell, sea cucumbers, and human captives who were transported back to the Maluku islands as enslaved persons (Cultural Survival, 2014).

These encounters were not peaceful exchanges. The hongi fleets represented an organised system of coercive extraction that inflicted immense violence upon coastal Papuan communities. As the anthropological record indicates, 'when the hongi met with resistance from local Papuans, violence usually ensued; locals captured during the fighting were taken back to Tidore as slaves' (Huizinga, 1998, as cited in Cultural Survival, 2014). This system operated under Dutch sanction: the Netherlands East Indies government had indirectly asserted state authority over West Papua since 1660 through the Sultan of Tidore, treating the Tidore claim as a convenient

legal fiction that spared the Dutch the expense of direct administration in a territory that appeared to offer limited commercial returns (Chauvel, 2005).

One of the most significant — and least studied — episodes of early Papuan resistance to this colonial order was the Nuku rebellion of 1780 to 1810. Prince Nuku Muhammad Amiruddin of Tidore, who called himself 'Sultan of Tidore and Papua,' launched a sustained anti-Dutch uprising that drew support from across the Maluku islands and from Papuan chiefs who saw in his rebellion an opportunity to resist the extractive violence of the hongi system. 'Several rulers of Papua also sided with him' (Saltford, 2003; Chauvel, 2005). The rebellion lasted for three decades and constituted one of the earliest sustained anti-colonial movements in the eastern Indonesian archipelago, with explicit Papuan participation.

This history — of Papuans as active agents of resistance from the very earliest moment of colonial contact — has been consistently excluded from the dominant historiography, which prefers to represent Papuans as passive objects of colonial administration rather than as political actors capable of organised resistance.

The Genealogy of Papuaphobia

The violence documented above did not require invention. It drew upon a much older colonial genealogy of anti-Papuan racism — what this research programme terms *Papuaphobia* — inherited from centuries of European racial taxonomy, missionary discourse, and physical anthropology that classified Melanesian peoples among the most primitive on a hierarchical scale of human development, long before Indonesia existed as a state (Kogoya, 2026d). The hongi fleets did not simply extract tribute and captives; they operated within, and helped to entrench, a colonial taxonomy in which Papuan bodies were coded as more fully object than subject. This racial structure was subsequently absorbed into Indonesian nationalist institutions largely intact, providing the Suharto-era transmigration programme and the contemporary Indonesian security state with a ready-made vocabulary — primitive, backward, still in the stone age — for representing Papuans as a population requiring civilisation rather than a people entitled to self-determination. Papuaphobia, in this sense, is not a peripheral prejudice accompanying the occupation of West Papua. It is one of its foundational preconditions, supplying the cognitive and moral scaffolding that makes militarisation, extraction, and demographic replacement appear, to those who administer them, as development rather than destruction.

Dutch Colonial Administration and the Archaeology of Neglect

The Netherlands East Indies established its first formal colonial outpost in Western New Guinea at Fort du Bus on the Kowiai Coast in 1828, nearly fifty years after the Nuku rebellion had demonstrated a political consciousness of Papuan communities (Cultural Survival, 2014). Dutch colonial administration of Western New Guinea proceeded with remarkable slowness and

minimal investment throughout the nineteenth century. In 1902, the territory was administratively divided into the West New Guinea District centred on Fakfak and the South New Guinea District centred on Merauke (Free West Papua Campaign, n.d.). In 1903, the Dutch government began actual colonisation by sending Javanese settlers to Merauke — a significant historical precedent for the transmigration policies that Indonesia would later pursue on an incomparably larger scale (Free West Papua Campaign, n.d.).

Throughout the early colonial period, Papuan communities resisted Dutch authority through multiple channels. Millenarian movements known as *Mansren* movements — proclaiming the coming of a golden age in which colonial rule would end and a new, liberated social order would emerge — appeared repeatedly across the Cenderawasih Bay region and the Lake Sentani area near Hollandia (Jayapura) throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (TAPOL, 1983). The Aduweri uprisings of 1921 and 1926 represented more explicitly political forms of resistance, and in 1942, Papuans in Biak issued what they regarded as a proclamation of independence — a moment preserved in Papuan historical memory even as it was suppressed in colonial records (TAPOL, 1983).

The Second World War transformed the strategic significance of Western New Guinea. Japanese forces occupied Dutch Indonesia including West Papua, until the area was recaptured by Allied forces in 1944. The post-war period placed the Netherlands under international pressure to decolonise its Asian territories, and the Dutch transferred sovereignty over the vast majority of the Dutch East Indies to the newly proclaimed Republic of Indonesia in 1949. Western New Guinea, however, was deliberately excluded from this transfer. The Dutch government argued — correctly — that the Papuans were ethnically, culturally, and linguistically Melanesian rather than Indonesian, had no shared historical basis for inclusion within an Indonesian state, and were constitutionally entitled under the Dutch constitutional framework to pursue a separate path to self-determination (Saltford, 2003).

