İklim ve Sanat

Aktivizmin Yeni Tarihi

Ezgi TOKDİL

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EZGİ TOKDİL, 2013 yılında Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Buca Eğitim Fakültesi Güzel Sanatlar Eğitimi Bölümü'nde lisans, 2015 yılında Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Enstitüsü Güzel Sanatlar Eğitimi Anabilim Dalı'nda yüksek lisans ve 2020 yılında aynı üniversitede doktora eğitimini tamamladı. 2022 yılında doçent ünvanı aldı. Halen Burdur Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Güzel Sanatlar Eğitimi Bölümü'nde öğretim üyesi olarak görev yapmaktadır. Araştırmaları ve sanatsal çalışmaları, görsel kültür, ekoloji ve teknolojinin kesişim noktalarını incelemektedir. Ulusal ve uluslararası dergilerde yayınlanan makale ve kitap bölümleri bulunan yazar, dijital çevrecilik ve sürdürülebilirlik söylemlerinin estetik çelişkileri üzerine odaklanmakta, medya ekolojisi ve post-insan teorisinden yararlanarak çevre krizi çağında dijital estetik, ekolojik farkındalık ve kültürel hafıza arasındaki karmaşık ilişkileri araştırmaktadır. Akademik çalışmalarının yanı sıra, kuruculuğunu üstlendiği ArtDesign Journal'ın baş editörü ve International Journal of Communication and Art'ın editörüdür.

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SUNUŞ

Ümit ŞAHİN[1]

2024 yılının eylül ayında Londra'da bulunan Southwark Kraliyet Mahkemesi, *Just Stop Oil (JSO)* aktivistleri Phoebe Plummer'ı iki yıl, Anna Holland'ı ise yirmi ay hapis cezasına çarptırdı. Bu iki aktivist, Van Gogh'un Londra'daki Ulusal Galeri'de bulunan Ayçiçekleri tablosuna domates çorbası fırlatmışlardı. Tabii diğer benzer eylemlerde olduğu gibi, tablo koruyucu bir camın arkasındaydı ve esere bir zarar gelmedi. Müzelerdeki ve sanat galerilerindeki ünlü sanat eserlerine yönelik iklim eylemleri arasında en ses getirenlerden biri olan bu eylem, Britanya hükümetinin petrol aramalarını durdurmasını talep etmek amacıyla yapılmıştı.

İklim konularında yazan gazeteci, yazar George Monbiot'ya göre, birkaç ay önce iklim aktivistlerine verilen en ağır cezalardan birini yine aynı mahkemede, aynı yargıç, Christopher Hehir vermişti. Londra'nın çevreyolu M25'i iklim krizine neden olan şirketleri ve hükümeti protesto etmek amacıyla bloke etmeyi planlayan (eylem gerçekleşmiş değildi) beş aktivistten dördü (Daniel Shaw, Louise Lancaster, Lucia Whittaker De Abreu ve Cressida Gethin) dört yıl, biri (*Just Stop Oil* ve *Extinction Rebellion*'un kurucusu Roger Hallam) beş yıl hapis cezasına çarptırılmış ve cezaya aynı yargıç hükmederek aktivistleri cezaevine göndermişti. Monbiot'ya göre iklim aktivistlerine verilen cezaların orantısızlığı, yakın dönemde ırkçı ayaklanmaya karışan aşırı sağcı aktivistlere verilen küçük cezalarla karşılaştırıldığında daha iyi anlaşılıyordu.[2] Peki bu cezalar iklim aktivistlerine tahammül edemeyen bir yargıcın kişisel yorumundan mı kaynaklanıyordu, yoksa küresel alanda yaygın bir ruh halinin yansıması olduğu söylenebilir mi?

