

Ahlâkın Yayısı

Bilim ve Aklın İnsanlığı Hakikate, Adalete ve Özgürlüğe
Sevk Edişinin Hikayesi

Michael Shermer

Çeviren: Erhan Güzel

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GİRİŞ

Ahlâkın

Yayını Bükme

21 Mart Pazar, 1965. Selma, Alabama

Yaklaşık 8.000 kişi Brown Şapeli'nde buluşup Selma kasabasından Alabama eyaletinin Montgomery şehrine doğru yürüyüşe geçti. Göstericiler çoğunlukla Afrikalı-Amerikalılardan* oluşuyorlardı ve eyalet meclisine yürümelerinin tek nedeni vardı: *adalet*. Tek talepleri oy kullanma hakkının kendilerine verilmesiydi. Fakat bu mücadelelerinde yalnız değillerdi. ABD'nin neredeyse her eyaletinden, "her ırktan, dinden ve her sınıftan" göstericiler, siyah kardeşleriyle birlikte yürümek için bir araya gelmişlerdi. En ön safta ise halkını Mısır'dan çıkaran Musa misali bu yürüyüşe önderlik eden, Nobel Barış Ödülü sahibi vaiz ve insan hakları savunucusu, din adamı Marthin Luther King Jr. bulunuyordu.

Silahlı polisler ve çevik kuvvetle desteklenmiş ırkçı bir müdahalenin kısıcında, göstericiler daha önce de iki kere yürümeyi denemişler fakat her defasında eyalet polisi ve diğer kolluk kuvvetlerinin sert müdahalesiyle dağıtılmışlardı. "Kanlı Pazar" diye de bilinen ilk seferde, yürüyüşçüler geri dönmeleri konusunda yetkililer tarafından uyarılmışlar fakat bu uyarıyı gözden gelmişler ve kolluk kuvvetlerine alkış tutan, tezahüratta bulunan seyircilerin huzurunda gaz bombalarına maruz kalmışlar, coplar ve dikenli teller sarılmış sopalarla darp edilmişlerdi. İkinci girişimlerinde yine çok sayıda eyalet polisi tarafından karşılanmışlar, geri dönmeleri yönünde uyarı almışlar, bunun üzerine King dua etmek için izin istemiş ve ardından göstericileri yollarından döndürmüştü.

Fakat bu kez iş başkaydı. Bu kez Başkan Lyndon B. Johnson tehlike sinyallerinin farkına erken varıp başlarında komutanlarıyla birlikte 2.000 askerin

* İngilizce'de melezliğe ve çoğulculuğa vurgu yapan kelimeler tire ile bağlanır.

yürüyüşçülere eşlik etmesi emrini vermişti. Yürüyüşçüler bu sayede bu kez yollarına devam edebildiler. Beş gün ve 85 kilometrelik yol boyunca, iliklerine işleyen soğuğa ve sağanak yağışa rağmen yürüdüler. Haber yayıldıkça göstericilerin sayısı katlanarak arttı. 25 Mart günü eyalet meclisinin kapısına dayandıklarında sayıları 25.000'i bulmuştu.

Gelgelelim King'in eyalet meclis binasının basamaklarına dahi adım atmasına izin verilmedi. Yürüyüşçüler kamu mülküne alınmadılar. Meclisin çatısı altında Roma valisi Pontuslu Pilatus misali makamına kurulmuş George Wallace, dışarı çıkmayı ve yürüyüşçülere seslenmeyi reddetti. Bunun üzerine Dr. King meclisin önüne park etmiş bir kamyonun kasasına kurulan derme çatma bir kürsüden göstericilere seslenip özgürlük marşı haline gelen o ünlü konuşmasını yaptı. Sözlerine "derin vadileri"* hep birlikte aşım "taşlı sapa yollarda" dinlendiklerini, güneşte birlikte kavrulup çamurlar içinde hep beraber yattıklarını, yağmurla iliklerine kadar birlikte ıslandıklarını anlatarak başladı. King, özgürlük arayışıyla ABD'nin dört bir yanından gelen kalabalığa, şiddet içermeyen sivil itaatsizlik felsefesinden şaşmamalarını salık veriyordu çünkü ezilen halkların sabrının bir sınırının olduğunu, tokat yiyenin tokat atmaya daima meyilli olduğunu gayet iyi biliyordu. Göstericiler King'i can kulağıyla dinlediler. King, cevabını bildiği şu soruları onlara sordu: "Ön yargı insan gözünü kör etmeye daha ne kadar devam edecek?" "Zihnini daha ne kadar bulandıracak?" "Gözleri ışıl ışıl parlayan bilgeliği kutlu tahtından daha ne kadar mahrum bırakacak?" "Adalet çarmıhta daha ne kadar kalacak ve o çarmıh hakikate daha ne kadar taşıtılacak?"