The Dawn of Papuan Nationalism: 1945–1961

The postwar period was not, for Papuans, simply a transitional interregnum. It was an era of intense political awakening. Dutch colonial administrators, under growing international pressure and genuine ideological commitment to eventual Papuan self-governance, began a sustained programme of Papuan political education, institution building, and economic development in the 1950s. This included the establishment of three Papuan-majority advisory councils from 1951 onwards, followed by elected Papuan-majority district councils across Mimika (1953), Hollandia, Manokwari, Schouten Islands, Japen, and Sorong (all 1955), Fakfak (1958), and Biak-Numfor (1959) (ULMWP, 2018). These councils were genuine institutions of democratic self-governance in training, not merely symbolic appointments.

The culminating institutional moment of this period was the inauguration of the New Guinea Council — *Nieuw Guinea Raad* — on 5 April 1961, a representative body for Netherlands New

Guinea composed predominantly of elected Papuan members (West Papua Media Alerts, 2012). The Council moved with remarkable speed. On 19 October 1961, a national committee was formed to draft a manifesto for independence. By 30 October 1961, the New Guinea Council had voted unanimously in favour of a declaration of intent — adopting a national flag (the *Morning Star*, designed by Papuan leader Nicolaas Jouwe), a national anthem (*'Hai Tanahku Papua'*), a coat of arms, and the name Papua Barat (*West Papua*) for the proposed state (West Papua Media Alerts, 2012). The Dutch government formally recognised these national symbols on 18 November 1961, and they came into effect on 1 December 1961 (West Papua Media Alerts, 2012).

The Morning Star flag was raised for the first time on 1 December 1961 in the presence of diplomatic representatives from Australia, France, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and other Pacific nations. The manifesto the Papuan leaders adopted was unambiguous in its declaration: *'On that basis, we, the Papuan people, demand to get our place in the midst of other independent nations and peoples'* (West Papua Media Alerts, 2012). West Papua was, at that moment, on the threshold of becoming the first independent Melanesian nation in the Pacific — predating the independence of Papua New Guinea by fourteen years and Fiji's republican transition by decades.

The train of decolonisation, to invoke the metaphor that organises this paper, had arrived at the platform. The passengers were ready and the destination was set.

The Cold War Betrayal: The New York Agreement and the Act of Free Choice

What followed is one of the most thoroughly documented acts of geopolitical betrayal in postwar history. Eighteen days after the Morning Star was raised over the New Guinea Council in Hollandia, Indonesian President Sukarno delivered a speech announcing Operation Trikora — the People's Triple Command — on 19 December 1961, declaring that Indonesia would never permit the establishment of a 'puppet state' in West Irian (as Indonesia called the territory) and calling for the general mobilisation of the Indonesian population to 'liberate' West Papua (Drooglever, 2009, p. 629). Indonesian military forces began infiltrating the territory, and the United States — deeply anxious about Sukarno's flirtation with the Soviet Union and determined to keep Indonesia in the anti-communist camp — applied enormous pressure on the Netherlands to abandon West Papua.

The result was the New York Agreement of 12 August 1962, signed between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, which transferred administrative authority over Western New Guinea first to the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) and then to Indonesia (Musgrave, 2015). Papuan leaders were not parties to this agreement, and not consulted. They were, in the bitter words of a demonstrator quoted in the South Pacific Post on 21 August 1962, victims of *'Betrayal by UN'* (as cited in Saltford, 2003, p. 180). Indonesia formally assumed administrative control on 1 May 1963.

The New York Agreement included a provision — Article XVIII — requiring Indonesia to conduct an act of self-determination before the end of 1969, allowing the Papuan people to choose between continuing under Indonesian administration and exercising their right to independence (Musgrave, 2015).

What took place between May and August 1969 was the Act of Free Choice — a process so thoroughly antithetical to any recognisable standard of democratic consultation that it has been universally condemned by independent scholars and Papuan leaders alike. Rather than a universal plebiscite, Indonesia permitted only 1,025 hand-picked Papuans — representing a population of approximately 800,000 — to participate, in what Papuans and international observers described as a managed performance of consent conducted under military intimidation (Saltford, 2003; Centre for Nonviolent Conflict and Resistance [CNCR], 2022). These 1,025 individuals unanimously voted to join Indonesia.

On 19 November 1969, the United Nations General Assembly formally '*took note*' of the result — a formulation deliberately chosen to avoid the word '*endorsed*,' recognising without legitimating what had occurred.

