

The destruction of Congo Basin tribes in the name of conservation

How will we survive?

Baka Cameroon

The wildlife guards beat us like animals. We want what they're doing to end.

Bayaka woman, Congo, Sept. 4, 2016

Introduction

The Baka and Bayaka "Pygmies," like dozens of other rainforest tribes in the Congo Basin, are being illegally evicted from their ancestral homelands in the name of conservation.

National parks and other protected areas have been imposed on their lands without their consent, often with little or no consultation. Some of the world's largest conservation organizations, principally the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS), were the key players involved in this carve-up of indigenous lands.

The Baka and Bayaka are accused of "poaching" when they hunt to feed their families, both inside and outside these areas. Together with their neighbors, they face harassment and beatings, torture and death. The anti-poaching squads that commit these atrocities are funded and equipped by the same conservation organizations.

The harrowing accounts we have gathered here almost certainly represent a small fraction of the real number of such cases – the vast majority go undocumented. All these abuses should have been investigated swiftly and fairly, but almost always go unpunished, and are frequently denied.

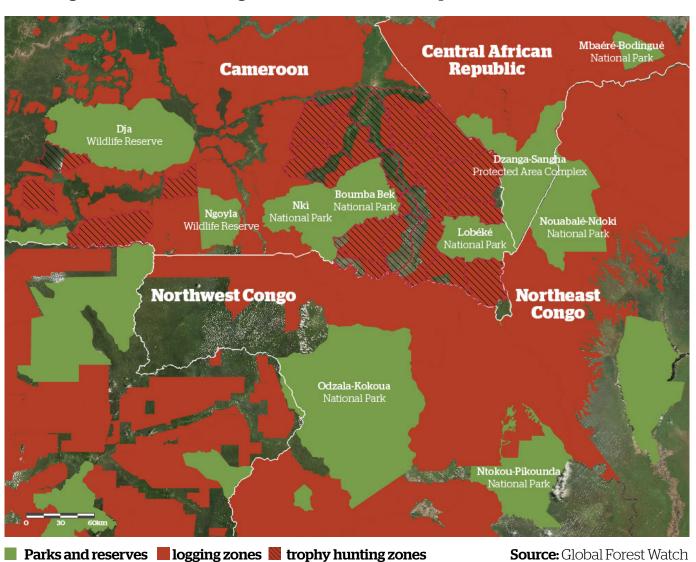
This "green colonialism" is destroying lives, and is illegal. It is also harming conservation. Scapegoating tribal people diverts action away from tackling the real causes of environmental destruction in the Congo Basin: logging and corruption.

Logging companies carve new roads deep into the rainforest and bring outsiders into previously remote regions. Wildlife trafficking networks then take root, with the complicity of military elites, local authorities, and, often, park guards. The big conservation organizations legitimize the loggers' presence by forming "partnerships" with them.

The Baka and Bayaka have depended on and managed their forests for hundreds of years, and know what is happening in them better than anyone. In their bid to save what they wrongly viewed as "wildernesses," conservation organizations have excluded those people best placed to look after them. Many of these victims have now come to associate conservation with hunger³ and violence.

Abuses like these are taking place across the world, and it's time to stop the con. The big conservation organizations must start asking local people whether they want outside help to protect their own lands, and offering their resources only where they're wanted. The power structure must be inverted. That would be a win-win for both the environment as well as the people.

How indigenous lands in the Congo Basin have been carved up





Cameroon:

WWF complicit in theft of Baka land

In 1991 the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) invited a team of researchers to assess its proposals for a protected area in southeast Cameroon.⁴ The Baka "Pygmies" and their neighbors the Bangando⁵ who the team spoke to were worried that animals and trees that they wanted to pass on to future generations were being wiped out. Those responsible, they said, were powerful people, loggers and trophy-hunters who had been awarded licenses by the Cameroonian government.

The Baka and Bangando would be an asset to the protected area, the researchers pointed out, since they used the land sustainably and could help monitor it against poachers. The researchers therefore called for the destruction of the forest by outsiders to be curbed, and for local people's rights to be protected. This, they explained, would involve focusing on professional poaching networks rather than those hunting to feed their families.

The very opposite took place. Ten years after the Baka and Bangando explained their plight, WWF backed the creation of the Lobéké National Park. The Baka and their neighbors were illegally evicted from the park and from the trophy-hunting areas that WWF helped set up as "buffer zones." WWF decided to partner with logging companies, even though these had not sought or received the Baka's consent to operate on their land. A study published the year after the park was created found that the WWF project had been unable to restrain the real poachers.⁶

Lobéké was not the first time the Baka's land had been stolen for a "protected area," and it was not to be the last. Boumba Bek and Nki National Parks soon followed in 2005, and the Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve in 2014. Nowadays anti-poaching squads supported by WWF routinely raze entire forest camps to the ground, both inside and outside national parks. The violence they visit upon the Baka and their neighbors knows no bounds: victims have included pregnant women, the elderly and infirm – even small children. WWF has been aware of the persecution of the Baka by the guards it supports for over 15 years but has consistently failed to take effective action.



Those who do use this zone carry on practices that [...] ensure a rational use of the land, thus contributing to the maintenance of ecological balance.

Consultancy report for WWF, 19917

White men came to tell us that the forest is protected and that we can no longer live there.
[...] We had no choice, because they told us that they will beat and kill us if they find us in the forest.

The wildlife guards have killed many Baka from our area.

Baka man, southeast of the Dja Reserve, August 2003 $^{\rm 8}$

April 30, 1991

Survival International, concerned that WWF's proposals for southeast Cameroon will result in the theft of the Baka's land, writes to WWF Cameroon.

May 16, 1991

Alec Leonhardt, an anthropologist who has worked with Baka, advises WWF Cameroon about its proposals for Baka land:

The main problem for Baka I believe is not the risk of cultural contaminants, but the elimination of territory and subsistence.⁹

January 1997

Bethléem

The Cameroonian government tells the Baka community of Bethléem to leave their forest camp on the Limbombolo river, in what will become Lobéké National Park.¹⁰

Early 2000s¹¹

PK27

A whole Baka community near what will become Lobéké National Park is burned to the ground by wildlife guards, and several people's birth certificates are destroyed.

2000

Djamena

The Baka community of Djamena is evicted by force from what will become Boumba Bek National Park.¹²

7 How will we survive? Cameroon

Enforcement activities are highly susceptible to corruption. Once enforcement reaches a certain corruption level it can become: (1) Ineffective/counterproductive, (2) Abusive of the weakest.

Ofir Drori, wildlife law enforcement expert, to Survival, March 16, 2016¹³

March 19, 2001 Lobéké National Park is created on the Baka's land without their free, prior and informed consent, with the support of WWF, the Global Environment Facility and the German government. Under Cameroonian law they can no longer enter it to hunt or gather.

> A small "community zone" is later created within the park but hunting remains forbidden, and many Baka are unable to make use of it.

September 2001 The persecution of Baka by wildlife guards in southeast Cameroon is presented as a case study at a conference in Rwanda, attended by WWF staff.14

Feb. 4, 2003

Gbine

Martin Cradick of Global Music Exchange writes to HRH the Duke of Edinburgh, President of WWF.

He warns that "a generation of Baka" is being "terrorised" by anti-poaching squads, and that the Baka "only knew of the WWF as a European body who was trying to throw them off their traditional hunting grounds."

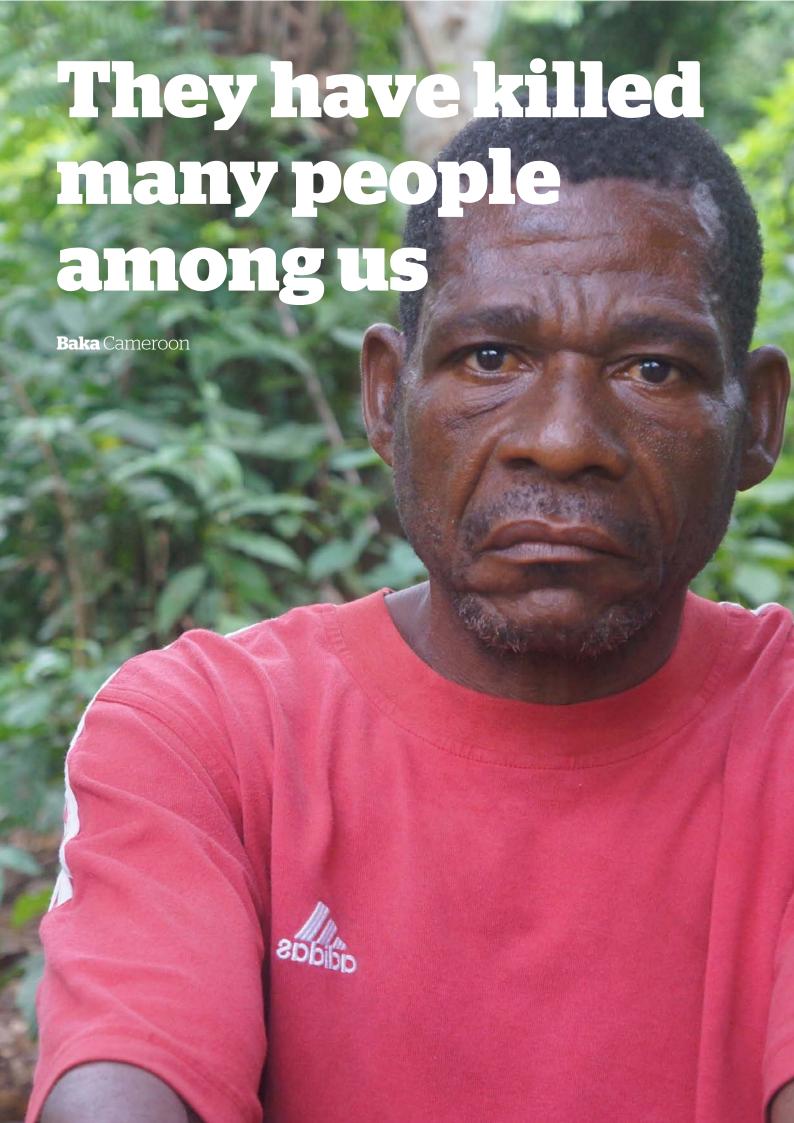
mid 2000s

Ayene

A Baka man from Ayene is beaten by wildlife guards inside the Dja Reserve.

They took all of my hunting cables, burned the hut, and then one wildlife guard took off all my clothes and beat my crotch with a stick. It hurt to urinate for a long time after.

Baka man, Ayene, July 15, 2013



We will die of hunger. [...] All of these people often beat us and threaten us when they come across us in the forest.

Chief of Ngatto Ancien, 200915

Our means of transport are used by [the] wildlife guards. These wildlife guards commit abuses, but less and less.

WWF, 2009¹⁶

December 2003 A seminar is held in which researchers from Kyoto University explain their concern to WWF and the Cameroonian government that the proposed Nki National Park will deprive the Baka of their lands.

October 2004

A pair of researchers find that wildlife guards from the Dja Reserve have been carrying out "excessive, systematic and incomprehensible" repression against Baka.

In one village alone they are told of four Baka who have died from violence inflicted by the guards.¹⁷

2004

A report contrasts the "persecution of indigenous and local communities" by wildlife guards in the Dja Reserve with "the unmolested traffic of bushmeat out of their areas by commercial operators."

It warns that Baka are threatened with eviction from their ancestral lands inside Boumba Bek National Park, even though they depend almost entirely on hunting and gathering to survive. 18

Feb. 8, 2005

A news report finds that many Baka have found themselves imprisoned for subsistence hunting.¹⁹

Oct. 6, 2005

Boumba Bek and Nki National Parks are created on the Baka's land without their free, prior and informed consent, with the support of WWF. Under Cameroonian law they can no longer enter these areas to hunt and gather.

10 How will we survive? Cameroon

You're letting the elephants die out in the forest at the same time as you're stopping people from feeding themselves.

Baka man to wildlife guards, Moangue le Bosquet, July 18, 2013

February 2006

A study finds that "poor and vulnerable" people from the Dja Reserve have lost their rights and access to "vast tracks of forest," and that wildlife guards confiscate even medicinal tree bark, as well as meat and fish caught in the areas that these people have been left with.²⁰

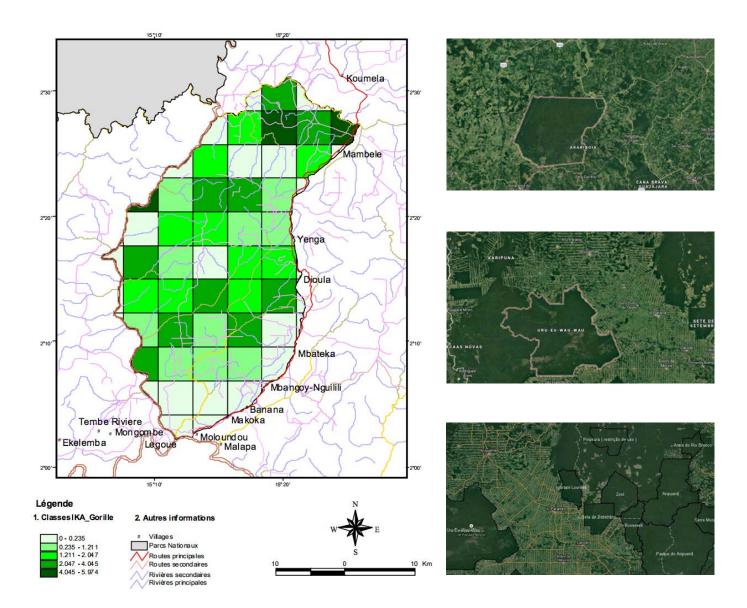
June 2006

A study notes the "complete lack of consultation and participation" with local communities in the Dja Reserve, and that there are reports of Baka being killed during crackdown raids by wildlife guards.

One Baka man has told the researchers: "We have the impression that [the wildlife guards] have been sent here to kill us."

Sometimes they would organize unexpected visits to our camps where they would make us come out and they would beat us in front of the whole village, simply for being suspected of killing animals.

Baka man, Bengbis district²¹



Left: This map illustrates areas of high gorilla density in one part of the Baka's ancestral land in Cameroon, demonstrating that gorillas thrive in areas used by the Baka.²²

Right: In the Brazilian Amazon, protected tribal territories provide the best defence against deforestation, as these satellite images illustrate. In Cameroon, the government has failed to recognize the Baka's collective land ownership rights.

We torture them when they don't want to tell the truth. [...] If we beat someone, it's because he's involved [in poaching] and he doesn't want to talk.

Balla Ottou Apollinaire, Ministry of Forests and Fauna, March 2012²³

The wildlife guards themselves were very open about their interrogation tactics. [...] When I asked what would happen when another potential poacher was identified, he said: "His skin will come off."

Former WWF consultant, Jan. 21, 2014²⁴

April 2007

A report notes that the behaviour of wildlife guards in and around Boumba Bek and Nki National Parks since the end of 2005 has resulted in:

a series of human rights abuses against Baka including the complete destruction of camps, villages and other possessions such as cooking pots and identity cards and confiscation of tools including machetes, axes and spears.

There are also serious allegations of violence by guards against local Baka men and women, which after investigation by the bodies involved led to sanctions against individual guards, and an overall renewal of guard staff in southeast Cameroon during 2006.²⁵

2007

Messo

A Baka forest camp in Messo is torched at night by wildlife guards and a Baka family from Ngola 120, near Boumba Bek National Park, is beaten.

He was camping for a fishing trip with his family in the forest of Messo when his camp was burned down in the night [...]. The things he'd fished, his radio and his ID were burned. He and his family were beaten and chased into the night.

Investigation report, 2009²⁶

2007

Kagna

A Baka forest camp near Boumba Bek National Park is destroyed by wildlife guards.

For three weeks he just defecated blood. Then [...] I lifted the bedsheet and saw that he was already dead and the bed was wet with blood.

Kounabembe man,²⁷ describing a man who was beaten seven years earlier. Zoulabot Ancien, July 28, 2016

July 2008

In a meeting with WWF, Baka raise "serious allegations of human rights abuses" by wildlife guards, including "beatings for people found inside the park, for anyone found hunting near the park, and virtually anywhere they were encountered in the forest."

When WWF arrived did they find this forest destroyed? No, they came because the forest was rich [...] and we showed them all these places they now want to protect.

Baka, Mambele, June 2008²⁸

December 2008 The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) publishes a report on conservation in southeast Cameroon. It finds that local people are angry at the abuse they are victims of, and the fact that the agents in charge of conservation are in reality complicit in the traffic of endangered species.

> If they find you with one or two small antelopes, they confiscate them, you're going to suffer. They beat you up. They nearly killed a Pygmy guy here on the bridge. They beat him so badly they nearly burst his eye, for one small animal.