Bu kitapta bütün ayrıntılarıyla sunulan sanat yapıtlarına yönelik iklim eylemlerinin ilginç yanlarından biri aldığı kamuoyu desteğinin azlığıdır. Sadece sosyal medyada eylem haberlerine yönelik tepkilere bile baksanız, çoğunluğun bu eylemleri "aptalca" bulduğunu, aktivistleri en hafif olanlarda düşüncesizlikle ve çocukça davranmakla, daha ağır eleştirilerde ise vandalizmle veya şiddet kullanarak harekete zarar vermekle suçladığını görebilirsiniz. İklim krizi üzerine çalışan, aktivist ve uzman kendi yakın çevremde de bu eylemleri destekleyen ve aktivistleri savunanlar az sayıda. Sanat eserlerine yönelik eylemlerin büyük ölçüde iklim krizinin esasıyla ilgisiz bulunduğu, faydasız görüldüğü, çözüm odaklı olmamakla, hatta çözüm yolunda alınan mesafeye zarar vermekle suçlandığı söylenebilir. Öte yandan bu kadar iyi düşünülmüş ve planlanmış, saldırgan görünmesine rağmen eserlere bir zarar vermemeyi başarmış, uzun süredir çok sayıda aktivistin katılımıyla farklı ülkelerde devam eden bir eylem dizisinin bütün bu eleştirileri duymadığı, değerlendirmediği de düşünülemez. Yani düşüncesizlik-

[1] Kıdemli Uzman ve İklim Değişikliği Çalışmaları Koordinatörü, İstanbul Politikalar Merkezi

[2] George Monbiot, As the waters rise, a two-year sentence for throwing soup. That's the farcical reality of British justice, 1 Ekim 2024. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2024/oct/01/prison-uk-justice-system-fossil-fuel-industry

ten, çocukça bir tepkisellikten ve rastgele saldırganlıktan öte bir şeyle karşı karşıyayız.

Sanat eserlerine yönelik eylemler birkaç yönden değerlendirilebilir. Eylemlerin sertlik derecesiyle iklim krizinin şiddeti arasındaki karşılaştırmayı yazının son kısmına bırakarak önce sanat eserinin ne olduğuyla ilgili tartışmaların bize öğretebileceği bir iki noktaya değinmeye çalışayım.

Sanata yönelik en ilginç meydan okumalardan biri Joseph Beuys'un imzasını taşır. Bugün dünyanın çeşitli müze ve galerilerinde eserleri sergilenen ve antikapitalist duruşuna rağmen ölümünden sonra eserlerine yüksek değerler biçilen Alman sanatçı Beuys'un en ilginç işlerinden biri, 1972'de Kessel'de yapılan Documenta 5'te 100 gün boyunca boş bir odada masanın başında oturarak ziyaretçilerle politik konuları tartıştığı "Doğrudan Demokrasi Bürosu"ydu. Daha sonra Alman Yeşiller Partisi'nin de kurucuları arasında yer alan Beuys, sanat eserini bir vitrinde sergilenen, hayranlık ve heyecan uyandıran pahalı bir nesne olmaktan çıkarıp, katılan herkesin parçası olduğu, geçici ve bedelsiz politik bir deneyime dönüştürmüştü. Beuys'un pek çok başka işi de (örneğin yine Kessel'de, bu kez Documenta 7'de yaptığı 7 bin meşe ağacı işi) sanatı galerilerin ticari alanından çıkaran, sadece eserin temasıyla değil, mekanı ve performansıyla da sistemi eleştiren nitelikteydi. Bugün büyük bir müzede sergilenen bir Beuys eserine (örneğin Pompidou Center'daki keçe giydirilmiş piyanoya-"*Homogenous infiltration for grand piano*") çorba fırlatılsa bu sanat eserine saldırı mı olur yoksa Beuys'un sanat anlayışına yeni bir tür yorum getirmek mi?