A proposed resolution that would have challenged the outcome received a majority of votes in the General Assembly but failed to achieve the two-thirds majority required for adoption (Musgrave, 2015). West Papua was thus absorbed into Indonesia through a process that its own people had no meaningful opportunity to contest, under conditions that UN observers themselves acknowledged were coercive, and with the full knowledge and acquiescence of the international community. The train had not left the platform. It had been commandeered.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF INDONESIAN OCCUPATION: MILITARISATION, EXTRACTION, AND DEMOGRAPHIC ENGINEERING

Militarisation and Organised Repression

From the earliest days of Indonesian administration, West Papua was governed primarily through military force. Resistance to the occupation began immediately. A guerrilla organisation known as the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM — Free Papua Movement) was formally constituted in 1965 and began armed resistance in 1970, carrying out attacks on Indonesian military positions and on the holdings of multinational corporations occupying Papuan land (Free West Papua Campaign, n.d.).

Armed mostly with traditional weapons and facing a vastly superior military force equipped by American and Australian military partnerships, the OPM fought what one commentator accurately described as '*an almost unknown war*' against Indonesian state power for decades (Free West Papua Campaign, n.d.).

The Indonesian military's response to resistance — and to peaceful political activism — was sustained and brutal. Throughout the 1970s, Catholic and Protestant missionaries reported Indonesian army patrols destroying villages, raping women, and killing livestock (Green Left Weekly, 1996). In April 1984, Arnold Ap — a respected Papuan anthropologist, musician, and curator of the Cendrawasih University Museum — died in Indonesian military custody from severe bullet wounds after five months of imprisonment without trial (Green Left Weekly, 1996). Ap's murder was emblematic of a broader strategy: the deliberate targeting of Papuan intellectual and cultural leaders who might articulate, preserve, or transmit a coherent Papuan identity.

The Indonesian state's systematic human rights violations in West Papua have been documented by independent investigators, the Yale Law School, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and Indonesia's own National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM). A Yale Law School investigation documented waves of military campaigns, extrajudicial killings, rape, torture, and forced disappearances across multiple decades (Yale Law School Lowenstein International Human Rights Clinic [Yale Law School], n.d.; UNPO Academy, 2026). By 2021, conservative estimates placed the death toll from Indonesian occupation at a minimum of one hundred thousand people from a total population of approximately two million — proportional losses that scholars have characterised as constituting cold genocide (Brundige et al., 2004; Elmslie, 2010). As of October 2025, data compiled by human rights defenders on the ground indicates that approximately 102,966 West Papuans have been displaced by the current wave of military operations and agribusiness expansion (International Parliamentarians for West Papua, as cited in Pacific Islands News Association [PINA], 2025). This escalation has led observers to describe the conflict as having entered a new, indefinite phase — a Papuan 'forever war' with no negotiated resolution in sight (Jacobin, 2025).

The Freeport Mine and Extractive Capitalism

In April 1967 — before the Act of Free Choice had even taken place — the Indonesian government signed its first concession agreement with Freeport Indonesia, a subsidiary of US-based Freeport-McMoRan, granting the company rights to exploit the extraordinary copper and gold deposits of the Grasberg mountain range in the central highlands (Yale Law School, n.d.). The Grasberg mine, subsequently developed into one of the largest gold and copper mines in the world, has generated hundreds of billions of dollars in revenue for Freeport, the Indonesian government, and international investors over more than half a century — while delivering almost nothing to the Papuan communities whose ancestral territories it occupies.

The social and ecological consequences for the affected communities have been catastrophic. The Amungme people, whose cosmological and ancestral relationship to the Grasberg mountains is central to their identity, were forcibly relocated from their highland territories to lowland coastal areas that were malarial and ecologically unsuitable. In June 1980, an epidemic swept through a displaced Amungme settlement, killing 216 children. Freeport provided neither food

nor medicine to the stricken community (Yale Law School, n.d.). By 1982, the mine employed 452 expatriate workers, 1,859 Indonesian workers, and only 200 Papuans, all in unskilled labour positions (Yale Law School, n.d.). The mining town of Tembagapura had become, by the early 1990s, an enclave of Indonesian and foreign workers that one observer compared to South African apartheid in its spatial segregation of Papuan people from their own land (Green Left Weekly, 1996).

Indonesia's own Komnas HAM acknowledged in 1995 that human rights violations around the Freeport site were 'directly connected to [the Indonesian army] acting as protection for the mining business of PT Freeport Indonesia' (Baines, 2022). The mine functioned not simply as an economic enterprise but as an instrument of political control — a generator of revenue that financed the military occupation while simultaneously destroying the territorial, ecological, and cosmological foundations of Amungme life. The resource extraction as a tool of racism argument developed by recent scholars (Baines, 2022) finds its clearest illustration in the Freeport case.