Informant, Landjoué, 2008²⁹



They made people look at the sun so they ruined their eyes. They told them that if they didn't look at the sun they would beat them hard.

Baka man, Ngatto Ancien, July 22, 2014

2008/2009

Ngatto Ancien

Baka are taken by wildlife guards to the WWF base in Malea Ancien, by Boumba Bek National Park. Several men are tortured; one dies after a few weeks and another dies a few months later. Medicines and food are destroyed.

I was ill when they came. I ran out of the house and kept falling and getting up and falling again. My daughter started to cry. She thought I was going to die

Baka man, roughly 75 years old, Ngatto Ancien, Aug. 3, 2014.

We were lying on our stomachs on the cement in the [WWF] base. They beat all of us all over our bodies, from our feet to our heads.

Baka man, Elandjoh, Aug. 3, 2014

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Etole

During a raid in the Etole forest, near Nki National Park, the Achilles tendon of one Baka man is severed by a wildlife guard.³⁰

2009

Ndongo

A team of wildlife guards and two WWF staff members steal the fish, spears and fishing nets from a Baka family near Nki National Park.

2009

One wildlife guard is sentenced to six months in prison for having assaulted a Baka man, who was left blind by the attack.³¹

2009

Zoulabot Ancien

One man is whipped and another loses an eye during a raid by wildlife guards and soldiers in Zoulabot Ancien, near Nki National Park.³²

They make people get undressed, so the person is naked, without any clothes at all. They make him or her get on their knees and beat them with machetes, and they take water and pour it over them. Even if the person is holding a child, they'll pour water on them.

Baka man, Ndjamena, July 24, 2014³³

2009

Ngatto Ancien

Inhabitants of Ngatto Ancien are beaten during a raid by wildlife guards and soldiers in Ngatto Ancien, near Nki National Park.³⁴

January 2010

Cameroonian and international NGOs file a submission to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination:

Game wardens hired by the State are violently beating up and terrorising indigenous peoples in protected areas.³⁵

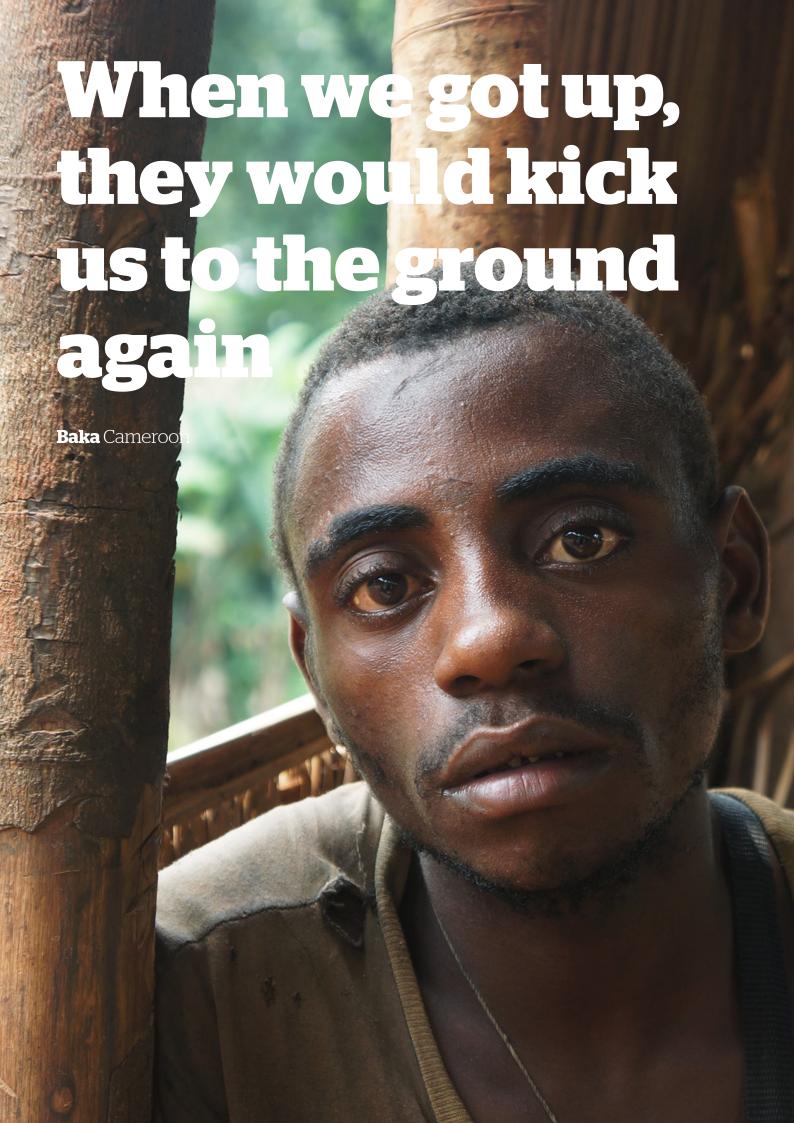
May 2010

The same organizations file a submission to the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights concerning, among other issues, evictions of indigenous people from protected areas in southeast Cameroon. It outlines how wildlife guards have physically assaulted indigenous people and burned down their houses.³⁶

June 2010

During an investigation into the impacts of industrialscale logging in southeast Cameroon, Baka in several villages tell Global Witness that they are often beaten by wildlife guards for hunting and gathering.

They also report that the guards often destroy or confiscate their pots used for these activities.³⁷



I spent more than five days in the forest. Wounded, I dragged my foot in order to get here. In the village, they thought I'd died. I will never forget the face of that WWF agent. [...] Pus was coming out everywhere. I couldn't even get up.

Baka man from Lopango, 201138

November 2010 A Friends of the Earth (FoE) employee speaks to Baka victims of wildlife guard violence. One man shows him the injuries he sustained when guards beat the soles of his feet with machetes.

> The FoE employee is shown the police report issued against a WWF staff member involved in an incident of violence, and raises his concerns with WWF during a meeting in Cameroon.³⁹

2010

Lopango

A Baka man from Lopango, near Boumba Bek National Park, is crippled and hospitalized by an anti-poaching squad after they find him with a small boar.

I can't work in a field, I can't fish, I can't hunt. WWF has left me useless for my village and my family.

They forbid the Baka from hunting but they let white people kill animals for fun. The [hunting] safaris let meat rot in the forest and yet whole families are hungry.

Richards Ndongo, Baka man, 2011⁴⁰

2010

Ghine

A forest camp near Boumba Bek National Park is destroyed. A Baka representative complains at a local park management meeting, but nothing is done.

2010

Gbine

A Baka man from Gbine, near Boumba Bek National Park, is tortured by wildlife guards and hospitalized; he is unable to walk properly for weeks afterwards.

Now there are no more old people, only young people because of our new diet and new illnesses. We die of simple illnesses because we can't treat the sick like before.

Baka woman, Ndjamena, July 28, 2013

February 2011

Ndongo

Wildlife guards and soldiers make several raids in Ndongo and neighbouring villages near Nki National Park. At least five Baka men are said to have died from their beatings. Many flee to Congo.

July 2, 2011

The Forest Peoples Programme and the Cameroonian organization Centre pour l'Environnement et le Développement note that: "WWF's principles are changing on paper but mostly ignored in reality" and that indigenous people like the Baka "continue to be harassed daily by armed [wildlife guards] stopping them from entering their forest for subsistence."41

Mbouda

September 2011 Baka in Mbouda, near Nki National Park, are beaten by wildlife guards and soldiers as they are returning from a funeral.

> They beat us, all of us, the women were crying. They beat the soles of our feet as well. [...] We had to walk back, very slowly because our feet were bleeding. Baka man, Mbouda, July 22, 2014



We are dying of starvation, us and our children. [Now] when we enter the forest the WWF chase us and when the WWF catch you they beat you.

Baka man, Yenga, 2011⁴²

They beat us so much when they come across us in the forest. But [...] that is where everything important in our lives is. [So] even when the wildlife guards smash our faces in, we just go in, we still go in.

Baka man, Gribe, Aug. 15, 201143

2011 Libongo

Baka in Libongo, near Lobéké National Park, talk with a researcher about being driven from the forest and abused by wildlife guards.

They explain that the logging company (and former WWF partner) SEFAC has created logging trails, which trophy-hunting outfits then use. They say that the trophy-hunting outfit burns their homes in the forest.

When they found us [the wildlife guards] said we must leave and never come back. [...] I did not ask why, because they beat me and brought me here to the road.

Baka man, Libongo, 2011⁴⁴

2011

Yenga

Baka from Yenga, between Boumba Bek and Lobéké National Parks, claim that wildlife guards are violently preventing them from using the forest.

WWF claims to receive evidence questioning the veracity of their complaints but never releases it.

2011

Gbine

An anti-poaching squad beats a Baka man with burning-hot machetes in the forest near Boumba Bek National Park.

2011

Otontan

A Baka forest camp on the Otontan river, near the Dja Reserve, is torched to the ground and Baka men and women are beaten by an anti-poaching squad. A professional hunter associated with the Madrid-based trophy-hunting outfit Mayo Oldiri is present.

They made my daughter crouch down and beat her everywhere, on her back, her bottom, everywhere, with a machete. They are finishing us off. They beat Mimbou, he's dead. They beat Yombo, he's dead.

Baka man, Mbaka, Aug. 3, 2016

2011 Mbaka

Wildlife guards come across a Baka man fishing near Nki National Park and steal his fish and fishing equipment.

When I went to do some fishing, they found me and took all my fish. They will just eat that. [...] I caught that fish for a celebration. They just took it to eat it. Baka man, Mbaka, Aug. 3, 2016

2011

Researcher Nathan Clay at the University of Michigan confirms that when they set out to create Lobéké National Park

conservationists asked the Baka to guide them to the rich areas of wildlife, only to then exclude them from the zones.

He has found that wildlife guards

are said to harass people even [outside the park] or even if they are just hunting for subsistence, and moreover that they just take the confiscated meat and eat it themselves.⁴⁵



At midday you'll see the children crying. You'll think that they're ill but it's hunger that's attacking them. It wasn't like this before.

Baka man, Mbouda, Aug. 4, 2016

March 2012

Ngatto Ancien

During a raid on Ngatto Ancien, near Nki National Park, one Baka man is waterboarded and others beaten by wildlife guards.

A former WWF consultant is present in the village at the time of the attack. She goes to speak to the local head of wildlife conservation in the Cameroonian government, who attempts to justify the use of torture to her.

They stamped on my chest with their combat boots. They took the butts of their gun to beat me, on both shoulders. They took water that I'd put in bowls and poured it all over my body. [..] I said: "How can I die without knowing the reason why?"

Baka man, Ngatto Ancien, March 26, 2012

March 2012

Dr. Jerome Lewis, an anthropologist at University College London, writes that the Baka living closer to national parks are

upset about conservationists such as WWF (named dobédobé by the Baka) and the violent behaviour of 'eco-guards' burning down camps, harassing and beating both men and women for what the Baka consider absolutely normal, traditional and legitimate activities. 46

He confirms that Boumba Bek and Nki National Park were created without consulting indigenous communites.

Even if a woman is pregnant, they beat her. Even if she has a child with her, they beat her. God created lots of things in the forest that our parents left to us. Now they are forbidden to us.

Baka, Ngatto Ancien, July 27, 2016

March 2012

WWF's former Regional Coordinator admits that the ways in which the Baka lived in and used the forest "were largely invisible and ignored" when Boumba Bek and Nki National Parks were zoned. The participation of the Baka in the zoning process was "very small" and "unsatisfactory" as a result.47

Lepe

June-Sept. 2012 Several Baka from Ngatto Ancien are beaten in a willd mango gathering camp near Nki National Park, and a teenager is told by wildlife guards that they will slit his throat. Possessions are stolen.

> They started beating. They told me they were going to take me and slit my throat when they finished beating me. Commando pointed his gun and said: "If anyone moves, we will kill them." They came at five in the morning, with torches, walking in the rain.

Baka man, roughly 18 years old, Ngatto Ancien, July 31, 2014

Ngatto Ancien

December 2012 Several Baka men are beaten by wildlife guards during a raid in Ngatto Ancien, near Nki National Park.

> They threw us to the ground. [...] When we got up they would kick us to the ground again. They did this five times.

Baka man, Ngatto Ancien, July 31, 2014



I think your work is very important for helping us Baka.

Baka wildlife guard to Survival, Cameroon, July 2016

Gbine

December 2012 In a video recorded in Gbine, near Boumba Bek National Park, one Baka man says:

> if the [soldiers] find you with steel cables [for trapping game], they put a machete in the fire and beat you hard.48

2012

Lomié

Several Baka are arrested by wildlife guards on a hunting trip near Lomié, and have all their pots and pans confiscated.

2012

Ndongo

Several Baka from Ndongo and Nguilili are beaten by wildlife guards near Nki National Park. They are made to crawl on their knees for a long distance, and then chased on motorbikes. A pregnant woman is hit in the stomach with a machete.

They wanted to get information by torturing us. They tackled me and I fell to the floor. They made us all crawl on our knees for a great distance. Then they made us run as they followed us on their motorbikes and accelerated, for more than a kilometer. Baka man, Ndongo, July 28, 2013

2012

Mbouda

Baka in Mbouda, near Nki National Park, are assaulted by wildlife guards who are looking for illegal loggers.

They started beating us – it was chaos. [...] After that Ndengba was sick, he grew so thin. He was so ill that he died.

Baka man, Mbouda, July 22, 2014

They are finishing off the Baka's power. When they arrive in a camp, even if a Baka is there they set fire to it. They stop him from taking out the things he'd left. Now all his power is gone.

Baka man, Elandjoh, July 30, 2016

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Salapoumbe

Several people are arrested for alleged elephant hunting near Salapoumbe, between Boumba Bek and Lobéké National Parks. They are beaten and forced to eat raw elephant meat.

Early 2013

Ndongo

Wildlife guards and WWF employees burn down at least three fishing camps near Nki National Park and confiscate fish.

Bele

A Baka forest camp near Nki National Park is destroyed by wildlife guards.

March 2013

March 2013

Nkolfong

Filmmaker Monique Munting interviews Baka men and women about wildlife guard violence near what will become the Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve. She meets a blind man who has been tortured by wildlife guards.⁴⁹

We catch a bit of meat, sometimes we just find some mushrooms. But the wildlife guards take everything. Sometimes they take our machetes. They take the food right from out of our stewpots. Sometimes they set our homes on fire.

Baka, Nkolfong, March 17, 2013



We don't want to die when we go into the forest, or fall ill, because we are afraid of them beating us - beating our children, beating old men and burning down our houses.

Baka woman, Ndjamena, October 2015⁵⁰

April 2013

Messok

Wildlife guards and a WWF employee threaten an elderly Baka man with torture in a village in the district of Messok, near Nki National Park. They drive him away from his village and leave him to walk back on foot.

They threatened to handcuff him and to send him to jail "where he will be hanged by the feet until he talks." Witness' account, Feb. 3, 2016

May 2013

The United Nations reviews a submission filed by the Cameroonian organization Centre pour l'Environnement et le Développement. The submission notes that "the burden of suspicion for poaching falls all too often" on indigenous people like the Baka, and that wildlife guards

employ torture, arbitrary punishment, brutality, and intimidation, creating an atmosphere of fear and horror in [indigenous] villages.⁵¹

June 2013

Zoulabot Ancien

Baka teenagers are interrogated and beaten by wildlife guards at Zoulabot Ancien, near Nki National Park.

August 2013

Tembe Rivière

Wildlife guards burn a foraging camp and throw belongings into a river near Tembe Rivière, near Nki National Park. They jumped on her - a pregnant woman. She started to cry: "You've come to kill us in the forest. At least kill me with my husband." They hit her with the end of a gun, she fell and they kicked her with their boots on her back.

Baka man, Mbaka, July 25, 2014

October 2013

Cameroonian and international NGOs file a supplementary report with the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights:

In some cases, indigenous peoples have been forcibly expelled from these areas; and some continue to be denied access, in some cases through violent acts by State agents.52

Nov. 14, 2013

Ngoyla

A wildlife guard shoots at four Baka, seriously injuring one of them, near what will become the Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve.53

Ngatto Ancien

December 2013 Wildlife guards and soldiers raid several villages along the road by Boumba Bek and Nki National Parks. Tools are stolen and clothes and schoolbooks are burned.