Amacım sanat eseri nedir sorusunu tartışmak değil elbette. Bu tartışma hem bu yazının sınırlarını hem de uzmanlık alanımı aşar. Sormak istediğim ilk soru, bu eylemlerin bu kadar öfke yaratmasının en önemli nedeninin inanların sanat eserinin estetik değerine ve biricikliğine dair algısıyla mı yoksa eserin ekonomik değeriyle mi ilgili olduğu. İklim aktivistlerinin seçtiği eserlerin ortak yanı bu eserlerin tanınmış olması. İlgi çekmeyi ve basında manşet olmayı hedefleyen bir eylemin ilk kuralı elbette budur. Ama eserlerin tanınmış olmaları güzel olmaları kadar pahalı olmalarıyla da ilgili. Bir sanat eserinin sanat eseri olup olmadığını parasal değeri mi belirler? Herkesin güzel ve paha biçilmez bulduğu bir eserin bu tür bir değer kazanması sadece kolektif bilinçle mi ilgilidir yoksa bu değeri saptayan sanat piyasasının gücü daha mı önemlidir? İkinci soru, iklim krizinden kaygı duyan insanların ortak paydalarından birini oluşturan hümanizmle ilgili. İnsan merkezli bir uygarlık ve değer anlayışı modernleşmenin temelini oluşturur. Hümanizm sadece insanı merkeze koymakla kalmaz insan üretimini ve yaratıcılığını da merkeze koyar. Sadece somut "insanın" değil, özellikle de soyut "insanlığın" asıl değer kaynağı olduğu bir düşünce biçimi, insanın yarattığı ve insanlığın geleceğini tehdit eden krizlere de daha duyarlıdır. Modernleşmenin diğer temeli ise fosil yakıtlardır; daha doğrusu fosil yakıtların yakılması sayesinde büyüyen ekonomi, gelişen teknoloji ve küreselleşme. Bugün iklim krizinin yarattığı dehşet duygusunun da etkisiyle insanı merkezden almaya cesaret eden doğa merkezci ve post hümanist anlayışlardan söz ediyoruz. Bu bakış açısı haklı olarak hümanist geleneğin sembolü bir sanat eseriyle küresel ısınmanın etkisiyle yanan bir ormanda yok olan türlerin hangisinin daha nadir veya değerli olduğunu sorabilir

veya bir eşdeğerlik ilişkisi kurabilir. Neticede hümanist kabullere meydan okuyan bir iklim aktivizminden söz ediyor olamaz mıyız? Üçüncü ve son soru ise bu tür sert ve dışavurumcu bir eylem biçimiyle iklim krizine çözüm bulmak için giriştiğimiz serinkanlı mücadele arasında açılan makasla ilgilidir. Bu sonuncuyu biraz daha açmaya çalışayım.

İkim krizi sanayi sonrasının, bugün yaygın deyimle Antroposen olarak adlandırılan dönemin ürünü. Kapitalizmin doğayı bir kaynak deposu olarak gören kâr odaklı ekonomik anlayışı, iklim krizinin giderek derinleşmesine neden oluyor. Başta ekososyalist literatür olmak üzere yeşil düşünce ve çevre politikaları alanında kapitalizmin sorunun kaynağı olduğu ve yıkılmadığı ya da radikal bir şekilde dönüştürülmediği sürece iklim ve yok oluş krizleriyle mücadelenin başarısız olacağı kaygısı yaygındır. Ama aynı zamanda küresel bir alternatifin ufukta görülmediği dünya çapında bir sistemin yıkılmasına bel bağlamak, mücadeleyi sadece bir devrim beklentisinin veya siyasetinin bir parçası veya aracı haline getirmek, iklim krizini oluruna bırakmakla aynı anlama gelebilir. Oysa iklim felaketlerinin giderek şiddetlendiği, göçlerden gıda krizine ve savaşlara kadar pek çok toplumsal sorunun iklim kriziyle iç içe geçtiği, her 0,1 derece ısınmanın milyonlarca daha fazla insanın ve canlının hayatına mal olduğu ortada. Bu nedenle de en radikal politik önermeleri savunanların bile basit hükümet politikalarını değiştirmeye, yenilenebilir teknolojileri yaygınlaştırmaya veya daha "yeşil" bir kapitalizm için mücadele etmeye gönül indirmek zoruna kaldığı bir dönemdeyiz. Küresel iklim hareketinin geçen 30 yılının, bir yandan radikal iklim adaleti hareketlerinin bir yandan da sistem için politika araçlarının geliştirildiği uzman sivil toplum örgütlerinin gelişimine sahne olması şaşırtıcı değildir.