The Transmigration Programme and Demographic Transformation

Among the most consequential mechanisms of Indonesian settler colonialism in West Papua has been the transmigration programme — a state policy of relocating large numbers of impoverished Javanese, Balinese, and other Indonesian settlers into Papuan territories. Initiated under President Suharto in the 1970s with explicit political motivations, the transmigration programme was openly described by Indonesian Minister for Transmigration Martono in 1985 as a means of achieving ethnic integration: 'by way of transmigration we will try to realise what has been pledged, to integrate all ethnic groups into one nation, the Indonesian nation' (quoted in MacLeod, 2023). The demographic consequences have been profound and are ongoing.

Transmigrants were allocated land that had been classified by the Indonesian state as *empty* or underutilised — a classification that reproduced the colonial doctrine of *terra nullius* in an Indonesian idiom, erasing existing Indigenous land relationships and customary tenure systems (Brundige et al., 2004). Retired Indonesian soldiers were strategically placed in transmigration settlements near mines, ports, and the Papua New Guinea border, ensuring that the transmigration programme simultaneously served military surveillance functions (Anderson, 2015). Indigenous Papuans, dispossessed of their land and economically marginalised within their own territories, were gradually transformed from the original inhabitants of their land into a minority population in regions that have been Papuan for fifty thousand years.

The structural discrimination that transmigration created extended beyond land dispossession into economic and political exclusion. Transmigrants received land titles, access to state services, and economic opportunities consistently denied to Indigenous Papuans. West Papua remains, despite its extraordinary natural wealth, the poorest and least developed region in Indonesia by most social indicators (Costa, 2016). The wealth generated by Grasberg gold, Papuan timber, and Papuan fishing grounds flows outward to Jakarta, to international investors, and to

transmigrant communities — while Indigenous Papuans are increasingly confined to the economic margins of their own country.

The New Wave: Merauke and Ecological Annihilation

The most recent phase of this civilisational project represents an escalation without precedent in scale. The Indonesian government's National Strategic Project (Proyek Strategis Nasional or PSN) at Merauke in southern Papua encompasses three million hectares of former rainforest, wetland, and savanna allocated for sugarcane and rice production, ethanol facilities, palm oil, and supporting infrastructure (Rainforest Rescue, 2025). In July 2024, then-President Jokowi personally planted the first sugarcane at a ground-breaking ceremony, describing Merauke as Indonesia's future 'food barn' (London Review of Books, 2025). Independent analysis has determined that the destruction of the Merauke region will release an estimated 782.45 million additional tonnes of carbon dioxide — a figure greater than the annual emissions of all of Indonesia — and that the Merauke rainforest is a denser carbon sink per hectare than the Amazon (International Parliamentarians, as cited in PINA, 2025).

The project has been advanced without genuine consultation with the Indigenous West Papuan communities whose territories it encompasses, in clear violation of the principle of Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) enshrined in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (PINA, 2025). In the first half of 2025 alone, oil palm-driven forest clearing in Papua has already matched the total for all of 2024, and nickel mining operations are rapidly expanding on the ecologically fragile small islands of Raja Ampat within the Coral Triangle — described as the most biodiverse coral reef ecosystem in the world (Nusantara Atlas, 2025). The island of New Guinea is home to the world's third-largest tropical rainforest. With one percent of Earth's surface, it harbours five percent of total global biodiversity (Stichting Papua Erfgoed, n.d.). This is what is being destroyed.

PSYCHO-COSMOCIDE: THEORISING THE DESTRUCTION OF COSMOBIAN WORLDS

Beyond Genocide, Ethnocide, and Ecocide

The existing conceptual vocabulary of international law and critical theory provides only partial tools for naming what is occurring in West Papua. The concept of genocide, defined under the 1948 UN Convention, addresses the physical destruction of a people. The concept of ethnocide or cultural genocide, advanced by scholars from Raphael Lemkin onwards, addresses the destruction of a people's cultural distinctiveness. The concept of ecocide addresses the large-scale destruction of natural environments.

Each of these concepts captures something real about the West Papuan situation. But none of them individually, and not even all of them together, adequately names the specific form of destruction that is underway there: the systematic, multi-dimensional annihilation of the cosmological order through which a people understands themselves, their world, and their place within the living cosmos.