> They came into my house and they slapped my children. They broke my suitcase and took three loincloths. They took my daughter's exercise books and burned them together with my loincloths. Baka man, Ngatto Ancien, Aug. 2, 2014

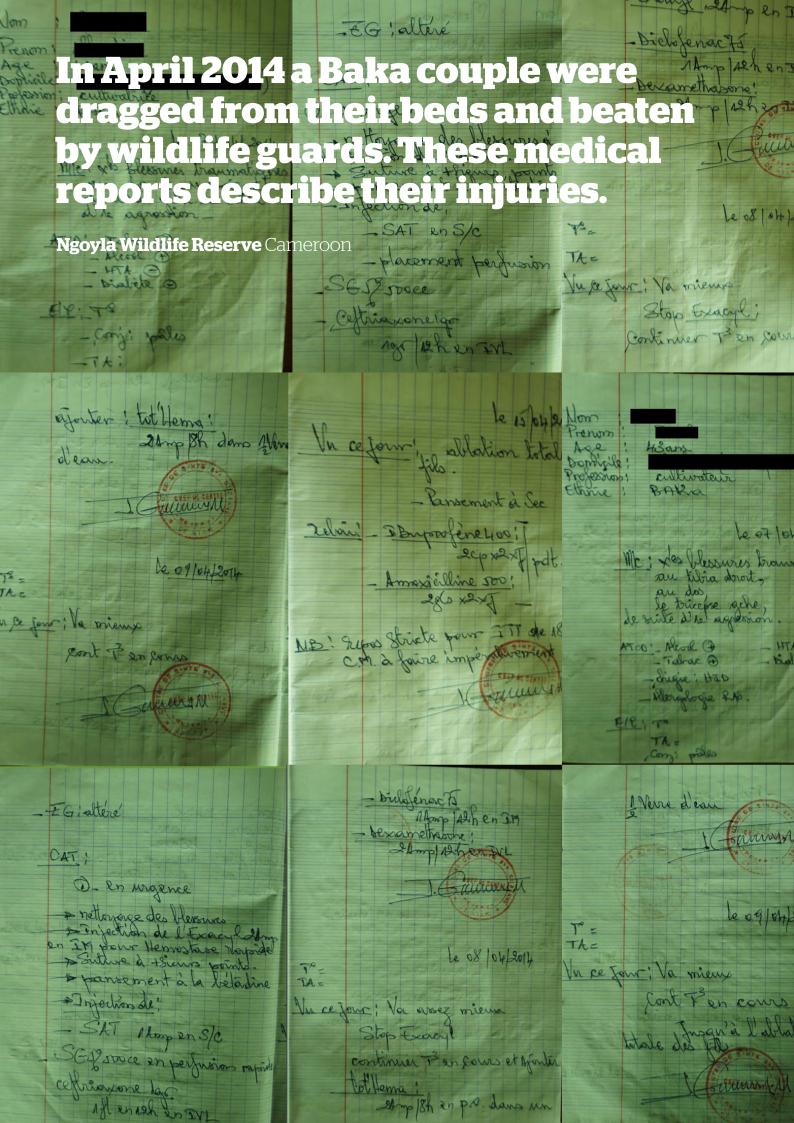
Before 2014

Ntam

Three Baka men are beaten by wildlife guards, near what will become the Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve.

Without waiting they just started beating us. We could've died. They wanted to put us in a cell. They told us to beat each other up.

Baka man, Ntam, July 21, 2016



I just had one piece of clothing tied around me. They took me to the middle of the road and tied my hands with rubber cord. My children ran to me but the wildlife guards drove them away. [...] They forced my hands behind my back and cut me here with their machete.

Baka woman, Assoumindele, June 2015⁵⁴

April 2014

Assoumindele

Wildlife guards take a Baka man and wife from their beds during the night, beat them, and strip the woman of her clothes. This takes place near what will become the Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve. Medical records appear to support the Baka's accounts.

April 2014

Makamekouma

Wildlife guards beat two Baka teenage boys near what will become the Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve and steal their phones.

The head of the squad is Mpaé Désiré, who will be dismissed from his post in 2016 for complicity in ivory trafficking.

April 2014

Lele

Wildlife guards beat a Baka man with a machete, severing his Achilles tendon, near what will become the Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve.

April 2014

Seh

A Baka man is beaten by wildlife guards near what will become the Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve.

I had wounds on my feet and my legs. Blood was flowing everywhere. They took two small sachets of whiskey. They said: "Take that, put it on your wounds." "Never."

Baka man, Seh, July 21, 2016

They didn't even ask any questions. They started beating him wildly - hitting him with machetes and kicking him in the stomach. He even defecated, vomited - he was defecating blood.

Njem man, Ngoyla, July 22, 2016⁵⁵

Aug. 27, 2014

The Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve is created on the Baka's land, without their free, prior and informed consent, with the support of the World Bank, WWF and the Global Environment Facility.

Under Cameroonian law hunting and gathering by the Baka is outlawed unless and until it is approved in a management plan, a process that can take several years.

In 2017 a management plan has yet to be adopted for Nki National Park, some 12 years after the park was created.

October 2014

Ndongo

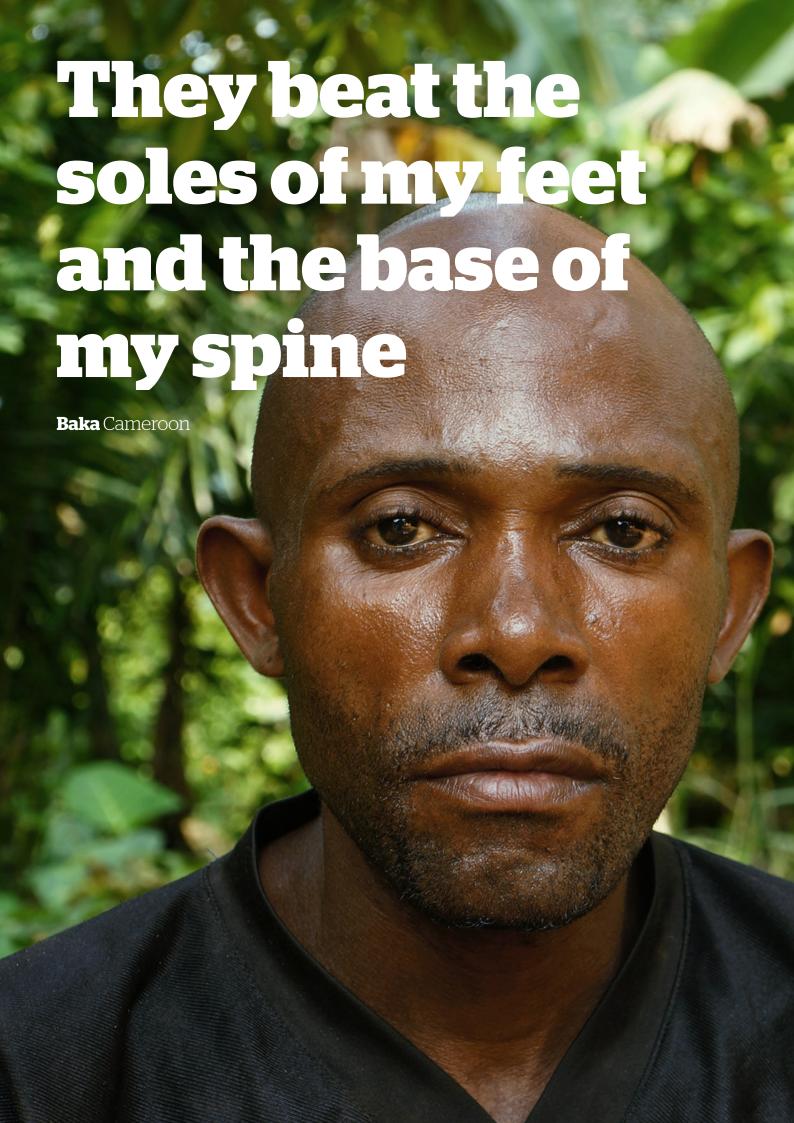
Baka and Bakwele write to WWF, asking it to suspend funding to the anti-poaching squads that are abusing them.56

Gribe

November 2014 A Baka man in Gribe, near Boumba Bek National Park, is beaten by an anti-poaching squad.

Mindourou

December 2014 A Baka man is assaulted by a wildlife guard and told to take off his clothes, near Nki National Park.



We ask WWF and all those who give money to the Nki Park to come here, speak to us and get our consent before carrying on with their work. We want to live like we did before. If we don't, we and our children are unable to live.

Baka, Ngatto Ancien, July 27, 2016

2014

Dr. Edith Neubauer, an anthropologist who has worked with Baka, explains how the Baka have not given their free, prior and informed consent to Boumba Bek or Lobéké National Parks and that WWF has not complied with its stated policy on indigenous peoples.

When they send the wildlife guards into the forest, the first thing [they do] is find a Baka man in the forest. They have to beat him, that is whip him, kick his teeth in, then they need to take away everything he has there.

Baka man, Koal, Aug. 13, 2011⁵⁷

2014

A team of biologists and a lawyer publish a report on improving the legal framework on wildlife resources in Cameroon. They report abuses by wildlife guards are still common.

They hear that even legally hunted animals are being taken away from hunters and that role of corruption in the illegal wildlife trade is going unaddressed.⁵⁸

2014 Elandjoh

Members of a Baka family in Elandjoh, near Nki National Park, are beaten by wildlife guards.

Many cases of abuse and human rights violations are reported by the communities and their perpetrators are identified and known but not disciplined by their superiors, despite the communities' condemnation, with proof, and the victims' witness statements.

Internal WWF report, April 2015⁵⁹

Early 2015

Libongo

A Baka man is forced by wildlife guards, soldiers and police to carry his father on his back as they beat him, until he falls to the ground. They confiscate his ID card and force him to pay 5000 CFA to retrieve it. A Baka's daily wage in this region is 500 CFA. This takes place near Lobéké National Park.

They told me to carry my father on my back. I walked, they beat me, they beat my father. For three hours. Every time I cried they would beat me, until I fainted and fell to the ground with my father. [...] Then one wildlife guard stood on my shins in his combat boots. They beat me hard, so hard.

Baka man, Libongo, Aug. 6, 2016

April 2015

An internal WWF report confirms that key parts of WWF's human rights policy are not being followed, and that the Baka have not given their consent to, or even been consulted about, Lobéké, Boumba Bek and Nki National Parks.

The report finds that the protected areas "threaten [the Baka's] land rights and means of subsistence."

It also notes that some wildlife guards "behave like masters and lords," mounting "crackdowns" that "are the most terrifying of all missions [...] most of the local villages are affected."

It concludes that there is "no reliable way [for communities] to report allegations." ⁶⁰

May 18, 2015

Elandjoh

Wildlife guards detain an elderly Baka man in Elandjoh, near Nki National Park. As his pregnant daughter runs for help she trips over a log; she suffers a miscarriage later that night.



The wildlife guards don't consider us to be human beings.

Baka man, Seh, July 21, 2016

Mikilili

June-Sept. 2015 A Baka wild mango gathering camp near Lobéké National Park is burned to the ground by wildlife guards.

Mindourou

Sept.-Nov. 2015 Within a few weeks wildlife guards and soldiers come twice to Mindourou, near Nki National Park. They assault a total of four Baka men, including an elderly man.

> They kicked our old father with their boots. He's still unwell now.

Baka woman, Mindourou, Aug. 3, 2016

Karagoa

December 2015 Wildlife guards and police beat two Baka men and steal their telephones, machetes and a torch, and destroy their stewpots, near the Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve. They force the two men to jump into the Karagoa River 10 times.

> They asked each of us to dive into the river 10 times. It was so cold, being the early morning – 10 times. [...] After that they handcuffed me and told me to lie down so they could slit my throat.

Baka man, Ntam, July 21, 2016

They beat him with a machete on his feet and took off his clothes. His feet were swollen like this. For two weeks. He couldn't even walk to go to the toilet. He went to the toilet in his house.

Baka man, Zoulabot Ancien, July 28, 2016

Ntenyi

December 2015 Wildlife guards kick and beat Baka men, women and children with belts and machetes, and burn their property, near the Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve.

> They burned clothes and things in the house. They cut up a mattress and even burned it. They beat me with machetes and belts and they kicked and punched me.

Baka woman, Ntam, July 21, 2016

Diadom

December 2015 Wildlife guards beat two children and one man near the Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve. The man spends over two weeks in a coma in the regional hospital.

> On a separate day, another man is beaten by wildlife guards and the Park Warden of the Reserve. On their way back to Ngoyla, the WWF driver purposefully knocks two men carrying meat off their motorcycle and the guards beat them, confiscating the meat and the motorcycle.

Mabo

December 2015 A Baka forest camp is burned and stewpots and food stolen or destroyed, near Lobéké National Park.

Zoulabot Ancien

December 2015 Two Kounabembe men and four Baka men are beaten by wildlife guards near Nki National Park.

> They tortured me and sprayed gas in my eyes. Now I can't read for very long. Tears start to come to my eyes.

Kounabembe man, Zoulabot Ancien, July 28, 2016



These cases of torture have been reported to us and I think we must say that it's true.

Rolf Sprung, Conservation Director, WWF Cameroon, 2016 $^{\rm 6l}$

2015/2016 Elandjoh	Wildlife guards enter the house of a Baka woman who has just given birth asking to see her husband, who they then assault.
2015/2016 Ndongo	Wildlife guards beat a Baka man and take him to the WWF base in Ndongo, near Nki National Park, where they make him dance and sing.
January 2016 Ndongo	A team of Cameroonian and Congolese wildlife guards beat a Baka girl, roughly 10 years old, and an older woman in Ndongo, near Nki National Park.
Early 2016 Elandjoh	A Baka forest camp is burned in the forest by Elandjoh, near Nki National Park.
Early 2016 Makamekouma	A wildlife guard and a soldier force four Baka teenagers to crawl on all fours down the road, near the Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve.
Feb. 19, 2016	Survival files a formal complaint with the Swiss government against WWF for contributing to violations of the Baka's rights in Cameroon. ⁶²

We ask WWF to stop funding the anti-poaching teams that threaten and torture us.

Baka from Assoumindele and Makamekouma, July 20, 2016

February 2016

Libongo

A Baka man found with a small antelope near Lobéké National Park is beaten by the local police commander, forced to pay 50,000 CFA (roughly 100 days of wages) and told never to go into the forest again.

In May the police commander will be caught trafficking ivory and removed from his post.

They took me to the police station. I spent two days there. [The police commander] whipped me 45 times, on the soles of my feet and my buttocks.

Baka man, Libongo, Aug. 6, 2016

March 2016

The Forest Peoples Programme and the Baka organization Okani note that Baka communities in the region of the Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve

are seeing their access to the forest and their traditional resources restricted by [wildlife guard] patrols (confiscation of traps and game, beatings, being stopped for questioning), degradation of the forest itself by commercial loggers and poachers, and by mining activities.⁶³

June 2016

Carrefour SEBC

Baka men are assaulted by wildlife guards near Boumba Bek National Park.

June 2016

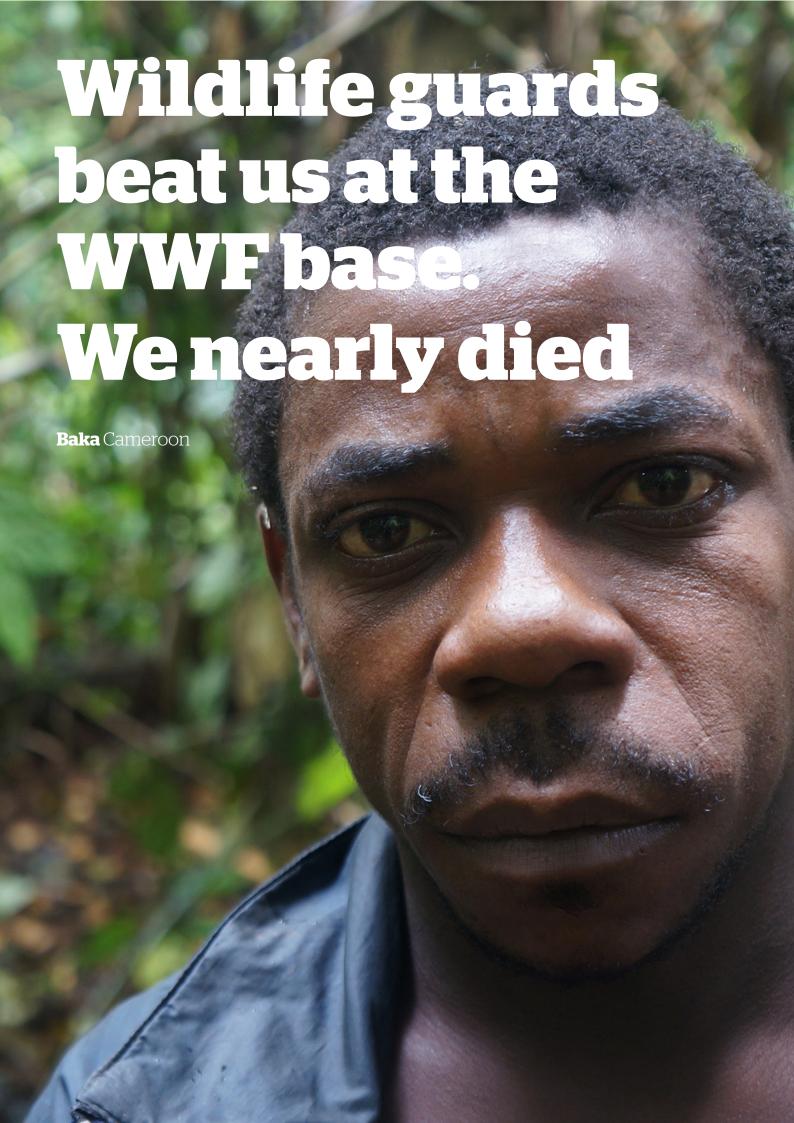
Mabo

Wildlife guards burn a Baka forest camp near Mabo, destroying stewpots and taking machetes and spears.