Şirketlerin güdümündeki iş ve kâr odaklı, iklim krizini bir girişim alanı olarak gören anlayışı tamamen dışarıda bırakarak söylüyorum: Bugün bir şeyleri değiştirmeyi başaran, Paris Anlaşmasını yaratan, iklim müzakerelerini sürdüren, enerji dönüşümünü norm haline getiren güç, kırılgan ve ilerici ülkelerin hükümetleriyle ve bilim insanlarıyla birlikte hareket eden öncü iklim hareketidir. Ancak bu başarı öncü iklim hareketinin kendisini büyük ölçüde profesyonelleştirmiş, uzman ve bir ölçüde de bürokratik hale getirmiştir. Hatta kısmen Avrupa'da, özellikle de küresel güneydeki önce gelen iklim aktivistlerinin devletlerin iklim müzakeresi heyetleriyle epey iç içe geçmiş olduğu söylenebilir. Bu aslında, sivil toplum alanında son yıllardaki en büyük başarı hikayelerinden birinin bedelidir. Başarılı olmaya başlayan sivil toplum hareketlerinin ve radikal siyasal alternatiflerin realist politikaya sıkışıp kalması sürpriz sayılmaz. Tıpkı koalisyon ortağı olarak hükümetlere giren Avrupalı yeşil partilerin giderek siyasi elitin bir parçası olarak muhafazakarlaşması gibi, iklim aktivistleri de zaman içinde sembolik veya doğrudan eylemlerin faydasızlığına daha fazla ikna olmaya başlamış gibidir. Bir otoyolu veya petrol taşımacılığı yapılan bir limanı bloke eden doğrudan eylemler de neticede herhangi bir müzede hiçbir şeyle ilişkisi olmadan sergilenen değerli bir tabloya çorba fırlatmak kadar semboliktir. *Greenpeace* gibi sembolik eylemlerin markası olmuş bir örgütün bile düşünce kuruluşuna dönüşmeye başladığı bir dönemde, hareketin epey dışında kalmış bir grup öfkeli aktivistin bütün bu kurulan düzeni bozmasına, her şeyi berbat etmesine izin verilebilir mi!? Ben bu

konunun iklim hareketinin önündeki en büyük açmazlardan biri olduğunu düşünüyorum. Sanat eserlerine psödo-şiddet eylemleri yapmak medyada yer aldığı ve ilginç olduğu için tartışmanın odağına oturmuş olabilir. Ama bütün başarısını ve meşruiyetini 1970'lerin ilk yarısından itibaren yaptığı işgal ya da blokaj eylemleriyle kitlesel gösterilere borçlu bir hareketin sembolik eylemleri "faydasız" bulmaya başlaması bir ikilemdir.