Psycho-Cosmocide, as developed within this theoretical framework, refers to the cumulative destruction of the psychological, cosmological, metaphysical, ecological, and symbolic foundations of a people's existence. It is distinguished from genocide by its targeting of consciousness rather than (only) bodies. It is distinguished from ethnocide by its insistence on the cosmological — not merely cultural — domain of what is being destroyed. It is distinguished from ecocide by its recognition that the destruction of ecology is simultaneously the destruction of a mode of being in the world. For a cosmopolitan society, land is not merely a resource or habitat, but a cosmological partner, an ancestral presence, and a constitutive element of identity. It functions simultaneously as archive, cathedral, school, economy, parliament, spiritual system, and intergenerational memory structure — the living framework through which relationships between humans, ancestors, spirits, non-human beings, and ecological systems are organised, sustained, and given meaning.

The concept builds upon and extends several foundational contributions from decolonial and critical theory. Fanon's (1961) analysis of the colonisation of consciousness — the way in which colonial violence restructures the psychic life of the colonised subject, producing alienation from self, from community, and from the conditions of collective action — provides one crucial foundation. Santos's (2014) concept of epistemicide — the destruction of alternative knowledge systems through the imposition of a single, hegemonic way of knowing — provides another. Wynter's (2003) analysis of the overrepresentation of the Western liberal 'Man' as the sole template of the human provides a third.

However, Psycho-Cosmocide insists upon a dimension that even these powerful frameworks do not fully capture: the cosmological domain. It is not merely that Papuan ways of knowing are destroyed. It is that the entire cosmological order of the original cosmopolitan framework through which Papuan existence has been sustained — the reciprocal relationships between people and land, between ancestors and descendants, between human consciousness and the ecological systems that give it meaning — is being steadily dismantled.

The Mechanisms of Psycho-Cosmocide

This paper terms the operative agent of this destruction the *Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide Virus*, or CPCV: not a metaphor of convenience but a structural mechanism, modelled elsewhere within this research programme as a process that moves through exposure, seduction, trust, internalisation, and intergenerational transmission until it achieves what that companion study terms civilisational permanence (Kogoya, 2026f). West Papua supplies what may be the clearest

contemporary case study of the CPCV's operation: a population subjected simultaneously to militarisation, extraction, demographic replacement, developmentalist ideology, and consumer seduction, each mechanism reinforcing the others until resistance itself becomes progressively harder to sustain, articulate, or transmit to the next generation.

Psycho-Cosmocide operates through a constellation of mutually reinforcing mechanisms — militarisation, extractive capitalism, settler colonialism, developmentalist ideology, consumer seduction, and ecological destruction — none of which is sufficient on its own but all of which combine in West Papua to produce a *comprehensive civilisational attack*. Consumer culture, transmitted through evangelical Christianity, Indonesian popular media, and the material culture of settler communities, functions through what this research programme elsewhere terms *Two Minutes Instant Noodles*: the seductive immediacy of commodity consumption offered as a substitute for the deeper nourishment of cosmological belonging and ecological continuity (Kogoya, 2026a). The Eight Atlases below map precisely which register of Papuan existence each mechanism targets, and how their combined effect compounds across every one of them.

At the level of consciousness — which is ultimately where Psycho-Cosmocide does its deepest work — the combined effect of these mechanisms is what the present analysis terms *Cosmological Enclosure*: the progressive constriction of the imaginative and ontological space within which Papuan communities can sustain their own cosmological world.

Papuans are not simply losing land. They are losing the cosmological instruments through which land has meaning. They are not simply losing language. They are losing the worlds that their original cosmobian languages created. And they are being told, continuously and from multiple directions, that this loss is progress, that their own cosmological inheritance is worthless, and that the only future available to them is the future that Indonesian settler colonial modernity has designed for them.

The Eight Atlases of Papuan Destruction

The mechanisms described above can be organised more clearly through the *Eight Atlases of Human Existence*, a framework developed elsewhere within this research programme to describe the total field within which any human civilisation constitutes itself: the Physical/Material, the Biological/Organism, the Cultural/Mythological, the Metaphysical/Transcendental, the Particle/Energy, the Space/Time, the Memory/Consciousness, and the Ultimate Unknown (Kogoya, 2026b). Psycho-Cosmocide, read through this lens, is not simply a bundle of separate harms occurring alongside one another. It is a coordinated operation that moves across all eight atlases simultaneously, converting each into a distinct site of dispossession.