June/July 2016

Lengounjene

A Baka wild mango gathering camp is torched at Lengounjene, near Lobéké National Park.



Damage control may be necessary.

Email sent to Survival in error by Gunilla Kuperus, WWF, on receiving information about WWF-funded human rights abuse of the Baka, Jan. 25, 2017

June/July 2016

Koumela

A wild mango gathering camp near Lobéké National Park is burned to the ground by wildlife guards and staff from the trophy-hunting operation Mayo Oldiri. Eight Baka men and women are beaten with machetes.

They broke one person's hand – his blood was flowing everywhere.

Baka man, Koumela, Aug. 5, 2016

July 2016

Ntenyi

A wildlife guard threatens a Baka woman in Ntenyi, Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve, with a machete as she is giving her baby a traditional herbal bath.

July 2016

Libongo

A Baka forest camp is burned to the ground near Lobéké National Park, together with mats and food.

Aug. 6, 2016

Libongo

Baka women looking for wild greens are told not to go into the forest.

Late 2016

Ngolla 125

Wildlife guards beat Baka men, confiscate the meat they have caught and detain them in the nearby village of Salapoumbe.

Early 2017

Libongo

Wildlife guards and soldiers bind the hands and feet of two Baka men and beat them, near Lobéké National Park.

February 2017

A Baka man is beaten by wildlife guards, near Nki Moloundou district National Park.

In each protected area, if you have 20 or 30 wildlife guards, there will be at least one who is corrupt, but actually sometimes, it tends to be the other way round: one of 20 who is not corrupt.

Luc Mathot, wildlife law enforcement expert 64

March 8, 2017

The Forest Peoples Programme notes that in some forest areas of Cameroon, indigenous women

face human rights violations from conservation [wildlife guards] who regularly target forest communities with impunity, intimidating and beating people, and taking their hunting traps so they can no longer feed themselves and their families.⁶⁵

April 2017

The Baka organization Okani visits six communities in the region of Boumba Bek, Nki and Lobéké National Parks.

In all six communities, Baka report that wildlife guards prevent them from accessing their lands and carry out other human rights abuses against them, including beatings and torture.

May 2, 2017

Survival awards WWF its "Greenwashing of the Year" award for partnering with seven companies logging nearly 4 million hectares of forests belonging to the Baka and Bayaka.⁶⁶

None of these companies has received the Baka's and Bayaka's consent and all have been accused of illegal logging, as Survival explains in a report, "WWF and the loggers." 67

August 2017

Koumela

A Baka man reports being stopped from gathering wild mangos by wildlife guards and told that he needed a permit.

August 2017

Milieu

A Baka man is taken to the WWF base in Mambele, detained and tortured by wildlife guards.

The wildlife guards beat us and terrorize us and our ancestral lands lie within the park.

Baka and Kounabembe, Zoulabot Ancien, July 29, 2016

August 2017

Ndjamena

At least three Baka men are beaten by a mixed team of wildlife guards and soldiers.

Aug.-Sept. 2017 The Baka organization Okani visits six communities in the region of Boumba Bek, Nki and Lobéké National Parks.

> In these communities, Baka report abuse by wildlife guards. This includes guards burning down homes, destroying possessions, beating people and using torture in an attempt to obtain information about poaching.

Sep. 13, 2017

Assoumindele

The Forest Peoples Programme publishes testimony by a Baka woman from Assoumindele, near the Ngoyla Wildlife Reserve. She describes being beaten, along with her husband and another Baka man, by wildlife guards.

They made us sit on the floor, with our legs out and our feet flexed. They hit our bare feet with the flat edge of a machete. Then they hit us on our bottoms. They made us lie on our stomachs and stamped on our back. They hit us. My husband nearly lost his eye. It still hurts him today.

Baka woman, Assoumindele⁶⁸

In 2016, Survival filed a formal complaint against WWF for contributing to human rights violations in Cameroon. It was accepted by the Swiss government - the first time a non-profit organization had been scrutinized in this way.

The Washington &

Le Monde Afrique

o complaint ag

Le WWF accusé de « violation des droits de l'homme » au Cameroun

Fait sans précédent, l'OCDE a jugé recevable une plainte déposée contre l'ON de protection de la nature, mise en cause pour des violences à l'encontre des Baka.



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Central African Republic:

WWF exposes Bayaka to abuse

Shortly before civil war broke out in the Central African Republic in 2013, a medical study found that health among Bayaka "Pygmies" had plummeted in Dzanga-Sangha, a protected area complex created in the southwest of the country with the support of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) over 20 years earlier. "In the push to attract big budgets to conserve forests and wildlife," the authors of the study later observed, conservationists and government officials had neglected to consider the people who depended on these forests for their survival.⁶⁹ They had also ridden roughshod over their rights.

Although many would be shocked by these findings, the conservationists and officials behind the "punitive anti-poaching policies" perhaps were not. Six years earlier, WWF and its partners commissioned a report that found that the Bayaka in the reserve were already struggling to feed themselves. The Bayaka interviewed for the report stated that the conservation project had forced them out of some of their richest hunting and gathering grounds and had not left them with enough space for their vegetable gardens. They reported that wildlife guards harassed or attacked them even when they tried to use the reduced areas of land they had left, all the while accepting bribes from the real poachers who were emptying the forest of its wildlife. Some Bayaka women were finding it so hard to find food, the investigator heard, that they had been driven to sex work in the nearby town.⁷⁰

Calls for change were ignored, and today the Bayaka are still being forced out of the forest by WWF-funded wildlife guards. WWF has failed to take effective action to stop this. Victims of abuse include: a woman who had just given birth to her late husband's child; young boys; and even a newborn baby. As the Bayaka continued to be scapegoated in this way, WWF kept silent while the government handed out logging permits for the heart of the reserve. In 2016, WWF received over \$165,000 to "collaborate" with the logging company SINFOCAM, which has been accused of obtaining these permits illegally. The company is now paying for wildlife guards and a surveillance drone to fight against poaching. Within half an hour of Survival's meeting one of these wildlife guards in August 2016, he was already making assurances: "I can help you transport anything: leopard skin, ivory. I put on my uniform and accompany you to the airstrip. I'll be the one carrying the package."



After one week when we found his body it was already rotten, his hair was coming off his head. We buried him there in the forest. It was clear from his body that he'd been shot. We could see the prints of combat boots and the batons that wildlife guards beat poachers with, so we knew it was the wildlife guards that did it. The guards didn't come back for a month.

Bayaka widow, Kanza, Aug. 13, 2016

1989

Amopolo

A Bayaka man is assaulted by a wildlife guard in Amopolo.

A variety of knives and daggers hung from their belts. They looked alarmingly like soldiers, and they had recently been drinking. [...] The taller guard, who was holding the shotgun, was rapidly going berserk. Now he ran up behind Bwanga, raised the gun, and slammed the butt into Bwanga's back. Bwanga stumbled forward.

Witness' account, 199371

1989

Ndieke

Wildlife guards steal Bayaka's spears, axes, machetes, stewpots and plates, and tell them to leave the forest.

Dec. 29, 1990

The Dzanga-Sangha Special Reserve and Dzanga-Ndoki National Park are created on the Bayaka's land without their consent, with the support of WWF and the U.S. government. The Bayaka are not allowed to enter the Dzanga-Ndoki National Park.

Early 1990s

Babongo

A Bayaka man is found murdered in the forest. Judging by the scene and the presence of combat boot prints, which at this time reportedly only wildlife guards wear, his family conclude that he has been killed by either Congolese or Cameroonian wildlife guards.

1990s

Babongo

A recently widowed Bayaka woman is assaulted by wildlife guards three days after giving birth.

They started kicking me all over my body with their combat boots - I had my baby with me. The child had just been born three days before.

Bayaka woman, Babongo, Aug. 13, 2016

1995

Mossapoula

The anthropologist Andrew Noss explains how the Dzanga-Ndoki National Park in CAR and the Nouabale-Ndoki National Park in Congo now entirely occupy the original range for forest hunting camps for the Bayaka community of Mossapoula.

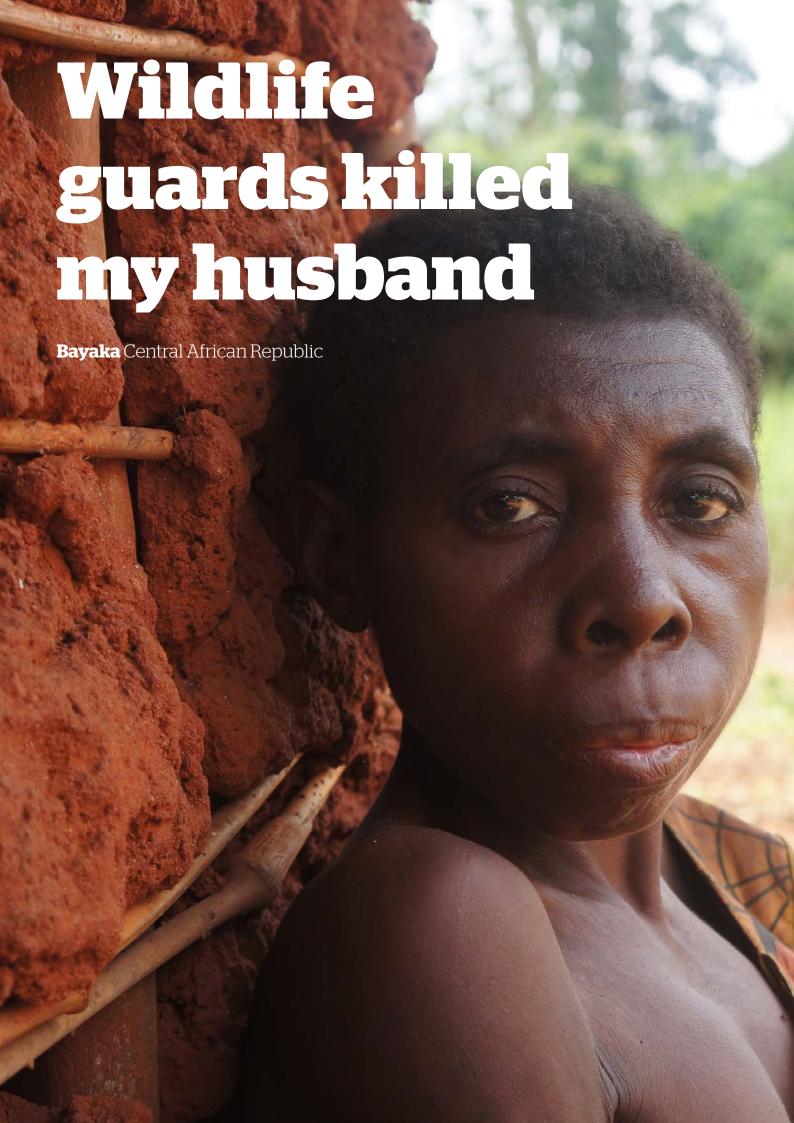
He recounts that the Bayaka "still describe in anger one instance where the guards destroyed or confiscated their pots and nets from a hunting camp in the park" and that "they said they were 'afraid of being beaten.'"72

1995

Bayaka living by what will become Mbaéré-Bodingué National Park describe how wildlife guards take their wild greens, porcupines and other foods without explanation, as well as their hunting equipment.73

September 1997 At a conference at Yale University, WWF observes that the fact that the Bayaka are banned from hunting or gathering inside the Dzanga-Ndoki Park "punishes [them] severely" and is undermining their food security.

> It also notes that the Bayaka are forced to look for food in the park - from which they were illegally evicted – because of overhunting in the rest of the Dzanga-Sangha protected area complex.74



They beat us all over our bodies, our backs, our chests with pieces of wood. We were sore all over. "Why are you wildlife guards beating us like that? We were in school. I am a schoolboy, I don't know where the poachers are." We had to go back to the village on all fours.

Bayaka man, Babongo, Aug. 13, 2016

May 1998

Yandoumbe

In a consultancy report for the Dzanga-Sangha conservation project, researcher Louis Sarno writes that the Bayaka community of Yandoumbe

have never been able to reconcile themselves to the loss of the well-trodden areas between the Kenye [river] and the Kongana secondary road. Often guards chase them from this area and such incidents upset them deeply, as well as outrage them.⁷⁵

1998

Gouanzala

A forest camp established by Bayaka from Mossapoula is burned to the ground.

When I was small and living with my mother, the wildlife guards arrived. Everyone fled. If we'd stayed they would have killed us. They burned our houses, our pots, our clothes, our jerrycans.

Bayaka man, Yandoumbe, Aug. 17, 2016

July 16, 1999

Survival writes to WWF CAR, and raises the question of upholding the Bayaka's rights to use and access their forest in Dzanga-Sangha.

early 2000s

Babongo

Four young Bayaka boys are beaten by wildlife guards.

Certain project officials acknowledged that they had been made aware of these practices, but they all affirmed that this was a thing of the past as current reforms were said to have cleaned up the situation.

Consultancy report for the conservation project run by WWF and the CAR government, 2006 76

early 2000s

Bambalanga

A Bayaka forest camp in Bambalanga is torched by wildlife guards.

The wildlife guards arrived in the afternoon, as the women were coming back with fish. The wildlife guards burned down the camp. We were forced to sleep outside in the forest and come back the next day. They burned all our clothes, our hunting nets, our hunting charms.

Bayaka man, Yondo, Aug. 10, 2016

early 2000s

Ekoumbi

Wildlife guards break the wrist of a Bayaka man from Bomandjokou.

late 2000s

Bomandjokou

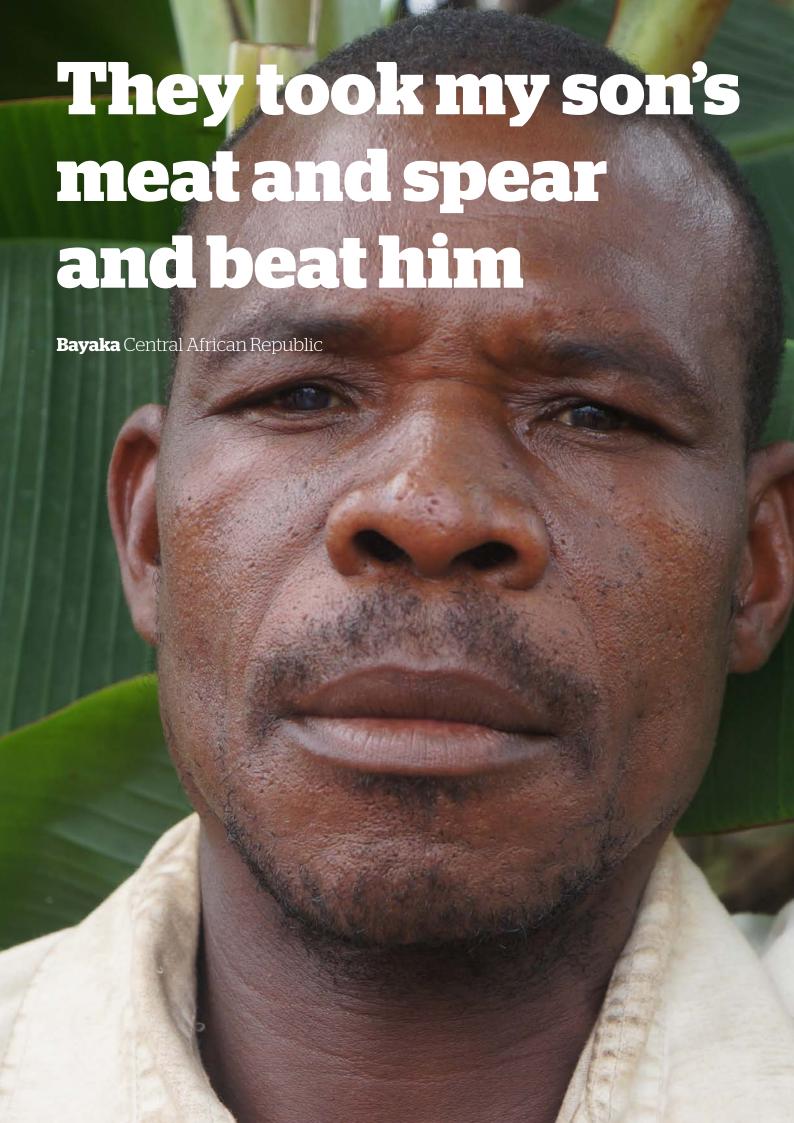
A group of Bayaka looking for wild honey are stopped by wildlife guards outside the park and two Bayaka men handcuffed.