Tabii meselenin iklim anksiyetesi boyutunu da atlamamak gerekiyor. 2018'de bir yandan İsveçli Greta Thunberg'in başlattığı yeni kuşağın iklim grevleri bir yandan da Birleşik Krallık'ta ortaya çıkan Yokoluş İsyanı'nın doğrudan eylemleri, Paris Anlaşması'na ve hızlanan enerji dönüşümüne rağmen emisyonların artmaya devam etmesine, iklim felaketlerinin yayılmasına ve küresel ısınmanın korkulan 1,5 derece sınırına giderek yaklaşmasına yönelik bir tepki olarak ortaya çıktı. Hareketin bu yeni radikal kanadı, sadece yetersiz hedeflerle dünya ekonomisinin olması gereken dönüşümün gerisinde kalmasına neden olan hükümetlere ve dönüşümü engelleyen fosil yakıt şirketlerine duyulan tepkinin sonucu değildi; serinkanlı, gerçekçi, politika araçları oluşturmaya ve müzakereye ağırlık veren iklim hareketinin de sokağın sabırsızlığını ve öfkesini yansıtmadığı düşünülüyordu. Ses getiren sembolik ve yıkıcı eylemler yapmak sivil hakları hareketinden savaş karşıtlarına ve feministlere kadar bütün sosyal hareketlerin en eski taktiklerinden biridir. Sanat eserlerine saldırılar da (üstelik son dönemdeki gibi zarar vermemeye özel bir önem vererek de değil, bayağı şiddet içeren bir şekilde) yeni bir taktik değil. Sufrajetlerin yine Londra'daki Ulusal Galeri'de bulunan Diego Velázquez'in Aynadaki Venüs tablosuna saldırısı iyi bilinen bir örnektir. Bu tür eylemlerin vermeye çalıştığı (Plummer'ın eylem sırasında da söylediği) "sanatın yaşamdan daha önemli olmadığı" mesajı, estetik ve hümanist açıdan hoşumuza gitmese de bu sadece hümanist kabullere bir meydan okuma değil, aynı zamanda hayal kırıklığının ve öfkenin dışa vurumudur. İklim anksiyetesi sadece geleceğinden kaygı duyan gençlerin iç dünyalarıyla sınırlı kalmayabilir. Kurulu düzenin, öfkeli aktivistlerin eyleminden çok niyetine ağır cezalar kesmeye başlaması (Yargıç Hehir bunu gerekçeli kararında açıkça belirtiyor), mesajın alınması olarak da okunabilir. Krize çözüm bulmak için fosil yakıt şirketlerine ve genel olarak sisteme yönelik bir adım atmaktansa yıkımı görünür hale getiren öfkeli aktivistlere yönelmek sadece ifade özgürlüğünü kısıtlamak yoluyla değil, sivil topluma ve sosyal hareketlere arzu edilen yönde yön ve intizam vererek de demokrasiyi tahrip eder.

Sanat eserinin ne olduğu ve değeri sorularına geri dönelim. Bu eylemlerin kendisi de bir sanatsal performans olarak görülebilir mi? Yazının başında sözünü ettiğimiz ağır hapis cezalarına tepki olarak aralarında sanatçıların, sanat tarihçilerinin ve akademisyenlerin de olduğu yüzden fazla ismin yayınladığı bir bildiride tam da bu konu, şöyle ele alınmıştır[3]:

"Sanatçılar, sanat çalışanları ve sanat tarihçileri olarak, mahkemelerin karar ve hükümlerinde yanlış bir sanatsal saflık kavramını savunmalarından endişe duyuyoruz. Sanat put kırıcılık

[3] Greenpeace UK, Artists, art workers and historians' open letter to Judge Hehir, 26 Eylül 2024. https://www.greenpeace.org.uk/resources/open-letter-to-judge-hehir/

(ikonoklazm) olabilir ve çoğu zaman da öyledir. Bu aktivistler, tamamen sanatsal kanonla bağlantılı bir eylem yaptıkları için hapis cezasına çarptırılmamalıdır.

En azından 1900'den beri, yirminci yüzyıl başlarının Fütüristleri ve Dadaistlerinden, 1950'lerde Asger Jorn'un 'modifikasyonlarına' ya da Robert Rauschenberg'in De Kooning'in bir çizimini silmesine; 1960'larda Gustav Metzger, Gutai Grubu, Jim Dine, Marta Minujín ve diğer birçok performans sanatçısına; 1990'larda Alexander Brenner'in bir Malevich tablosunu sprey boyayla boyamasına; Jake ve Dinos Chapman'ın nadir Goya gravürlerini 'düzeltmesi'ne; ya da günümüzün Banksy gibi sokak sanatçılarının grafitilerine kadar, avangart sanatçılar sanatsal pratiklerinin bir parçası olarak putları kırma çağrısında bulunmuş ya da bunu gerçekleştirmişlerdir. Çoğu JSO aktivistlerinin yaptıklarından fiziksel olarak çok daha yıkıcı olan bu put kırıcı işler, bugün dünyanın dört bir yanındaki müzelerde saygı görüyor. Bu tür put kırıcı eserler, 2013 yılında Tate Britain tarafından düzenlenen İngiliz İkonoklazm Tarihi de dahil olmak üzere, devlet müzelerinde düzenlenen sergilere de konu oluyor.