In the *Physical/Material* atlas, Papuan bodies and territories are subjected to direct seizure: military occupation, land confiscation for the Grasberg mine and the Merauke plantations, and the demographic engineering of the transmigration programme. In the *Biological/Organism*

atlas, Papuan life itself is degraded through forced relocation into malarial lowlands, the Amungme epidemic of 1980, and decades of documented killing, torture, and displacement. In the *Cultural/Mythological* atlas, Papuan cosmological vocabularies — Inaorak among them — are supplanted by Indonesian nationalist ideology and evangelical Christianity, converting ancestral meaning-systems into folklore. In the *Metaphysical/Transcendental* atlas, the sacred geography of mountains, rivers, and forests is redefined by developmentalist ideology as raw material awaiting extraction rather than cosmological partner. In the *Particle/Energy* atlas, the literal substance of Papuan land — copper, gold, carbon, timber — is extracted and converted into value that flows outward to Jakarta and beyond, while the energetic and ecological reciprocity that sustained Papuan life for fifty thousand years is severed. In the *Space/Time* atlas, Papuan communities are relocated, their customary land reclassified as empty or underutilised, and their historical continuity interrupted by an alien developmental timeline in which Papuan civilisation is perpetually cast as behind, backward, or not yet modern. In the *Memory/Consciousness* atlas, intergenerational transmission of cosmological knowledge is disrupted by militarisation, missionary education, and the killing of cultural leaders such as Arnold Ap, whose death was not incidental violence but a targeted assault on the mechanism by which Papuan memory reproduces itself. And in the *Ultimate Unknown* atlas — the register within which a people locates its relationship to mystery, ancestry, and what lies beyond ordinary knowing — Psycho-Cosmocide substitutes the cosmological humility of the Cosmobian world with the totalising certainty of state ideology, foreclosing the very space within which Papuan metaphysical questioning has historically occurred.

Named individually, these are eight distinct harms, each independently documented elsewhere in this paper. Mapped together, they describe a single civilisational operation: the conversion of a Cosmobian society, whole and functioning across every register of existence, into what this analysis terms a *Synthobian remainder* — administered, extracted, and epistemically contained (Kogoya, 2026a).

The Cosmobian Society as Counter-Concept

Against the logic of Psycho-Cosmocide, the concept of the cosmobian society asserts the value and viability of an alternative civilisational formation. A cosmobian society is not a primitive pre-civilisational collectivity. It is a society that has consciously — and over many generations — organised their existence around the principle of reciprocal ecological and cosmological relationship rather than around the principle of extraction and accumulation. Cosmobian societies are, almost by definition, societies that have achieved the difficult art of long-term ecological sustainability: they have learned to live within the limits of their ecological systems without destroying them over multiple generations.

The Papuans of New Guinea achieved this over more than fifty thousand years. They cultivated the world's first highland agricultural systems while maintaining forests that remain, to this day,

among the most biodiverse on the planet. They developed hundreds of distinct languages and cosmological systems while sharing a island with neighbours across language and cultural boundaries. They survived the collapse of the Pleistocene megafauna, the dramatic climate shifts of the Holocene, the disruptions of Austronesian migration, and the violence of Asian and European colonialism without losing their fundamental orientation toward ecological and cosmological reciprocity. That these societies are now facing existential destruction at the hands of an extractive capitalist state is not a story of civilisational failure. It is a story of civilisational murder.

SUSPENDED DECOLONISATION

Suspended Decolonisation and the Machinery of Permanent Deferral

West Papua today occupies what may be the clearest empirical instantiation of what this paper terms the “*stranded in a waiting room of civilisation*”: a condition of suspended decolonisation in which the juridical language of self-determination exists within international law, while the material mechanisms of sovereignty remain externally controlled. The passengers — the Papuan people, subjected for decades to violence, militarisation, and political containment — remain trapped within the waiting room. The tracks exist, the station exists, and the destination of nationhood was publicly announced on 1 December 1961 and provisionally recognised under the New York Agreement of 1962. Yet the train has never arrived, because the timetable, the movement of the train, and the wider infrastructure of political transition remain controlled by external powers: Indonesian state authority, American strategic interests, Australian regional policy, and increasingly Chinese resource investment. Collectively, these forces have placed the Papuan people in what this paper refers to as being “*stranded on the highway of the civilisational project and abandoned there for extinction.*”

This betrayal was not sustained by external power alone. As this research programme has argued elsewhere through an extended engagement with Plato's allegory of the cave, every sustained system of colonial administration eventually produces its own class of colonised intermediaries — Papuan officials, security personnel, and political brokers who, having internalised the coloniser's account of reality, come to police the boundaries of that reality for others (Kogoya, 2026e). In West Papua, this figure is sometimes described, with a particular local bitterness, as one who *sudah jadi manusia* — has already become a fully realised human being — a phrase that inadvertently confirms the very ontological hierarchy Psycho-Cosmocide depends upon: the implication that Papuan personhood, prior to Indonesian incorporation, was somehow incomplete. These intermediaries are not simply collaborators in the ordinary sense. They are what the cave allegory would recognise as prisoners mistaken for guards: people who, having turned once toward the fire of Jakarta's account of reality, now help to keep other prisoners facing the wall. Their existence does not lessen the culpability of the external powers who constructed

the cave. It demonstrates how completely Psycho-Cosmocide operates once it has moved from external imposition to internal architecture.