April 2006

WWF, and the Central African and German governments, receive a consultancy report that recounts how Bayaka women have been attacked by wildlife guards while dam fishing, and makes clear that the Bayaka have been victims of other forms of abuse.

Legally hunted meat has been confiscated and Bayaka have been chased out of the zones which they are authorized to use. They are also concerned with the extent of corruption among wildlife guards:

[Bayaka] reproach the wildlife guards for setting steel traps themselves, receiving bribes to let past certain poachers, for confiscating cables in order to compensate themselves.⁷⁷



They put their guns to my head.
[...] They put me back in the car
and beat me all the way to the
[WWF] project headquarters.
There they hit me more. Then
a [white person who works at
WWF] took me to the police
station and left me there. They
said they would kill me.

Bayaka man, Yandoumbe, October 2009⁷⁸

April 2007

A report co-written by Bayaka lists protected area restrictions as one of the main problems facing indigenous people in the Central African Republic.

It describes how indigenous people cannot access certain sacred sites or practice certain activities. In addition to this, the parts of forest they are left with are overhunted and degraded by others – "it's we who pay the price."⁷⁹

May 9 2007

Mbaéré-Bodingué National Park is created on Bayaka land without their consent, with the support of the European Union.

June 2009

The Forest Peoples Programme argues that the limits of Dzanga-Ndoki National Park must be changed so that the communities of Mossapoula, Babongo and Yondo have enough land to live on.

Bayaka from all three communities "complained of violence at the hands of wildlife guards, who sometimes beat them and confiscated their belongings. This leads to fear of entering far into the forest."

October 2009

Yandoumbe

A Bayaka man, with visible bruising, tells the researcher Dr. Olivia Woodburne, at the University of Kent, how he has been attacked by wildlife guards.

October 2009

Moloukou

Wildlife guards assault an elderly Bayaka woman near Mbaéré-Bodingué National Park. She dies three days later.⁸¹ We were in a forest camp when the guards came. We all ran but they caught my mother. They beat her on her back. Three days later she died. I was scared, so I didn't report it.

Bayaka man, Yondo, November 200982

Yondo

November 2009 A Bayaka man from Yondo tells Dr. Woodburne how his mother was beaten by wildlife guards and died shortly after.

Yandoumbe

December 2009 A demonstration is held about a Bayaka boy being beaten by wildlife guards. The boy's belongings are never returned.

2009

The researcher Dr. Chloe Hodgkinson at University College London writes that the majority of Bayaka in Mossapoula and Yandoumbe want their forests to be returned to them.

She has heard "frequent complaints of mistreatment by park guards, even when hunting legally." She has also found evidence of corruption among wildlife guards.83

Feb. 2010

After speaking with Bayaka and their neighbors around the Mbaéré-Bodingué National Park, CAR's High Commission on Human Rights and Good Governance reports that they are living in "fear and despair" as a result of the wildlife guards that they say attack and steal from them.84

It mentions two reported cases where victims died after being attacked by guards, and how local people are being forced from their lands.



The boy, carrying a porcupine and a few other things, passed two wildlife guards and a prominent law enforcement officer, who had been drinking heavily [...] On seeing them, the [Bayaka] boy became scared and tried to run away. He was chased, caught and, even though it would have been clear that he had not engaged in any illegal activity, he was beaten and had all his belongings confiscated.

Dr. Olivia Woodburne, University of Kent, 2012⁸⁵

Jan. 13, 2011 Yondo

Wildlife guards steal two porcupines, a machete and wild yams from a Bayaka couple near the Liboyi road.

They grabbed everything: the wild yams, the porcupines, my stepfather's machete. I explained to the wildlife guards that it was our forest – it was the area that the [project] reserved to us for hunting. "But now you've taken everything. [...] You say that it's not our forest but who does it belong to?"

Bayaka man, Koundapapaye, Aug. 8, 2016

May 2011

A report drawn up by several Central African organizations notes abuses carried out by wildlife officials in Mbaéré-Bodingué National Park against Bayaka and their neighbors.

These include beatings, theft, attempted rape and the mistreatment of elderly people.⁸⁶

July 2011

Having visited every Bayaka community inside the Dzanga-Sangha Reserve, a pair of researchers note that the Bayaka "consistently report that they are threatened and sometimes beaten" by wildlife guards, "even when they have not trespassed the law." Bayaka have also told them the guards steal what they have legally hunted or gathered in the forest.

The researchers explain that one of the Bayaka's priorities is to stop this abuse, as well as to "reclaim the forest for themselves." 87

2011

Gouanzala

Wildlife guards confiscate meat and several nets, axes and spears from a Bayaka hunting party.

They beat you on the soles of your feet so you can't go back into the forest.

Bayaka man, Yondo, Aug. 11, 2016

March 2012

Londo

Rainforest Foundation UK and the local organization Maison de l'Enfant et de la Femme Pygmées interview a victim of wildlife guard violence from Londo, near Mbaéré-Bodingué National Park:

My wife and I were coming back from a walk in the forest. Four wildlife guards jumped on me. I had to battle that day. Look at my eye. It is a result of their work. My eye is in such a bad state. I don't think I did anything wrong. I can't understand it. They just hurt me for nothing.

Bayaka man, Londo, March 201288

2012

The anthropologist Dr. Olivia Woodburne at the University of Kent notes that both of the two Bayaka wildlife guards, as well as the many Bayaka who work as porters with wildlife guards on patrol, report widespread discrimination against Bayaka. 89

2013

The anthropologist Dr. Kathryn Shutt at Durham University recounts how many Bayaka say they have lost a huge amount of hunting ground in the name of conservation, that game is becoming rarer, and that they are "often unfairly targeted or hassled" by wildlife guards.

[The wildlife guards] just take you and the meat and say that you caught it in the park. Then they eat or sell the meat themselves. What can we do?

Bayaka informant⁹⁰



Human rights abuses against local people perpetrated by eco-guards are common.

Woodburne and Amougou, 2014

It is disheartening to see health decline so closely tied to socioeconomic changes [...] and specifically to the conservation management policies of the last twenty-five years.

Report on a medical study in Dzanga-Sangha Protected Area Complex, 201491

2013

Anzouka

When rebel militias known as Séléka arrive in the area, Bayaka seek refuge inside Dzanga-Ndoki National Park. They are told by wildlife guards to return to the forest near the roadside village. Séléka are known to have tortured people in this region.

"I came here because of Séléka. We're afraid, we want to stay here in peace." They told me to go back. Mossapoula, Aug. 18, 2016

June 2014

A medical study finds that "punitive anti-poaching measures" and dwindling wildlife have caused health to plummet among Bayaka, particularly among women. It is written elsewhere that the conditions among older women "would be considered a public health crisis by international health agencies."92

November 2014 The International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) publishes a report on conservation in the Congo-CAR-Cameroon border region. It finds that, in general, Bayaka in CAR

> welcomed some aspects of conservation – such as limiting destructive practices to preserve the forest - but were angry at the way it was carried out. They felt they saw limited benefits from conservation and reported serious human rights abuses by wildlife guards who patrol the forest. [Bayaka] rights to access and use the forest, given to them by Komba [God], were undermined and ignored in the creation of the national parks.93

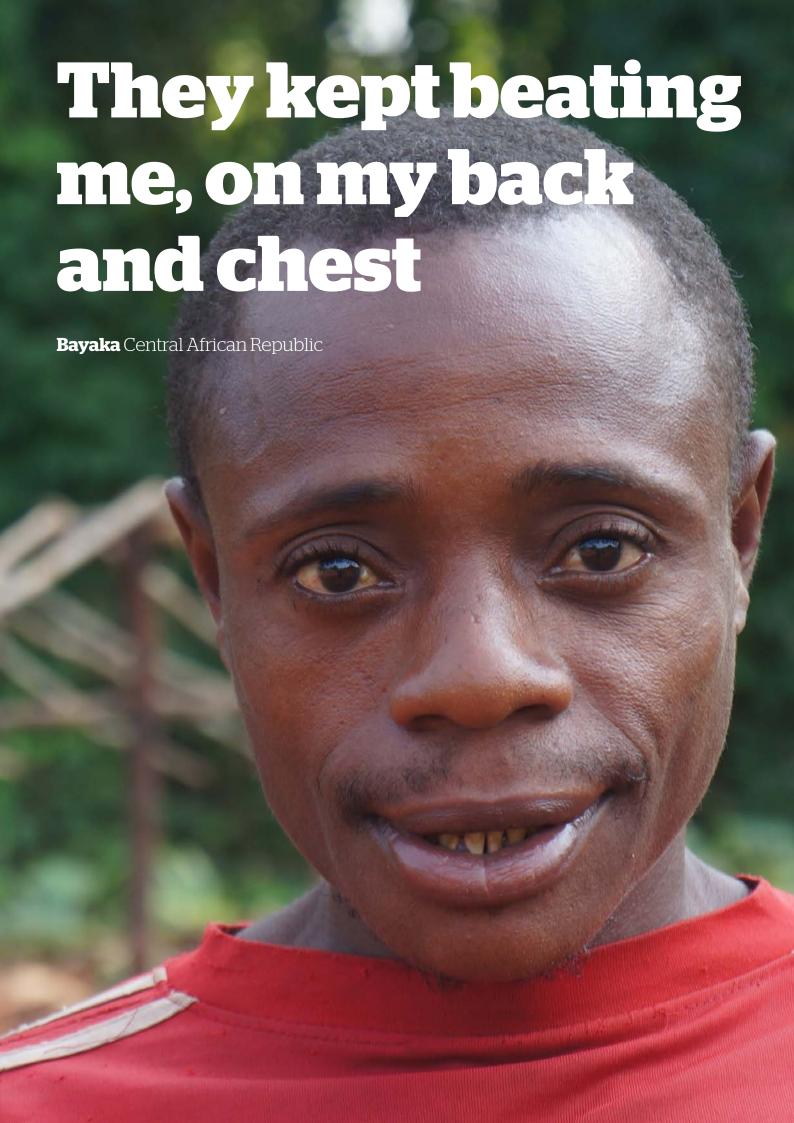
They threw my baby to the ground. It was a two-month-old baby. We hadn't named him yet. The baby fell and two months later he was gone. I asked: "Why have you thrown my baby on the ground?" They said: "You want to start a fight when the baby is already on the ground?"

Sangha-Sangha man, Mossapoula, Aug. 18, 2016.

December 2014 Mossapoula	A Sangha-Sangha man ⁹⁴ is beaten by wildlife guards and spends two months in hospital. His baby is thrown violently to the floor when one guard searches his bed, and dies shortly afterwards.
2014 Menyao	Two men are tortured by wildlife guards in Menyao and Bayanga.
	They handcuffed us and told us to take our clothes off. We were completely naked for four days. [] When they'd finished eating they beat us like mad, it was like a war. Bayaka man, Bayanga area, Aug. 17, 2016
2014 Yandoumbe	Wildlife guards beat a Bayaka man from Yandoumbe.
2014 Yondo	Wildlife guards beat a Bayaka man, burn his house and steal his stewpots, traditional trap and spear.
	They brought him back to the village and beat him immediately. [] All over his body with his truncheon and he kicked him with his combat boots. Bayaka woman, Yondo, Aug. 11, 2016
2014	Wildlife guards steal a hunted porcupine from a

Bayaka man.

Yandoumbe



They destroyed our houses, they took three hunting nets and then they burned the houses and our clothes. They asked us to take off our skirts and then they burned them. We only had our shirts on. We took small bits of burning wood to protect our bodies and came back to the village.

Bayaka woman, Mossapoula, Aug. 18, 2016

2014

Bekoulapasa

Wildlife guards steal two hunting nets, a duiker and baskets from a hunting party of Bayaka women from Mossapoula.

I heard my child crying and knew that the wildlife guards were coming.

Bayaka woman, Mossapoula, Aug. 18, 2016

2014/2015

Bambalanga

Wildlife guards steal fruits, mushrooms, wild greens and caterpillars from a group of women outside the national park.

If we women get together we can fish by building small dams, from morning to evening. If the wildlife guards find us they will divide [our catch] and just leave us with a little bit. [...] We are suffering so much.

Bayaka woman, Yondo, Aug. 11, 2016

2014/2015

Likembe

Wildlife guards beat a Bayaka man and confiscate meat that the group has hunted.

They beat him with a big piece of wood. They made him lie down and beat him hard on his back and chest.

Bayaka man, Lindjombo, Aug. 19, 201

When we stay in the village we labor and work all day for a bit of manioc. But we have to live in the forest - two or three months [there] with our children and they are healthy.

Bayaka woman, Mossapoula, Aug. 18, 2016

Several of these women had babies and we were led to wonder how they were going to manage to feed entire families with such a small quantity of manioc.

WWF, CAR and German government consultancy report, 200695

Kanza

December 2015 Two Bayaka men are beaten by wildlife guards in the forest near Kanza.

> They handcuffed and bound my friend to a tree by his neck with plastic cord. [...] They then fired a shot in the air. They pointed their guns at us: "Talk! Talk! Talk!" We said we knew nothing about it. They cut a piece off a tree and beat us on our backs and feet. Bayaka man, Koundapapaye, Aug. 8, 2016

December 2015 A Bayaka man is beaten by wildlife guards.

Koundapapaye

I told them I was looking for cane rats and they said: "No, you've come from the forest, you have a gun, you have a gun." [...] They kept beating me and beating me, on my back and my chest.

Bayaka man, Koundapapaye, Aug. 8, 2016

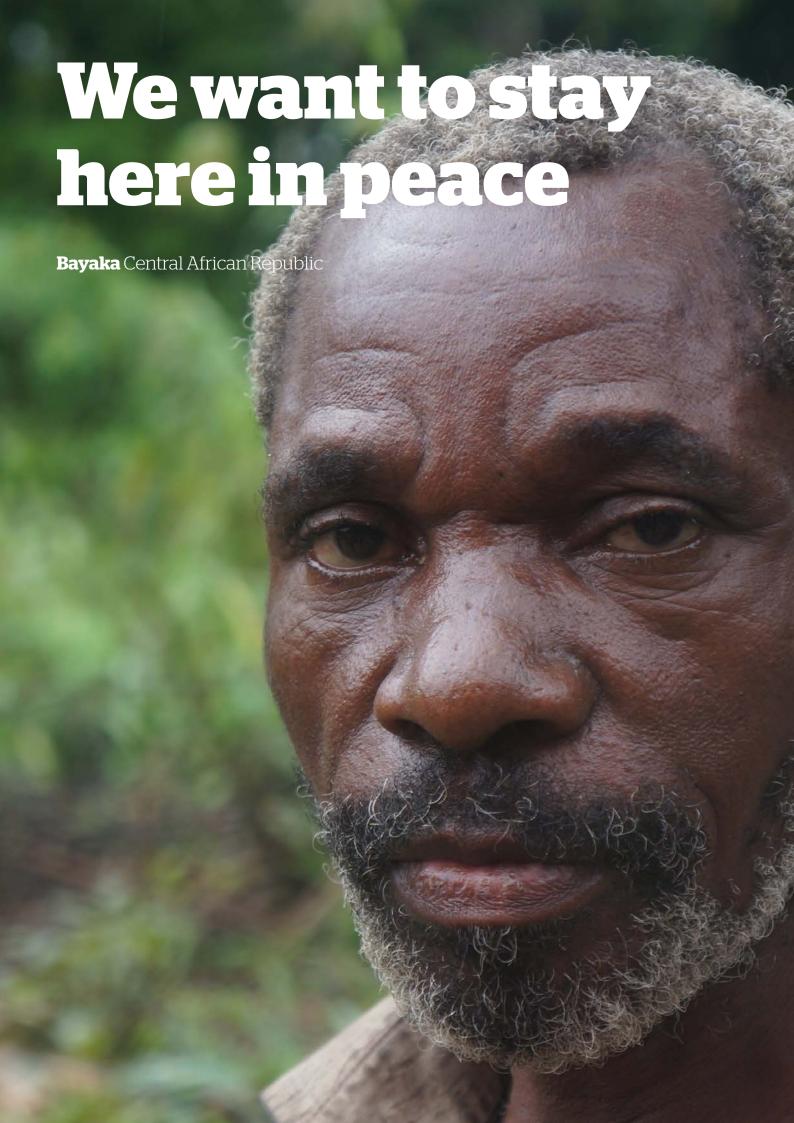
Kanza

December 2015 A Bayaka man is beaten by wildlife guards in the forest near Kanza.