Dr. King, bu sorulara cevap olarak teskin ve temin edici nasihatlerde bulunuyordu: Ne kadar engellenmeye çalışılırsa çalışılsın özgürlük önünde sonunda gerçekleşecekti. Bu iddiasını dini benzetmeler ve İncil'den yaptığı alıntılarla gerçekçelendiriyordu: "Yerle yeksan hakikat er geç tekrar şahlanacak,"** "Hiçbir yalan sonsuza dek süremez," "İnsan ne ekerse onu biçer"*** ve "Evrensel ahlâkın yayı uzundur ama daima adalete doğru bükülür."³

Bu konuşma, Dr. King'in kariyerindeki en büyük vaazlardan biriydi. Hatta hitabet sanatının tarihteki en iyi örneklerinden biri olduğu dahi söylenebilir. Dahası işe yaradı. Beş aydan kısa bir süre içinde, 6 Ağustos 1965'te, başkan Johnson siyahların oy kullanma hakkını yasalaştıran değişikliği imzaladı. Dr. King'in söylediği doğru çıkmıştı. Evrensel ahlâkın yayı uzundu fakat adalete doğru bükülüyordu.

Dr. King'in atıfta bulunduğu ve bu kitabın başlığının da esin kaynağı olan yukarıdaki söz, 19. yüzyılda yaşamış kölelik karşıtı vaiz Theodore Par-

* İşaya 7:9. İsa 'in çilesine ve Musa'nın Mısır'dan çıkış öyküsüne atf.

** William Cullen Bryant'ın "The Battle-Field" şiirine atf.

*** Galatyalılar, 6:7

ker'a ait. Parker ahlâkî iyimserlik hakkındaki yazısını 1853 yılında, tam da lağvedilmesini arzuladığı kölelik kurumu yüzünden ABD'nin hızla bir iç savaşa doğru sürüklendiği, kötümserlik deryasında boğulduğu bir dönemde kaleme almıştı.

Evrensel ahlâkı tamamen anlıyormuş gibi davranmıyorum. Ahlâkın yayı uzun, gözlerimse onun yalnızca bir kısmını görüyor. Kavisinin nerde bittiğini hesaplamıyorum, şeklin tamamını kestiremiyorum; onu ancak vicdanımla seziyorum. Ama gördüğüm kadarıyla şu kadarını söyleyebilirim ki kesinlikle adalete doğru bükülüyor.⁴

Ahlâkın Yayısı'nda amacım Rahip Parker ile Martin Luther King'in haklı olduklarını, evrensel ahlâkın yayının gerçekten de adalete doğru büküldüğünü göstermek. Fakat ahlâkın yayının izini dinsel vicdanda ve hitabet sanatında sürebileceğimiz gibi, bilgiye ulaşmak için kullanabileceği birçok sorgulama kanalına sahip bilim aracılığıyla da sürebiliriz. Bu sorgulama kanallarının tümü, genel olarak insanlığın her geçen gün biraz daha ahlâklı hale geldiğini bize gösteriyor. Üstelik son birkaç yüzyıl içinde ahlak alanında yaşanan gelişmelerin dinsel kuvvetlerin eseri olmayıp büyük oranda dünyevi kuvvetlerin eseri olduğunu, Akıl Çağı'nda ve Aydınlanma döneminde sahneye çıkan bu kuvvetlerin en önemlilerinin akıl ile bilim olduğunu ileri sürüyorum. Burada akıl ve bilim terimlerinden savların akıl yürütmelerle sınanıp deneyler aracılığıyla doğrulanmasını anlıyorum.

Dahası, evrensel ahlâkın yayının sadece adalete doğru bükülmekle kalmayıp hakikate ve özgürlüğe doğru da büküldüğünü ve bu konuda ulaşılan olumlu sonuçların büyük ölçüde daha seküler yönetim, siyaset, yasa ve hukuk, ahlâkî akıl yürütme ve etik çözümleme tarzlarına yönelmiş toplumların ürünleri olduklarını da ortaya koyuyorum. Zamanla, benim inançlarım, ahlâk kurallarım, yaşam tarzım ve geleneklerimin sadece bana ait oldukları için ya da benim tanrım Tek Tanrı olduğu ve sizinki öyle olmadığı için ya da benim ulusum sizin ulusunuzun canına okuyabilecek kuvvete ve imkânlarla sahip olduğu için başkasınınkinden daha iyi olduğunu iddia etmek daha az kabul edilir hale geldi. Artık kendi inançlarını *dayatmak* diye birşey yok; bunları *gerekleştiriyor* gerekiyor ve bu gerekçeleri de akıl yürütmelere ve deneysel kanıta dayandırmalısınız. Aksi halde bunlar ya önemsenmezler ya da reddedilirler.

Tarihe baktığımızda ara sıra yaşanan kesintilere rağmen ahlak küresini türümüzün diğer mensuplarını da –hatta başka türleri bile– toplumumuzun meşru üyeleri sayıp kapsayacak şekilde istikrarlı biçimde genişlettiğimizi görüyoruz. İnsanlığın filizlenen vicdanı bugün öyle bir noktaya geldi ki artık sadece ailemizin, akrabalarımızın, yakın çevremizin iyiliğini düşünmüyoruz. Bizden hayli farklı olan, mal ve fikir alışverişi yapmaktan keyif aldığımız,

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