Uzman görüşümüze göre, JSO'nun bu eylemini ve verdiği sosyal mesajı bir sanat eserine dışarıdan yapılan bir saldırı olarak değerlendirmek yanlış olacaktır. Bu eylemler yukarıda belirttiğimiz köklü yaratıcı put kırıcılık geleneğine aittir. Ayçiçekleri'nin hikayesini ve toplumsal anlamını kaçınılmaz olarak zenginleştirecek yaratıcı ve sert bir iş olarak hatırlanacak, tartışılacak ve kendi içinde değer görecektir (…).

Sanatçı kolektifi Liberate Tate, BP sponsorluğunu sona erdirmek için Tate galerilerinin içine petrol dökerek izinsiz performans müdahaleleri yapmıştı. İlk başlarda bu tür bir put kırıcılık öfkeyle karşılandı, ancak toplumsal hava değiştikçe grubun sanat eserleri Tate'in arşivinde yer almaya başladı.

Plummer ve Holland kırmızı-turuncu füzeyi fırlattıklarında tablonun çorbadan sağlam bir cam bölmeyle korunduğunu biliyorlardı; hardal sarısı, sarkık çiçeklerin üzerine Pollock-vari bir serpinti oldu. İkonoklazmları geçiciydi, protestolarına bakılmasını sağlamak için yapılan bir gösteriydi. Vincent Van Gogh, ressam arkadaşı Paul Gauguin ile girdiği bir tartışmanın ardından kendini cezalandırmak için kendi kulağını kesmeden sadece birkaç ay önce Ayçiçekleri'ni resmetmişti. 27 Eylül'de Yargıç Hehir, Plummer ve Holland'ı, sanat yoluyla toplumsal vicdanımıza seslenen yüzyıllık bir geleneği sürdürdükleri için hapis cezasıyla cezalandırmaktan kaçınmalıdır."

Aktivistlerin asıl mesajına geri dönelim: Sanat eserlerine yönelik sembolik eylemlerin çıkış noktası, insan elinin ürünü olan ve yaşamsal bir önemi olmayan eserlere verilen önemin, yaşamın temeli olan ve yok edildiği takdirde hepimizin ve tüm canlıların da birlikte yok olacağı doğaya ve gezegene verilmediği düşüncesi. Sanat eserleri insan yaratıcılığının estetik ve rafine ürünleri olabilir. Ama petrol kuyuları, kömür madenleri, boru hatları, devasa ulaşım filoları ve plastikler de insan emeğinin oldukça sofistike ürünleridir. Bunlara verilen yüksek değerin alaşağı edilmediği bir dünyada iklim krizini durdurmaktan söz edilebilir mi? *Yokoluş İsyanı*'nın yaptığı bir açıklamada, Plummer ve Holland'ın hapis cezasına çarptırıldığı gün, Helene kasırgasının ABD'nin Kuzey Carolina eyaletinde en az 93 kişinin ölümüne yol açtığı hatırlatılıyordu[4] (Bu sayı daha sonra 234'e yükseldi). İklim felaketleri o kadar hızlı yayılıyor ki bu yıl gördüğümüz gibi yüzlerce kişinin öldüğü İspanya selleri, devasa Atlantik kasırgaları, Portekiz'i ve ABD'yi saran orman yangınları ve Pasifik'teki süper tayfunlar neredeyse aynı anda görülüyor ve birkaç gün içinde haber değerini yitiriyor. Paris Anlaşması'na ve hızlanan enerji dönüşümüne rağmen, geç kalındığı ve yeterince radikal bir dönüşümün önündeki engeller temizlenmediği için, şu anda 1,5 dereceyi gören küresel ısınmanın yüzyıl sonuna kadar sanayi öncesi döneme göre 3 dereceye