> He had climbed a tree [to gather honey] and was coming down and trying to run away. They beat him with a piece of wood on his back and his feet. We told the wildlife guards: "It's the school holidays, we came to show our children the things of the forest." Bayaka man, Bokongo, Aug. 14, 2016

Likembe

December 2015 Wildlife guards steal machetes, fish and fishhooks from a Bayaka fishing party.



If we women go dam-fishing or foraging and we cross paths with the wildlife guards, they will beat us. They burn our houses, break up our stewpots. Our strength lies in our pots, our plates and machetes. But they just take all that away.

Bayaka woman, Yondo, Aug. 11, 2016

2015 Yondo	Wildlife guards beat a Bayaka man and steal his meat and spear.
2015 Mabouli	A Bayaka man is beaten by an anti-poaching squad.
	"We know that you know where the poachers' camp is. If you don't show us we will beat you."
	I said that I didn't know. They took me back to [my] camp. The wildlife guards gave the order to two trackers. They beat me four times with a machete on the soles of my feet.
	Bayaka man, Yondo, Aug. 11, 2016
2015 Mandalo	Wildlife guards confiscate spears, axes, traps and a duiker from Bayaka hunters.
2015 Mambelenge	Wildlife guards destroy the forest camp of a Bayaka women's fishing party from Mossapoula and steal their hunting nets and fish. The guards ask the women to take off their skirts and then they burn them.
early 2016 Mboule	Wildlife guards beat a Bayaka man and confiscate his belongings.
	The wildlife guards were hiding by the side of the path. They started following us and then stopped me. They took the meat, my machete, my torch, my stewpots. They beat me with a piece of wood, all over my body. Bayaka man, Lindjombo, Aug. 20, 2016

The wildlife guards said: "Get undressed. Go wash." We came out of the water, still handcuffed. They beat us. "Go back in the water." They beat us. Nearly 10 times. There was a female guard who was watching us naked.

Bayaka man, Yandoumbe, Aug. 17, 2016

late April 2016

Yandoumbe

Two Bayaka men searching for *gala* fruits are taken to the conservation project base in Mongambe and tortured by wildlife guards, who confiscate their torch, spear, axe, honey, cigarettes, clothes and 4500 CFA.

May 2016

Mossapoula

Wildlife guards find a Bayaka man with honey and detain him, handcuffed, for six hours.

He asked me to kneel down. I said: "Never, I could never do that." "If you don't get down on your knees I'm going to beat you."

Bayaka man, Mossapoula, Aug. 18, 2016

May/June 2016

Mossapoula

Two Bayaka men are beaten by wildlife guards.

They had already cut the switch. Two wildlife guards whipped me on my back. You can see the scars.

Bayaka man, Mossapoula, Aug. 18, 2016

June 2016

Yondo

Wildlife guards throw a machete at three Ngoundi men while chasing them, injuring one of the men in the knee.

June/July 2016

Mongambe

A Bayaka man from Yandoumbe is beaten by wildlife guards.

[The wildlife guards] beat him on his back with a piece of wood. He had two wounds on his back. He showed me.

Bayaka man, Yandoumbe, Aug. 17, 2016



We sit here watching baskets of meat go by on motorbikes. Where are the wildlife guards? Day and night. There are so many guns. It's harder to find animals.

Bayaka man, Yandoumbe, Aug. 17, 2016

July 2016 Babongo	Bayaka women run away when they cross paths with wildlife guards, leaving their baskets on the ground. When they come back, the wildlife guards have taken all their fruits, wild yams, wild greens, fish and meat.
July 2016 Bindjemo	A Bayaka forest camp is destroyed by wildlife guards and meat and possessions stolen.
July 2016	Wildlife guards steal fish, wild greens, mushrooms, yams and fruits from Bayaka women.
July 2016 Mbanga	A Bayaka forest camp is burned by wildlife guards, who steal spears, axes, stewpots, plates, sleeping mats, honey and other food.
	I found a child sleeping in the hut – and the wildlife guards were about to set it on fire. Bayaka man, Yandoumbe, Aug. 17, 2016
July/Aug. 2016 Wombo	Wildlife guards steal two machetes from Bayaka women. As one woman runs away she falls and injures her arm.
Aug. 10, 2016 Yondo	Wildlife guards steal caterpillars and wild greens from a Bayaka woman.
Sept./Oct. 2016 Liboyi	A Bayaka man from Mossapoula is with his wife and young son when he is stopped by wildlife guards. They take the porcupine he has caught and the wild yams his wife has gathered.

The Bayaka are the owners of the forest. It's we who should be in charge of the wildlife guards. The guards must not beat us.

Bayaka man, Koundapapaye, Aug. 8, 2016

October 2016 Yandoumbe	Wildlife guards apprehend a Bayaka hunting party near Yandoumbe and assault one man.
Jan. 8, 2017 Lipendje	Guards confiscate meat from a Bayaka hunter.
Feb. 5, 2017 Lindjombo	Two Bayaka men and one Bayaka child are attacked by wildlife guards.
May 2017 Monassao	Two Bayaka men are beaten by willdife guards.

Northeast Republic of Congo

WCS partners with loggers, Bayaka dispossessed

Michael Fay, one of the Wildlife Conservation Society's (WCS) senior conservationists, told the US Congress in 2003: "I believe that Teddy Roosevelt had it right. [...] My work in the Congo Basin has been basically to try to bring this US model to Africa." ⁹⁶

Yet the model of national parks he sought to export inflicted hardship and violence on indigenous Native Americans, and involved the theft of their ancestral homelands through forced expulsions. It has also failed to protect a significant part of the wildlife in the USA.

Ten years earlier, Fay and his team had succeeded in convincing the Congolese government to create the Nouabalé-Ndoki National Park. At a stroke, the Bayaka were robbed of a large swathe of their ancestral forests. "They're a gracious people," Fay would later remark, "too kind to put up a fight for their rights." ⁹⁷

WCS then partnered with two logging companies in order to secure the park's "buffer zones." Together with the Congolese government, they organized anti-poaching patrols inside the logging concessions. This was despite the fact that studies show that increased logging boosts the incidence of poaching by carving new trafficking routes deep into the forest, which corrupt officials and military elites then exploit for the illegal wildlife trade. WCS and WWF may say that this logging is sustainable, but the evidence does not support them.⁹⁸

Across the region Bayaka and Baka "Pygmies" have been victims of intimidation and abuse by wildlife guards supported by WCS and these logging companies – even a handicapped man and children have been assaulted. Although WCS has been aware of this persecution since at least 2005, it has yet to take effective action. In 2013, twenty years after the Bayaka's land was carved up for the Nouabale-Ndoki National Park, WCS helped to create a new park, this time on the ancestral homelands of Luma "Pygmies" and their Bongili neighbors, again without their consent. A recent investigation found that this park was created unlawfully and that it will "deprive local communities and indigenous populations of their only means of subsistence." It predicts that, if the draconian wildlife laws are fully enforced, the local population will "be forced to migrate in order to survive or find themselves in a guerrilla war against the wildlife guards."



When we traveled up the upper Mokola River [sic] we found camp after camp after camp. These camps have mostly been abandoned because park authorities from Nouabalé-Ndoki have made sweeps.

Michael Fay, WCS, 1999100

We get so much suffering because of wildlife guards. We can't go and find things in the forest as we used to. All we hear is hunger.

Bayaka man, Mboua, 2004¹⁰¹

Dec. 31, 1993

Nouabalé-Ndoki National Park is created on the Bayaka's land without their free, prior and informed consent, with the support of WCS and the U.S. government. The Bayaka are not allowed to enter the park.

May 1998

A study finds that groups of Bayaka in the Central African Republic regard certain forests across the border in Congo "as the heart of their hunting territory [...]. With the creation of the Nouabalé-Ndoki Park, this area too has been forbidden to them." ¹⁰²

May 6, 1999

A news report recounts how Bayaka describe being targeted by wildlife rangers that mistreat and temporarily imprison them, and how this has led to more frequent malnutrition among children and vulnerable adults.

A Congolese researcher remarks that: "While people are suffering from hunger in the heart of the forest, [wild] meat is being offered daily in restaurants" in local towns.

We have the impression that those who support wildlife protection have decided to kill us.

Edmond Monzoumbé, Bayaka man, Indongo¹⁰³

1999

WCS signs an agreement with the logging company Congolaise Industrielle des Bois (CIB) and the Congolese government to organize antipoaching patrols.

We are the guardians of the forest. The forest people. But we get nothing from anyone. They took our trees and then they came to forbid us our hunting. So we have to stay in the village. Now we are dying of hunger.

Bayaka, Mobangui, 2004¹⁰⁴

2004

A BBC investigation finds that the bushmeat trade in northeast Congo "is organised by members of local elites who ensure that "their" bush meat sellers are not targeted" by wildlife guards. Instead the guards "have been accused of victimising" the Bayaka. ¹⁰⁵

Late 2004

Mobangui

Wildlife guards beat a Bayaka man and take his meat.¹⁰⁶

2004/2005

A group of a dozen Bayaka who went to Yandoumbe, Central African Republic, in 1998 wish to return home to Congo. Their party includes one dying man. WCS discovers that they plan to travel through Nouabalé-Ndoki National Park and dispatches a team of wildlife guards to pursue them. The man dies en route in the forest.

August 2005

Indongo

A Bayaka man from Indongo is beaten by wildlife guards, who break two of his ribs and knock out one or more of his teeth.

WCS investigates this account and notes that the man's tooth was decayed, so the "slap he received only made it fall out sooner." ¹⁰⁷

His pants having fallen down when the beating started, he remained naked throughout the ordeal [...] Bleeding, he was left on the ground from where he heard the threats of one of the wildlife guards: "You're just a Pygmy, I can kill you with my gun and nothing will happen."

Notes made by L'Observatoire congolais des droits de l'homme (OCDH), October 2 2005¹⁰⁸



Since the most serious environmental crimes are mostly organized by local political and military elites, wildlife guards are often unable to arrest perpetrators. So [Bayaka] become soft targets in their forest camps for violent visitations by these paramilitary groups.

Dr. Jerome Lewis, University College London, 2014109

August 2005

Greenpeace publishes a report on an investigation of a concession leased to the logging company Congolaise Industrielle des Bois (CIB), WCS's partner.

Bayaka they interviewed "claimed that if they were found with meat in the forest they would be beaten and the meat confiscated."

Then we met another white man (WCS) who came to tell us to stop hunting and that the wildlife guards would make sure we did. Now we are afraid to go far in the forest in case the wildlife guards catch us.

Bayaka, Mobangui, 2004¹¹⁰

September 2005 Wildlife guards beat a Bayaka man from Indongo.

Indongo

When [he] could no longer get up, the wildlife guards tied up his arms. They abandoned him in the forest, thrown to the ground.

Notes made by L'Observatoire congolais des droits de l'homme, October 2, 2005¹¹¹

2007

WCS signs an agreement with the logging company Industrie Forestière de Ouesso (IFO) and the Congolese government to organize antipoaching patrols.

The wildlife guards make us sit here with hunger. They have ruined our world. If we try to hunt in the forest, they beat us so badly. They even kill us if they see us in the forest.

Bayaka woman, Sangha region, June 2012112

October 2005

L'Observatoire congolais des droits de l'homme (OCDH) publishes a report on wildlife guard misconduct in north Congo. It includes three accounts of violent abuse against Bayaka.

It warns that some Bayaka "are dying of hunger" and denounces the guards for "instilling a real psychosis of fear" among them. 113

June 2006

A study by L'Observatoire congolais des droits de l'homme (OCDH) and the Rainforest Foundation on the situation of indigenous peoples in Congo finds that they are

often threatened and ill-treated by state or conservation officials when attempting to exercise their hunter/gatherer traditions. They are frequently thrown off their lands and even ejected from their homes.¹¹⁴

Aug. 11, 2006

A news report relates how

The "ecoguards" of the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) [...] are accused of regularly beating local Mbendjele [Bayaka], for 'simply being Mbendjele'"¹¹⁵

February 2007

A study on logging finds that the Bayaka "are frequently searched, threatened and even beaten" by wildlife guards. 116

June 5, 2007

A team of United Nations Special Rapporteurs raise their concern that the treatment the Bayaka are suffering at the hands of wildlife guards "is linked to racist discrimination against them."¹¹⁷



If we go into the forest we eat well there compared to here. We eat wild yams and honey. We want to go into the forest but they forbid us to. It frightens us. It frightens us.

Bayaka woman, Ngomba, Sept. 2, 2016

September 2008 A report notes that wildlife guards "are often employed to patrol the forest, but their poor training and surveillance can lead to them abusing their position of power."118

2008

A UNICEF report explains that the legally recognized right to gather resources is "flouted on the most basic level because indigenous people no longer have access to areas rich in game" due to protected areas in Congo. 119

May 2009

The Human Rights Council at the United Nations hears that Bayaka have been the victims of "brutal searches" and "a general climate of constant or even systematic violence" perpetrated by wildlife guards.120

2009

Pokola

Wildlife guards beat a Bayaka man in Pokola.

March 2010

Ndoki

A man is shot by a wildlife guard while trying to run away and dies from his injuries on March 9, 2010.120

March/April 2012 An elderly and frail Bayaka man is imprisoned after he is accused of hunting an elephant. A team of Indongo researchers note that:

[He] is probably over 70 years old, is short-sighted and slow on his feet. It is clear that he could not kill an elephant.122

The anti-poaching squad told me to move the child that was at my feet. Then they beat my back with pieces of wood and I fell to the ground. With every threat they made, they would beat me again.

Bayaka woman, Moukouloungou, Aug. 23, 2013

Early 2012

Sangha¹²³

A handicapped Bayaka man is harassed and assaulted by wildlife guards.

They pushed him with the barrel of their gun. They tried to burn down his house and beat him. Bayaka man, Pokola, Aug. 30, 2016

March 2012

Dr. Jerome Lewis, an anthropologist at University College London, reports that, since he first started working with Bayaka in 1994, he has noticed increasingly poor nutrition and increased mortality.

He attributes this to the removal of forest resources by loggers and to "conservationists' exclusionary and draconian management practices."124

Makoko

Aug./Sept. 2012 A Bayaka camp for gathering payo fruit is raided by willdife guards. The guards beat a Bayaka man, his young son and his two young nephews and steal their possessions.

> Even if we go only to gather payo fruit, the wildlife guards abuse us and we come back to the village. Bayaka man, Ngomba, Aug. 23, 2013



I don't want to leave here. It's my home.

Bayaka man, evicted from Longa in September 2013

Bondingou

Feb./March 2013 A Bayaka man and a Bayaka woman are beaten by wildlife guards near the Bondingou. The guards destroy the woman's home and property.

> Before binding my hands behind my back with vines they took off my shirt and started beating me with large branches. [...] I heard them say that they'd go to the other camp and on the way back finish me off and throw me in the river.

Bayaka man, Moukouloungou, Aug. 23, 2013

March 4, 2013

Ntokou-Pikounda National Park is created on the Luma's and Bongili's land, without their free, prior and informed consent.

July 2013

Boko

An elderly Bayaka man and two other Bayaka men are beaten by wildlife guards.

I showed them the small antelope but they continued to beat me and two other men, on our heads, chests and legs with belts and large branches.

Bayaka man, Moukouloungou, Aug. 23, 2013

Longa

September 2013 The Bayaka community of Longa, in the logging concession leased to Congolaise Industrielle des Bois (CIB), is evicted in the name of conservation. They fired gunshots above our heads. They all beat us, with pieces of wood. They wounded my father in the head, and they broke my index finger.

Bayaka man, Makao, Sept. 1, 2016

Makao

November 2013 The researcher Dr. Michael Riddell at the University of Oxford estimates that Nouabalé-Ndoki National Park covers at least 580km² of forest previously used by the Bayaka and Kaka of Makao.

> He finds that conservation and logging have led to poorer health and higher levels of drug and alcohol addiction among the Bayaka.

> He argues that conservation efforts would benefit from gaining people's consent, which would likely involve maintaining their access to the forest inside and outside the park. 125

December 2013 A team of researchers working on anti-poaching technology write that:

> Wildlife guards looking for easier targets often visit [Bayaka] and other local communities where they too often resort to violence and abuse. 126

2013

Ndeme

Wildlife guards beat a Bayaka man and burn his camp to the ground.