And yet the formal international system has not been entirely silent. West Papua appears on the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonisation list of Non-Self-Governing Territories — one of the few territories in the world still formally recognised as awaiting decolonisation (ULMWP, 2019). As recently as 2008, the chair of the UN special committee on decolonisation acknowledged that 'decolonisation remains an unfinished business of the United Nations' (ULMWP, 2019). The Pacific Islands Forum, the Melanesian Spearhead Group, and various parliamentary bodies across the Pacific have adopted resolutions expressing concern about the human rights situation in West Papua. In November 2025, a group of international parliamentarians issued a joint statement at COP30 in Belém warning that West Papua faces 'accelerating deforestation, rights abuses and environmental destruction that demand urgent global attention' (PINA, 2025).

But formal concern is not the same as political action, and political action is not the same as justice. The dominant Indonesian government position — that the 1969 Act of Free Choice was a valid and final decolonisation process — has never been successfully challenged in any binding international legal forum. The geopolitical order of the Cold War that produced the 1962 New York Agreement has never been publicly repudiated by its architects. The United States, whose pressure on the Netherlands was decisive in foreclosing Papuan independence, has never acknowledged its role in the betrayal. Australia, whose Senate was represented at the inauguration of the New Guinea Council and the first raising of the Morning Star flag, has never formally acknowledged the legal and moral implications of its subsequent acquiescence to Indonesian occupation (Jacobin, 2021).

What this produces for the Papuan people is a form of political and psychological existence that has no easy parallel in modern history. They are simultaneously inside and outside modernity: formally incorporated as Indonesian citizens, yet denied the political rights that citizenship is supposed to entail; formally subject to Indonesian law, yet subject to a level of military violence that no law sanctions; formally included within international human rights frameworks, yet systematically denied access to the independent monitoring that those frameworks require. They are waiting. But the conditions of their waiting are not passive. They are being actively constructed — through military pressure, demographic manipulation, ecological destruction, and epistemological violence — to ensure that their capacity to wait, to maintain their political consciousness, their cultural continuity, and their cosmological integrity, is progressively reduced until there is nothing left to liberate.

This is the structure of Psycho-Cosmocide in its most comprehensive political form: not the simple extermination of a people, but the engineering of conditions in which a people's capacity for self-determination is made permanently impossible by the time that self-determination might finally be offered.

WONESIS

The Return Beneath the Waiting Room

Diagnosis, however rigorous, is not the final destination of this paper. To diagnose Psycho-Cosmocide without asking whether a people can still remain human after its operation would merely describe extinction while offering no orientation beyond it. Elsewhere within this research programme, that orientation is named Wonesis.

Wonesis is neither nostalgia for an imagined precolonial past nor another civilisational promise that salvation will arrive through a future state, institution, ideology, religion, or technological progress. It is a disciplined return to the irreducible conditions of existence that Psycho-Cosmocide seeks to sever: land, food, water, air, fire, family, memory, and the cosmological order that the Lani concept of *Inaorak* names. Wonesis offers no guarantee of victory. It offers something more fundamental: the recovery of orientation, the restoration of memory, and the possibility of becoming fully human again within one's own world.

Applied to West Papua, Wonesis refuses the condition of permanent waiting. It rejects the proposition that a people must indefinitely inhabit a historical anteroom while powerful states, international institutions, and geopolitical interests continue to postpone, negotiate, reinterpret, or deny their existence. The waiting room is not a neutral space. It is itself one of the great instruments of Psycho-Cosmocide. It is where betrayal is normalised, where delay becomes policy, where justice is endlessly deferred, and where a people are expected to surrender not only their political future but eventually their memory of ever having possessed one. To remain forever waiting is, ultimately, to participate in one's own disappearance.

Wonesis therefore begins wherever the Cosmobian world continues to breathe. It begins wherever an elder still entrusts ancestral memory to a child; wherever an Indigenous language continues to name realities no colonial vocabulary can replace; wherever an *Inaorak* still stands upon ancestral land and refuses to surrender its cosmological authority; wherever the Morning Star is raised with full knowledge of the price demanded for raising it. These acts may appear insignificant beside the immense machinery of militarisation, extraction, demographic engineering, and the Civilisational Psycho-Cosmocide Virus operating across the Eight Atlases of Human Existence.

Yet Psycho-Cosmocide has always depended upon one assumption: that the living sources of memory can be extinguished completely. Wonesis denies that assumption. It insists that as long as even one living thread remains between land, memory, ancestry, and consciousness, extinction is not complete.