[4] HXR Public Statement in Response to the sentencing of Phoebe Plummer and Anna Holland, 13 Ekim 2024. https://healthforxr.com/hxr-public-statement-in-response-to-the-sentencing-of-phoebe-plummer-and-anna-holland/

ulaşacağına kesin gözüyle bakılıyor. Üstelik ısınmanın eskisi gibi doğrusal gitmediği ve giderek hızlandığı, 2 derece sınırının da beklenenden çok önce, 2040'ların başında aşılacağına dair kanıtlar çoğalıyor. Bu gidişatın sonucu eskiden 500 yılda veya 100 yılda bir görülen büyüklükteki sellerin, orman yangınlarının, sıcak dalgalarının ve kurak dönemlerin artık dünyanın çeşitli yerlerinde birkaç yılda bir hatta her yıl görülmeye başlanması. İklim krizinin beklenen sonucu olan su kıtlığı ve gıda krizleri de henüz kalıcı hale gelmiş olmasa da 2 dereceden sonra başa çıkması güç bir hal alabilir. İklim aktivistlerinin sanat eserlerine yönelik eylemleri bu gerçeklerden daha mı sert?

Fosil yakıtların yakılması sonucunda atmosferde biriken karbondioksit miktarı son 10 milyon yılın en yüksek seviyelerine çıkmış durumda. Küresel sıcaklıklar da şimdiden son buzul çağından önceki en sıcak dönem olan 120 bin yıl önceki Eemian ortalamasına yaklaştı. Yüzyıl sonuna kadar görmemiz beklenen sanayi öncesi Holosen normalinden 3 derece sıcak bir dünya bundan 5 milyon yıl önceki, buzul çağlarının henüz başlamadığı, insan türünün ortada olmadığı, ancak erken insansı türlerin Afrika savanlarında yaşadığı Pliyosen dönemde görülmüştü. Homo sapiens ve insan uygarlıkları normalden 2-3 derece daha sıcak bir dünyada hiç yaşamadı ve bugünkü kalabalık, karmaşık insan topluluklarının bu kadar sıcak bir dünyanın getireceği sorunlarla ve felaketlerle başa çıkıp çıkamayacağını bilmiyoruz. Yani yüzyılın sonundan önce uygarlıklar çökebilir. Bu kadar hızla büyüyen bir krize verilen "soğukkanlı" cevap da hep mevcut ekonomik sistemin bu kadar hızlı bir dönüşümle başa çıkamayacağı oluyor. Bu ikilem nasıl aşılacak?

Değişim zordur ve sadece yerleşik çıkar sahiplerinin değil, değişimden fayda sağlayacak da olsa belirsizlikten korkan, mevcut yaşam biçimlerine ve alışkanlıklarına bağlı kitlelerin de tepkisini çeker. Sanat eserlerine yönelik iklim aktivizmi bu tür bir konformizme yönelik sert bir uyarı çığlığı olabilir. İklim aktivistlerini yargılayan İngiliz mahkemelerinde, sanıkların eylemlerinin nedenlerini açıklayan savunmalar yapmaları yasaklanıyor. George Monbiot'un verdiği bir örnekte Essex'teki bir petrol terminaline karşı yolun altından tünel kazarak blokaj eylemi yapan dört iklim aktivistine 15 ayla 3 yıl arasında değişen hapis cezaları verildiği, ancak BBC'nin haberi verirken eylemin amacından hiç söz etmediği ve aktivistleri sebepsiz yere bir yolun altına tünel kazan suçlular olarak gösterdiği belirtiliyordu. Rahatsız edici doğrudan veya sembolik iklim eylemlerinin görünürlüğünü engellemenin bir yolu olarak eylemlerin arkasındaki mantığı anlatmayı yasaklayacak kadar düşünce özgürlüğünü kısıtlamak, sanat eserlerine yönelik sembolik eylemleri kısa yoldan vandalizm olarak tanımlamakla aynı amacı güdüyor. Adam McKay'in iklim kıyameti taşlaması *Yukarıya Bakma (Don't Look Up)* filminin ana fikri, Birleşik Krallık'taki yargı sistemi tarafından uygulamaya sokulurken, insanlar da rahatsız edilmeden ve değer yargılarıyla oynanmadan içinde yaşadıkları sistemin radikal bir şekilde değişmesini bekliyorlar. Van Gogh'un Ayçiçekleri'nin tadını "yukarıya bakmadan" almaya devam edebilecek miyiz? Sanat ve aktivizm kitabı, bu soruyu soranları ilgilendiriyor.