When they arrived in the camp they started rummaging through stewpots, burning down houses, burning clothes. My child ran away and disappeared. Bayaka man, Moukouloungou, Sept. 1, 2016



I find this a very serious problem and in my opinion most wildlife guards have other motives than protecting the animals to work as a wildlife guard.

Doctor with extensive experience working in the region, Sept. 7, 2015 $^{\rm 127}$

2013 Batanga	A Bayaka man is beaten by wildlife guards in Batanga.	
	I was looking for honey. [] They beat me with a switch and slapped me too. Bayaka man, Moukouloungou, Sept. 1, 2016	
2013	A team of researchers explain how the system of wildlife guards "in particular is the source of many abuses: [Bayaka] hunters reported being repeatedly harassed and beaten up by them for possession of 'permitted bush-meat."	
	They report on the desperate conditions faced by Bayaka pressured to leave the forest for a logging town, as a result of this abuse. 128	
2013 Mboule (CAR)	Congolese wildlife guards arrive at a forest camp in the Central African Republic, and steal legally caught fish from Bayaka.	
2013/2014 Bondingou	At least six Bayaka are beaten by wildlife guards in Bondingou.	
AugOct. 2014 Sesenge	During the rainy season, wildlife guards beat four Bayaka men in a forest camp near Nouabale-Ndoki National Park. The guards break one of the men's index finger.	

If wildlife guards see bones on the ground outside, it's a problem. If someone doesn't explain something well, they start beating, beating, beating.

Bayaka man, Pokola, Aug. 30, 2016

November 2014 The International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) publishes a report on conservation in the Congo-CAR-Cameroon border region. It finds that

> in all three countries [Cameroon, CAR, Congo], large areas customarily used by Pygmy communities have been included in national parks, where all access is prohibited.

Human rights abuses against local people perpetrated by wildlife guards are common. 129

2014

An inspection of one of CIB's logging concessions hears that the Bayaka's "hunting way of life has become criminalised by the excessive targeting of these communities" by wildlife guards, while "the greatest environmental criminals continue to operate with seeming impunity."130

Early 2015

Mokoto

Wildlife guards threaten a Bayaka woman, destroy her basket and throw the fish she has caught on the ground.

May 2015

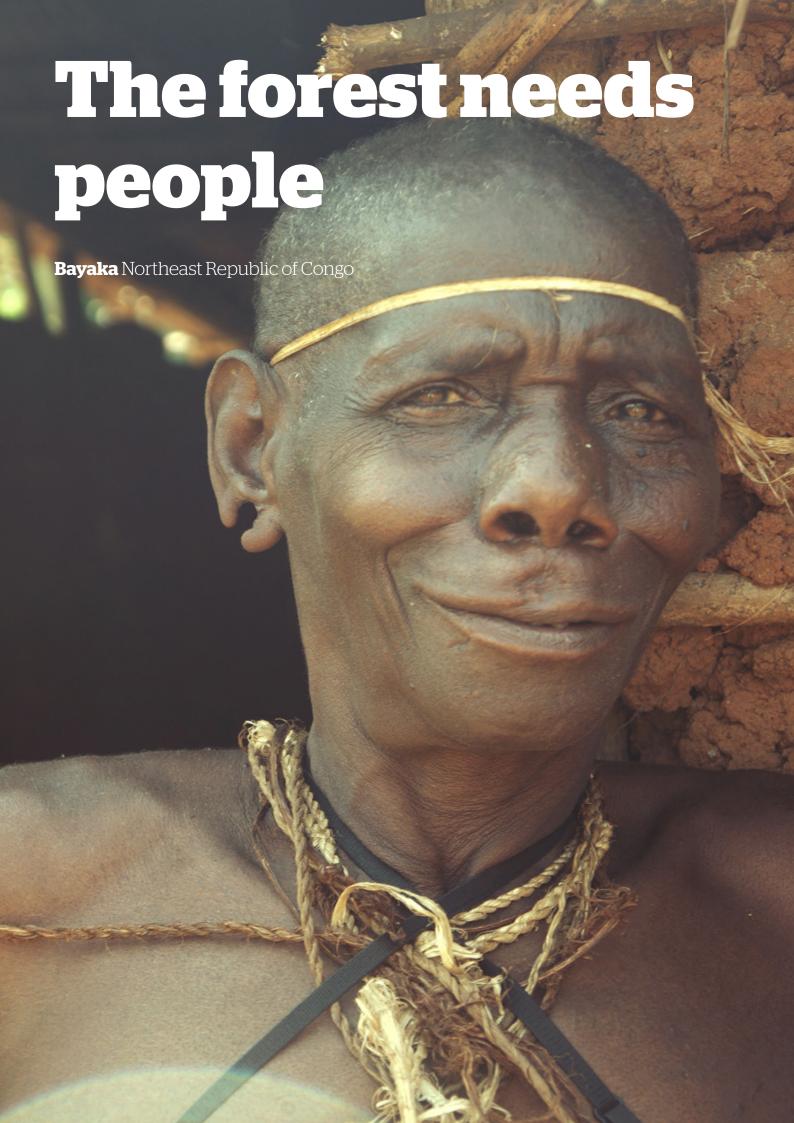
A doctor who started work in northeast Congo in 2012 reports that

Aside from wounds inflicted by gorillas, buffalo or other wild animals, my colleague and I also see [gun] wounds in people claiming to have been attacked - sometimes without warning - by the protectors of wildlife: the wildlife guards. 131

June 2015

Male

Wildlife guards beat a Bayaka man searching for medicines in Male and steal his machete.



Our spirits are in the forest. We're the ones who conserve the forest.

Bayaka man, Moukouloungou, Sept. 2, 2016

AugOct. 2015	Δ
Sombo	lc

A Bayaka man is beaten by wildlife guards on the logging road between Bosani and Mangombe.

Aug.-Oct. 2015 Mokoto

Wildlife guards burn down a Bayaka forest camp in Mokoto.

I'd found some honey. When I came back to the camp I found that my house had already been destroyed.

Bayaka man, Komba Komba, September 2, 2016

November 2015 A study on logging in the region finds that

Clearly, the policy of employing wildlife guards undermines the traditional role of indigenous people; delegitimizing their role as guardian of the wildlife. Moreover, indigenous people see eco-guards as unreasonably targeting them and their reliance on bush meat. 132

Kabo

December 2015 A wildlife guard opens fire on a man in Kabo, near Nouabale-Ndoki National Park, injuring him. 133

2015

Ngwandji

The Baka camp of Ngwandji is evicted by wildlife guards, in the logging concession leased to Industrie Forestière de Ouesso (IFO), one of WCS's partners.

2015/2016

Sisi

Bayaka are beaten by wildlife guards in a forest camp in Sisi. Their belongings are destroyed and their houses burned to the ground.

We ask all those who give money to the Nouabalé-Ndoki park and to the wildlife guards to come here, listen to our problems and seek our consent. Otherwise how are we supposed to eat?

Bayaka, Makao, Sept. 3, 2016

Early 2016 Mbandza	Wildlife guards beat a Bayaka man from Mbandza.
Early 2016 Mobangui	Wildlife guards tell Bayaka from Mobangui that if they stay in the forest their houses will be burned down and they will be beaten.
May 2016 Mbandza	Five men are beaten by wildlife guards in Mbandza. One of the men is hospitalized.
June 2016 Mokoto	Wildlife guards tell a Bayaka woman to leave the forest.
	The wildlife guards came to chase me away. They rummaged in my basket and then destroyed it with their machetes. There was nothing but wild greens in it. They said: "You mustn't stay here. You have to stay in the village." Bayaka woman, Komba Komba, Sept. 2, 2016
June/July 2016 Inyele	Wildlife guards evict Baka from their camp at Inyele, in the logging concession leased to the logging company IFO, which WCS has partnered with.
June/July 2016 Ngwandji	The same wildlife guards go on to beat and arrest one Baka man in a camp in Ngwandji. 134

Children are dying of hunger.

Bayaka man, Pokola, Sept. 23, 2017

July 2016 Kambaolo	A Bayaka man is beaten by wildlife guards in a fishing camp in Kambaolo.
	If you go into the park they will get you and take you to prison. Even not in the park they say: "We're going to kill you. Get out, get out, get out." Bayaka man, Makao, Sept. 1, 2016
Aug. 16, 2016 Ndongo	Wildlife guards force a Bayaka man to carry their baggage for roughly 10 kilometers.
Aug. 30, 2016 Bwanga	Wildlife guards steal meat, a stewpot and an axe from a Bayaka camp in Bwanga.
Aug. 31, 2016 PK12	A Bayaka home is burned down by wildlife guards in PK12.
Oct./Nov. 2016 Pokola	A Bayaka man is beaten by wildlife guards.
December 2016 Pikounda	An investigation finds that Ntokou-Pikounda park was created unlawfully and without the consent of the Luma "Pygmies" and their neighbors the Bongili. The Luma and Bongili tell the investigators that they are afraid of being subjected to wildlife

guard violence, like the people living by the nearby Nouabalé-Ndoki and Odzala-Kokoua National

Parks.135

The wildlife guards abuse us. They don't want us to go into the forest. How can we feed our children?

Bayaka man from Mbandza, Pokola area, Aug. 27, 2016

Sept. 18, 2017Mbandza

A report is published concerning an epidemic that struck Mbandza and four neighboring villages, leaving at least 57 mostly Bayaka children dead.

The report notes that conservation may have played a role in the deaths of the children, as their immunity would have been compromised by the loss of their forest resources. 136

Northwest Republic of Congo

WWF and African Parks silent over human rights abuse

Northwest Congo is home to one of Africa's oldest parks – Odzala-Kokoua, created by the French in 1935 – and to what will perhaps soon be its newest. In Odzala-Kokoua, African Parks is working without the consent of the tribal landowners and is driving them from the core of the park. To the north, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) is funding and equipping wildlife guards and pushing for the creation of Messok-Dja National Park.

"Green colonialism" thus continues unabated, as tribal peoples' lands are viewed as wilderness and then stolen from them. Their achievements and concerns – even their lives – are disregarded. Across the region Baka face harassment, theft, torture and death at the hands of wildlife guards. In one particularly horrific incident, two WWF cars and three motorbikes pulled up unannounced in a Baka village, as its inhabitants were preparing for a funeral. Fifteen wildlife rangers emerged and immediately set to work. According to the victims, no one was spared in the raid, as the guards beat children, a pregnant woman and the elderly. As night fell, the community managed to escape into the forest. They fled across the border and took refuge with relatives in Cameroon. One girl, Mayi, died there a few nights later – she was less than ten years old. An elderly man, Menamina, died the following morning. Both had been beaten by wildlife guards.

The conservation industry is not just destroying lives; it is harming conservation. The Baka have depended on and managed these forests for countless generations. By creating seasonal camps, they and the Bayaka sustain a mosaic of different types of vegetation, and have spread groves of wild yams throughout the rainforest – some of the favourite foods of elephants and wild boar. They have built up detailed knowledge of their environments, classifying forest elephants into more than 15 types, for example, depending on their age, appearance, sex, and temperament.

Because of the distances they travel and the time they spend there, the Baka are undoubtedly the eyes and ears of their lands, yet WWF and its partners seem to dismiss this expertise – although it is essential to any successful conservation project. This unrivalled knowledge is in danger of disappearing as the Baka are denied access to their lands.



They told us to tilt our heads and with both hands they beat down on our ears with all their might. Blood started to flow. They did that twice, twice on each ear. [...] I've been unwell ever since that day.

Baka man, Souanké district, ¹³⁹ September 2016

1994

A report prepared for Oxfam on the situation of "Pygmies" in central Africa criticizes the plans of international donors, such as the World Bank, for promoting logging at the same time as protected areas.

It warns that conservation often means "to exclude the human population – by force if necessary" and that "there is little or no recognition of hunter-gatherers' conservationist skills."

It gives as an example the Odzala National Park in northwest Congo, where "the core area will remain sealed and the rights will be vested in the Park rather than in the Pygmies."

It concludes: "Conservationists need to accept that their aims are best achieved by vesting land rights firmly with the populations concerned." 140

2005

WWF signs an agreement with the Congolese government, launching the conservation project known as Espace TRIDOM Interzone Congo. The local field base is set up in the town of Sembe in 2008.

Late 2000s

The EU, WWF and WCS agree amongst themselves not to pay wildlife guards' salaries, but WWF breaks this agreement.

An elderly woman is later beaten by wildlife guards in Sembe, northwest Congo, and the case is discussed by the EU, WWF, WCS and UNESCO.¹⁴¹

They took an old motorbike handlebar from here and they put it on my back and pumped up and down, up and down. I should've died.

Baka man, Seh, Sept. 8, 2016

Life before was better. Now they go into the forest and they abuse people. You go to prison for hunting, with people who killed other people. It's not the same thing.

Baka woman, Mokouangounda, Aug. 5, 2013

June/July 2011 Seh

Two WWF cars and three motorcycles arrive bearing wildlife guards, who beat dozens of Baka, including children, the elderly and a pregnant woman.

The whole community flees to Cameroon, where one young girl, less than 10 years old, and an elderly man, die from their injuries.

They beat me, I was crawling on all fours. They beat me with their guns, pieces of wood, their belts.

Baka woman, who was pregnant at the time, Seh, Sept. 8, 2016

2012/2013

Ntam

A Baka couple are beaten by wildlife guards.

August 2013

Lekoli

A Kola "Pygmy" man from Olleme, Odzala-Kokoua National Park, is assaulted by wildlife guards in the forest near the Lekoli river.

Before 2013

Souanké district

A Baka man is beaten by wildlife guards.

I was coming out of the forest with a wooden post, a packet of vines and a packet of wild greens. They took my machete and beat me with it. They beat me everywhere.

Baka man, Souanké district, September 2016

2013

Souanké district

Wildlife guards steal 60,000 CFA from a Baka man. This is equivalent to 120 days' wages for a Baka.



It was a white car, with the WWF sign on the door. They stamped on my chest, they pointed their guns at me. They put a gun here [he indicates beneath his chin] and said, "If you mess around we will kill you. Even if your mother comes. We'll kill her. Don't scream."

Baka man, Souanké district, September 2016

June/July 2014

Ndongo (Cameroon) Wildlife guards cross from Congo and beat at least three Baka men and one pregnant Baka woman near Nki National Park.

My wife came back and saw what was happening, and she wanted to run away. But before she had a chance they jumped on her – a pregnant woman. She started to cry: "You've come to kill us in the forest. At least kill me with my husband." They hit her with the end of a gun, she fell and they kicked her with their boots on her back.

Baka man, Mbaka, Cameroon, July 25, 2014

2014

Seh

A Cameroonian Baka man is beaten at the wildlife guard checkpoint near Seh.

They used their machetes and the barrels of their guns to beat me. We were swimming in my blood. Baka man, Seh, Cameroon, July 21, 2016

2014

Mambili

Wildlife guards torture two Baka men from Egnabie in the Mambili forest, by pouring scalding wax on

their backs.

June/July 2015

Mangoko

During this dry season wildlife guards beat a Baka man with their belts in a forest camp.

Oct./Nov. 2015

Mepal

Wildlife guards extort a Baka man in Mepal for a sack of cocoa, a new mat, a goat, some chickens and 20,000 CFA (40 days' wages for a Baka).

The white people need to stop giving money to the wildlife guards. We have our small children - how will they survive? We want them to live well.

Baka woman, Seh, Sept. 9, 2016

2016 Kogo

A man is beaten in Kogo by wildlife guards, who tell him to carry their baggage 18km back to the nearest town.

"If you want to hunt, there's no problem – if you carry our baggage to the village." That's maybe 18km. But it was a trick. "From now on, if we see you hunting we will kill you."

Baka man, Sembe district, September 2016

January 2016

Ndongo (Cameroon) A mixed Cameroonian-Congolese wildlife guard team beats two Baka girls, roughly 10 years old, and an older Baka woman in Ndongo, Cameroon.

They beat my child. Still today she is so weak. [She] is not in good health; she is always tired. She might die – I don't know. I hate it.