The struggle for West Papua is therefore larger than the struggle for sovereignty alone. It is a struggle over whether a Cosmobian world can continue to exist within an age increasingly

organised by synthetic civilisational systems. Psycho-Cosmocide seeks to transform living worlds into historical artefacts, to replace memory with administration, belonging with registration, reciprocity with extraction, and existence itself with permanent management.

Wonesis answers with a different proposition that deepest act of resistance is not merely to survive, but to remember the original Papuan world before its cosmological foundations were poisoned, its memory displaced, its reality replaced, and its existence consigned to oblivion.

The waiting room of civilisation is where Psycho-Cosmocide hopes the Papuan story will end. Wonesis refuses that ending. It refuses because the Papuan people are not a civilisation waiting to become human. They have always been human. They are not a people waiting for history to begin. They have always been part of history maker. And they are not merely survivors of Psycho-Cosmocide. They remain, despite everything that has been taken from them, a Cosmobian people whose memory still carries the possibility that another human future remains possible.

The waiting room of civilisation is where Psycho-Cosmocide hopes the Papuan story will end. Wonesis refuses that ending. It refuses because the Papuan people are not a civilisation waiting to become human. They have always been human. They are not a people waiting for history to begin. They have always been makers of history, custodians of memory, and creators of their own world. Nor are they merely survivors of Psycho-Cosmocide. Despite everything that has been poisoned, displaced, replaced, desecrated, and taken from them, they remain a Cosmobian people whose living memory still carries the possibility of remembering, recovering, and rebuilding the original world that Psycho-Cosmocide has sought to erase. As long as that memory endures, the Papuan story has not ended. The Cosmobian world still lives, and with it remains the possibility that humanity itself can remember another way of being.

CONCLUSION

The Fate of West Papua and the Question of Civilisational Futures

This paper has argued that the tragedy of West Papua cannot be understood solely through the language of military occupation, political repression, ecological destruction, demographic transformation, or the unfinished business of decolonisation. These are the visible manifestations of a deeper civilisational process. Psycho-Cosmocide names that process: the systematic destruction of the living conditions through which Cosmobian communities know who they are, where they belong, how they remember, and how they inhabit their world. A people do not disappear only when their bodies are destroyed. They disappear when the world that sustains their existence is progressively poisoned, displaced, replaced, fragmented, and reorganised until they no longer recognise themselves within it. Seen through this lens, West Papua is not an isolated historical tragedy. It is one of the clearest contemporary expressions of a broader civilisational logic. Since sustained contact with expanding colonial powers, the Papuan Cosmobian world has been gradually reorganised according to the priorities of the Synthobian world. Military occupation, territorial administration, extractive industries, demographic transformation, political exclusion, and the reorganisation of memory are not disconnected historical episodes. They are interconnected expressions of a single civilisational movement that transforms living worlds into resources for extraction, production, consumption, and administration. Within this logic, the Papuan world is no longer encountered as another way of being human, but as a civilisational asset to be reorganised, managed, and consumed.

West Papua therefore raises a question that extends far beyond its own political future. It asks whether modern civilisation is capable of encountering other human worlds without first transforming them into versions of itself. It asks whether humanity can still recognise societies organised through reciprocal relationships with land, ancestry, the diverse ecology of living beings, memory, and the cosmos, or whether every society will ultimately be reorganised according to the civilisation-wide logic of extraction, production, and consumption until the Synthobian world becomes the dominant and unquestioned condition of human existence. If that trajectory continues, the disappearance of the Cosmobian world will not be a uniquely Papuan tragedy. It will become one of humanity's defining civilisational losses.

Yet diagnosis is not the final word. The purpose of Psycho-Cosmocide is not to declare extinction inevitable, but to reveal the conditions under which human worlds are systematically dismantled.

Wonesis begins where diagnosis reaches its limit. It begins with refusing the destruction of memory. It begins wherever land remains more than property, language more than communication, ancestors more than historical figures, memory more than archived information, and *Inaorak* continues to protect their original world. Wonesis is neither a return to an imagined past nor another civilisational promise that salvation lies in development, progress, or perpetual

growth. It is the recovery of the living foundations without which no living being on this planet exist: Land.

The waiting room of civilisation is where Psycho-Cosmocide seeks to leave the Papuan story: suspended between recognition and abandonment, visible yet unheard, forever waiting for justice that never arrives. Wonesis refuses that ending. It refuses because a people who continue to remember the world that first made them human have not yet lost that world completely. As long as the original Cosmobian world continues to live through land, language, kinship, memory, and the obligations of *Inaorak*, Psycho-Cosmocide remains incomplete. The future of West Papua is therefore not only a question of sovereignty or survival. It is a question of whether humanity can still recognise that there are other ways of being human before the last living Cosmobian worlds are extracted, produced and consumed by Synthobian human machine.

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About the Author

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

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

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

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

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

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

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