Ümit ŞAHİN

ÖNSÖZ

İklim krizi sadece çevresel bir kriz değildir; kültürel, estetik ve etik bir kriz olmakla birlikte temelde insanlık krizidir. Sanatın da rolü bu krizi temsil eden bir alan olmanın ötesine geçerek onu görünür kılan, tartışan ve toplumsal dönüşümün parçası haline getiren etkin bir aktöre dönüşmüştür. Bu kitap, sanat ile iklim krizi arasındaki bu çok katmanlı ilişkiyi farklı boyutları ve karmaşık doğasından hareketle değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. İklim değişikliği uzun yıllar büyük ölçüde çevre bilimleri, ekonomi ve siyaset ekseninde tartışılsa da son yıllarda yaşanan gelişmeler, bu krizin doğal çevre dışında kültürel mirası, sanat kurumlarını, yaratıcı üretim süreçlerini ve estetik bakış açısını da dönüştüren çok katmanlı bir olgu olduğunu göstermektedir. Seller, yangınlar, kuraklık ve aşırı hava olaylarının etkisi sadece ekosistemlerle sınırlı değildir; iklim krizi müzeleri, tarihi yapıları, arşivleri ve sanat eserlerini de tehdit etmektedir. Bununla birlikte söz konusu kriz sanatçıların üretim pratiklerini, kültür kurumlarının politikalarını ve sanatın toplumsal rolünü yeniden düşünmeye zorlayan yeni tartışma alanları açmaktadır.

Bu doğrultuda iklim değişikliğinin kültürel etkilerinden başlayarak çevresel sanatın tarihsel dönüşümü, ekolojik aktivizmin kuramsal arka planı, müze protestoları, eko-vandalizm tartışmaları, çevre örgütlerinin eylemleri, bu eylemlere yönelik toplumsal ve kurumsal tepkiler, alternatif mücadele biçimleri ve Türkiye'deki güncel durum ortak bir kuramsal çerçeve içinde ele alınmaktadır.

Çalışmanın temel çıkış noktası, son yıllarda dünya genelinde müzelerde ve kamusal alanda gerçekleşen iklim protestolarının çoğu zaman tek boyutlu biçimde "vandalizm" olarak tanımlanmasıdır. Kitap bu eylemleri ön kabuller üzerinden değil, amaçları, yöntemleri, yöneldikleri kültürel nesneler, yarattıkları etkiler ve etik boyutları bakımından ayrı ayrı değerlendirmekte, iklim aktivizmi, sanat aktivizmi ve eko-vandalizm eylemlerini ayrı kategoriler olarak ele alarak bu eylem formları arasındaki sınırların bulanıklığını ve dolayısıyla belirli bir dönem yerine gerçekleşen eylemleri protestolar bazında değerlendirmenin gerekliliğini savunmaktadır. İnsanlık var olduğu sürece toplumlarda bireylerin her zaman adaletsizlik karşısında etkin rol oynadığı geçmiş örneklerde olduğu gibi bu eylemlere ilişkin mevcut tespitlerin gelecekte yaşanacak olan başka olaylar, eylemler ya da protestolar için geçerli olmayacağı koşulların ortaya çıkabileceği de en baştan kabul edilmiştir. İklim değişikliğine ilişkin etkili önlemler alınmadığı ve insanlık yok olma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya kaldığı koşullarla yaşamaya devam ettiği sürece gerek iklim aktivizminin gerek sanat aktivizminin varlığını sürdüreceği ve yeni formlara dönüşerek gelişeceği, bu süreçte kültür kurumlarının ya da kültürel mirasın da bir araç olarak kullanılmaya devam edeceği açıktır.

Ezgi TOKDİL
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