Baka man, Mbaka, Cameroon, Aug. 3, 2016

March 2016

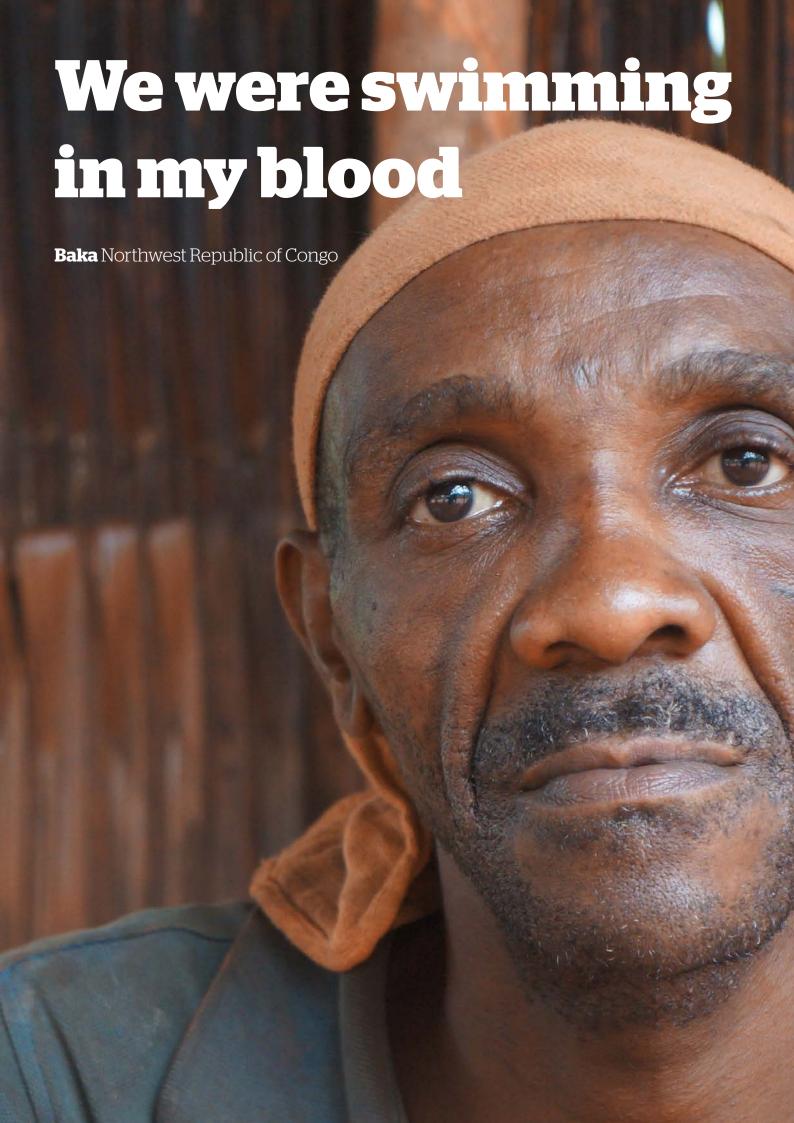
Mengara

Three Baka men are beaten by wildlife guards in the forest near Mengara. They beat a fourth Baka man in Mengara and break his arm.

March-May 2016 A Baka man is bound with vines and beaten at the Seh wildlife guard checkpoint near Seh.

They started beating me and tied me up with vines. I didn't know what the problem was, they just beat me like that. [Both] of them beat me with pieces of wood and punched me, all over my body. My eyes were all swollen.

Baka man, Seh, Sept. 8, 2016



Are wildlife guards here for protection or destruction? It's these people who are hunting elephants. Where do the Kalashnikov guns come from?

Baka man, Sembe district, September 2016¹⁴²

May 2016

Souanké district

At least three Baka from a village in the Souanké region are beaten by wildlife guards.

They searched my house without finding anything. They took my machete out from under the bed and said: "We are going to slit your throat because you're hiding poachers here." I was on the bed with my wife and children. I only had my underwear on. They dragged me outside and made me get on the ground, to kill me.

Baka man, Souanké district, September 2016

Sembe district

June-Sept. 2016 During this wild mango season Baka women are prevented from gathering the fruit.

July 2016

Seh

Wildlife guards threaten to slice off a Baka man's ears. They are stopped when a local politician intervenes.

Kogo

September 2016 A Baka family are assaulted by wildlife guards, who steal their machetes, pots, baskets and mats.

October 2016

Animbongbong

A Baka man is assaulted by wildlife guards.

January 2017

Bessie

Wildlife guards steal legally hunted meat from Baka hunters.

April 2017

Namogola

A Baka man is attacked by wildlife guards.



We will always bear the Suffering of being beaten. But Contribute to be

suffering of being beaten. But how will our children survive? The wildlife guards have even beaten a child. She died, along with an elderly man.

We ask all those who give money to the wildlife guards to come here to establish peace, and ask us what we think. [...] Otherwise we are lost

Baka, Congo, Sept. 9, 2016

What should be done?

Big conservation organizations like WWF and WCS should not contribute to human rights abuses. Governments rely on the financial, technical and logistical support provided by these organizations, which must do everything they can to protect people from persecution.

Crucially, WWF, WCS and their government partners must now seek the Baka and Bayaka's consent if they are to continue their work in the Congo Basin, something they should have done long ago.

It is only by listening to the Baka and Bayaka and upholding their rights that conservation organizations will be able to stamp out the systematic abuse detailed in this report. Evidence proves that tribal peoples are better at looking after their environment than anyone else. The best and most effective way to protect the rainforests of the Congo Basin is to recognize tribal peoples' collective land ownership rights, as enshrined in international laws like the African Charter and the International Labor Organization's Convention 169.

Despite the suffering that they are forced to endure in the name of conservation, many Baka and Bayaka who we have spoken with still value the importance of environmental protection. If it is to work, however, it must take place on their terms.

Nineteen communities across Cameroon, the Central African Republic and Congo recently issued urgent pleas to conservationists, calling for the opportunity to describe the abuse they face to the people who are funding it.¹⁴³ Eleven urged the conservationists to stop supporting the anti-poaching squads. So far their appeals have fallen on deaf ears.

Conservationists must listen to people like the Baka and Bayaka, ask them what help they need in defending their lands, and then stand shoulder-to-shoulder with them. The existing power structure must be inverted. Only then will attention and resources be fixed on the real causes of environmental destruction in the Congo Basin.

On paper, WWF and WCS already claim to respect tribal peoples' rights, and to honor the well-established principle of free, prior and informed consent. It's time for them to live up to their promises, both in the Congo Basin and around the world, and understand that helping tribal peoples defend their land rights is the key to conservation.

Tribal peoples are the best conservationists and guardians of the natural world, and should be at the forefront of the environmental movement, not its victims.



Endnotes

- ¹This word is considered pejorative and avoided by some tribespeople, but used by others as a convenient and easily recognized way of describing themselves. Because it is the most widely understood term, Survival has chosen to use it, while emphasizing that it is problematic.
- ² This law is made up of such instruments as the African Charter, the United Declarations on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the ILO's Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. For more information please see the formal complaint Survival has filed against WWF, accessible at assets.survivalinternational.org/documents/1527/survival-internation-v-wwf-oecd-specific-instance.pdf.
- ³ See for example Jost Robinson and Remis (2016).
- ⁴ Rodgers et al. (1991)
- ⁵ The Bangando, like the Kounabembe, the Njem and the Bakwele, are one of the many different peoples that the Baka live alongside.
- ⁶ Jell and Schmidt Machado (2002: 197)
- ⁷ Rodgers et al. (1991: 39)
- ⁸ in Schmidt-Soltau and Brockington (2004: 7). We have changed the word "They" to "wildlife guards" for the sake of comprehension.
- ⁹ Alec Leonhardt to Stephen Gartlan, personal communication dated May 16, 1991.
- 10 Ndameu (2001: 228)
- ¹¹ Unless otherwise indicated, dates

- given are the best estimates of Survival International, eyewitnesses or the victims themselves.
- ¹² Ngima Mawoung (2015: 151)
- ¹³ Personal communication from Ofir Drori.
- ¹⁴ The conference proceedings were written up as Nelson and Hossack (2003).
- 15 in Le Jour (2009)
- ¹⁶ in *Le Messager* (2009)
- ¹⁷ Nounah and Handja (2004: 19)
- 18 Nelson (2004)
- 19 Schoune (2005)
- ²⁰ Ashley, Russell and Swallow (2006: 674-675, 680)
- ²¹ Tchoumba and Nelson (2006: 39)
- ²² WWF (2008); reproduced in Nelson and Venant (2008: 8).
- ²³ Personal communication to a former WWF consultant, March 2012.
- ²⁴We have changed the word "ecoguards" to "wildlife guards" for the sake of comprehension.
- ²⁵ Forest Peoples Programme (2007: 7)
- ²⁶ Yamo (2009: 55)
- ²⁷ The Kounabembe, like the Bangando, the Njem and the Bakwele, are one of the many different peoples that the Baka live alongside.
- 28 Nelson and Venant (2008: 12-13)
- ²⁹ Centre d'études environnementales et sociales (2008: 83)

- 30 Yamo (2009: 56)
- ³¹ in *Le Messager* (2009)
- ³² ibid.
- ³³ The video testimony this is taken from can be viewed at https://www.survivalinternational.org/films/baka-conservation
- 34 in *Le Messager* (2009)
- ³⁵ Centre pour l'Environnement et le Développement (CED) et al. (2010a: 5)
- ³⁶ CED et al. (2010b: 24)
- ³⁷ Personal communication from a Global Witness researcher, April 26, 2017.
- 38 Kouétcha (2011a)
- ³⁹ Personal communication from a Friends of the Earth researcher, March 23, 2017.
- 40 Kouétcha (2011a)
- ⁴¹ From an online comment on Hoyle, D., "Cameroon: listening to indigenous peoples," *Nature*, Correspondence, June 1 2011.
- ⁴² The video testimony this is taken from can be viewed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=22O1b9xe2Rk
- ⁴³ Neubauer (2014: 213)
- ⁴⁴ This video testimony this is taken from can be viewed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M4RZTq4oZxs and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gb1j_dKx0q0&t=291s
- 45 Clay (2011: 23, 61)
- 46 Lewis (2012: 19-20)

- ⁴⁷ Njounan Tegomo, Defo and Usongo (2012: 48-50)
- ⁴⁸ The video testimony this is taken from can be viewed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vln1Ab-e75w
- ⁴⁹ The final film, *L'Esprit de la forêt*, aired in 2015.
- ⁵⁰ The video testimony this is taken from can be viewed at https://www.survivalinternational.org/films/baka-wwf
- ⁵¹ CED (2013: 5)
- ⁵² CED et al. (2013: 38)
- ⁵³ Personal communication from Dr. Vitalis Pemunta Ngambouk, dated February 15, 2017.
- ⁵⁴ The video testimony this is taken from can be viewed at https://www.survivalinternational.org/films/baka
- ⁵⁵ The Njem, like the Bangando, the Bakwele and the Kounabembe, are one of the many different peoples that the Baka live alongside.
- ⁵⁶ The Bakwele, like the Bangando, the Njem and the Kounabembe, are one of the many different peoples that the Baka live alongside. The two letters can be viewed at http://www.survivalinternational.org/news/10564
- ⁵⁷ Neubauer (2014: 213-214)
- 58 Ngoufo, Tsague Donkeng and Waltert (2014: 66-67)
- 59 Mochire Mwenge and Itongwa Mukomo (2015: 38)
- 60 ibid. pp. 37-42
- 61 In Moreau (2016)

- 62 The complaint can be viewed at assets.survivalinternational.org/documents/1527/survival-internation-v-wwf-oecd-specific-instance.pdf.
- ⁶³ Willis, J., M. Venant and O. Noel (2016: 14)
- 64 From an undated lecture accessible at https://www.coursera.org/learn/protected-areas/lecture/9IFy4/7-6-corruption-and-trafficking-of-natural-resources. We have changed the word "eco-guards" to "wildlife guards" for the sake of comprehension.
- 65 FPP (2017a)
- ⁶⁶ For more information see http:// www.survivalinternational.org/ news/11677
- ⁶⁷ This report can be accessed at http://assets.survivalinternational. org/documents/1654/wwf-and-the-loggers.pdf
- 68 FPP (2014b)
- ⁶⁹ Hardin, Remis and Jost Robinson (2014)
- 70 Sitamon (2006)
- 71 Sarno (1993: 89)
- 72 Noss (1995: 224, 334)
- ⁷³ Hewlett (n.d.: 11)
- Mogba and Freudenberger (1998: 131)
- 75 Sarno (1998: 12)
- 76 Sitamon (2006: 12)
- 77 ibid.
- ⁷⁸ This is a paraphrased account that Dr. Olivia Woodburne recorded in her

- fieldnotes, told to her by a Bayaka man with visible bruising.
- ⁷⁹ Amadou Yamsa et al. (2007: 7)
- ⁸⁰ Woodburne (2009: 20). We have changed the word "eco-guards" to "wildlife guards" for the sake of comprehension.
- ⁸¹ This incident was documented by Dr. Robert Moise during a November 2009 investigation for Rainforest Foundation UK.
- ⁸² This is taken from an interview carried out by Dr. Olivia Woodburne.
- 83 Hodgkinson (2009: 157, 233, 198)
- ⁸⁴ Haut commissariat aux droits de l'homme et à la bonne gouvernance (2010: 5)
- ⁸⁵ Woodburne (2012: 169-170). We have changed the word "ecoguards" to "wildlife guards" for the sake of comprehension
- ⁸⁶ Maison de l'Enfant et de la Femme Pygmées (2011)
- 87 Kirtley and Gontero (2011: 33, 75).
- ⁸⁸ Part of this interview was published in the 2013 film *Ndima*: Les cartes de notre futur.
- 89 Woodburne (2012: 170, n.71)
- 90 Shutt (2013: 23)
- ⁹¹ Hardin, Remis and Jost Robinson (2014)
- ⁹² Hardin, Remis and Jost Robinson (2014), Patterson Neubert (2016)
- 93 Amougou and Woodburne (2014:108). We have changed the word "eco-

- guards" to "wildlife guards" for the sake of comprehension.
- ⁹⁴ The Sangha-Sangha are a group of peoples that the Bayaka live alongside.
- 95 Sitamon (2006: 14)
- ⁹⁶ House of Representatives (2003: 56-57)
- 97 in Chadwick (1995: 36)
- 98 See for example Potapov et al. (2017)
- 99 Agnimbat Emeka et al. (2016: 13)
- 100 Fay (1999)
- ¹⁰¹ in Eshelby (2004). We have changed the word "ecoguards" to "wildlife guards," for the sake of comprehension.
- 102 in Sarno (1998: 12)
- 103 IRIN News (2004)
- 104 Greenpeace (2005: 30)
- 105 Eshelby (2004)
- 106 Greenpeace (2005: 30)
- ¹⁰⁷ WCS-Congo (2005: 1)
- ¹⁰⁸ L'Observatoire congolais des droits de l'homme (OCDH) (2005: 7)
- 109 Lewis (2014: 131). We have changed the word "eco-guards" to "wildlife guards" for the sake of comprehension.
- 110 Greenpeace (2005: 28, 30). We have changed the word "eco-guards" to "wildlife guards" for the sake of comprehension.
- 111 OCDH (2005: 6)

- ¹¹² This community did not want to be identified further, out of fear of reprisals.
- 113 OCDH (2005: 5)
- 114 OCDH and The Rainforest Foundation (2006: 5)
- ¹¹⁵ Labrousse (2006)
- 116 Lewis and Nelson (2007: 5)
- ¹¹⁷ Diène (2007: 10)
- 118 Lewis, Freeman and Borreill (2008: 41)
- ¹¹⁹ UNICEF (2008: 11)
- 120 Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) (2009: 5)
- 121 Mampouya (2009)
- 122 Borreill et al. (2013: 85)
- ¹²³ This community did not want to be identified further, out of fear of reprisals.
- 124 Lewis (2012: 22-23)
- ¹²⁵ Riddell (2013: 207, 214-215)
- ¹²⁶ Vitos et al. (2013: 3). We have changed the word "Eco-guards" to "Wildlife guards" for the sake of comprehension.
- 127 Dr. Marianne Reimert, personal communication dated September 7, 2015. We have changed the word "ecoguards" and "ecoguard" to "wildlife guards" and "wildlife guard" for the sake of comprehension.
- 128 Borreill et al. (2013: 84, 107)
- 129 Amougou and Woodburne (2014: 106, 108). We have changed the word "eco-guards" to "wildlife guards" for the

sake of comprehension.

130 SGS (2014: 114-115)

131 Reimert (2015: 1033)

132 Iff (2015: 211). We have changed the word "eco-guards" to "wildlife guards" for the sake of comprehension.

133 Ayari and Counsell (in press)

¹³⁴ This is a different camp in Ngwandji to the one mentioned on p.91.

¹³⁵ Agnimbat Emeka et al. (2016: 4, 11)

136 OCDH & RENAPAC (2017)

137 Ichikawa (2012)

¹³⁸ Joiris (1998: 146-151)

¹³⁹ This community did not want to be identified further, for fear of reprisals.

140 Beauclerk (1994: 28, 29, 35)

¹⁴¹ Former ECOFAC employee, personal communication dated March 2, 2017.

¹⁴² This community did not want to be identified further, out of fear of reprisals.

143 These letters can be viewed at assets.survivalinternational.org/ documents/1603/baka-bayaka-openletters-2016.pdf.

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