Passover
Haggadah
5775/2015
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THE SEDER

1. **Kadesh** – Sanctification of the gathering
   First cup of wine: L’chayim to education!

2. **Ur’chatz** – Washing hands before eating green vegetables

3. **Karpas** - Eating a piece of vegetable dipped in salt water

4. **Yachatz** – Breaking the middle matzah

5. **Maggid** - Telling of the story
   Second cup of wine: L’chayim to solidarity!

6. **Rach’tzah** - Washing hands before eating matzah

7. **Motzi** – Blessing over matzah as food

8. **Matzah** – Blessing over matzah as a special mitzvah

9. **Maror** – Eating the bitter herbs

10. **Korech** – Eating a sandwich of haroset & bitter herbs

11. **Shulchan orech** – Eating the festive meal

12. **Tzafun** - Eating the afikomen

13. **Barech** - Grace after meals
    Third cup of wine: L’chayim to the BDS Movement!

14. **Hallel** - Praise
    Fourth cup of wine: L’chayim to community!

15. **Nirtzah** - Conclusion
Sing: Hinei Mah Tov

Hiney ma tov u’mayim shevet akhim gam yachad
Hiney ma tov u’mayim shevet akhot gam yachad
Hiney ma tov u’mayim shevet kulanu gam yachad

How good and pleasant it is, brother, sisters, all of us, sitting together.

Take a deep breath.
You have made it to the seder, to this consecrated place where we tell and tell again stories of liberation and justice being built.
Take a deep breath.
You have made it through a year of struggle, of solidarity, of heart break. You have bravely crossed the sea. You have mourned our dead.
Take a deep breath.
You have cooked and cleaned and worried about headcounts. You have cleaned out chametz- the muck of life, the forbidden crumbs keeping us from renewal, and liberation.

TELL:

I lived my childhood in a world so dense with Jews that I thought we were the great imposing majority and kindness had to be extended to the others because, as my mother said, everyone wants to live like a person. In school I met my friend Adele, who together with her mother and father were not Jewish. Despite this, they often seemed to be in a good mood. There was the janitor in charge of coal, and my father, unusually smart, spoke Italian to him. They talked about Italian literature, because the janitor was equally smart. Down the hill under the Southern Boulevard El, families lived, people in lovely shades of light and darkest brown. My mother and sister explained that they were treated unkindly; they had in fact been slaves in another part of the country in another time.

Like us? I said.

Like us, my father said year after year at seders when he told the story in a rush of Hebrew, stopping occasionally to respect my grandmother’s pained face, or to raise his wine glass to please the grownups. In this way I began to understand in my own time and place, that we had been slaves in Egypt and brought out of bondage for some reason. One of the reasons, clearly, was to tell the story again and again—that we had been strangers and slaves in Egypt and therefore knew what we were talking about when we cried out against pain and oppression. In fact, we were obligated by knowledge to do so.

But this is only one page, one way to introduce these Haggadah makers, story tellers, who love history and tradition enough to live in it and therefore by definition be part of its change.

---Grace Paley

Grace Paley (1922–2007) was an American-Jewish short story writer, poet, and political activist.
CONSIDER: Thoughts about Mitzrayim and Yisrael
In the wake of the violence, turmoil, colonialist control, and ongoing Occupation, we want to acknowledge the distinction between “mitzrayim”- the narrow place- where the story we tell at Passover takes place and Egypt, the modern-day nation state. We are not conflating contemporary Egyptians with the pharaoh and taskmasters that appear in the Passover story. In the U.S., and worldwide, anti-Arab racism and Islamophobia saturate our media and our culture, and we must be vigilant to oppose it and interrupt it at every turn.

The word Yisrael (Israel) when found in the liturgy (religious text) does not refer to the modern nation/state of Israel, rather it derives from the blessing given to Ya’akov (Jacob) by a stranger with whom he wrestles all night. When the stranger is finally pinned, Ya’akov asks him for a blessing. The stranger says, “Your name will no longer be Ya’akov but Yisrael for you have wrestled with G-d and triumphed.” Therefore when we say “Yisrael” in prayer we are referring to being G-d-wrestlers, not Israelis.

The Seder Plate
At your tables, discuss the significance that each of the items on the seder plate has for you. Below is a list of what appears on the seder plate and an example of meaning that can be assigned to each.

Karpas – A green, spring vegetable symbolizing spring’s bounty.
Beitzah – A boiled egg symbolizing the cycle of life.
Z’roah – A roasted beet or shank bone symbolizing the sacrifices offered.
Maror – Bitter herbs symbolizing the bitterness of oppression
Charoset – A mixture of nuts, fruit and wine symbolizing the mortar Israelite slaves used to lay bricks.
Orange – Symbolizing building Jewish community where women, queer, and transgender people are welcomed and recognized as full, valued participants.
Olive – Symbolizing the self-determination of the Palestinian people and an invitation to Jewish communities to become allies to Palestinian liberation struggles.

DO: Seder plate ritual
From the “After Exodus Haggadah”

It is a tradition in some Sephardic families to pass the seder plate over everyone’s head while singing (or reciting) the order of the seder. The ritual of passing the seder plate is meant to offer a blessing to our guests—may you only know sweetness and may the bitterness and affliction of oppression “pass over you.”

All: Recite the order of the seder

Volunteer: Pick up the seder plate and bless each person at the table. Move the seder plate around each person’s head in a circular motion, then lightly touch the seder plate to the head before blessing the next person. After everyone has been blessed, someone should bless the volunteer.
**BLESS: Candle Lighting**

*At your table, light your candles together.*

**TOGETHER:**

Baruch atah Adonai eloheynu melech ha’olam asher kidshanu b’mitzvotav v’tzivanu l’hadlik ner shel yom tov pesach b’zman cherutaynu.

Blessed is the spirit of freedom in whose honor we kindle the lights of this holiday, Passover, the season of Freedom.

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**BLESS: Shehechianu**

*This blessing is recited when we do something for the first time. We recite now for the unique gathering of people here and in honor of tonight as the last night of Passover 5775.*

**TOGETHE**

Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha’olam shehechianu v’kiamanu v’higianu lazman hazeh

Blessed is the Eternal for giving us life, for sustaining us and for bringing us to this time.
Nizkor, We Remember

Even as we give thanks for the gift of being together at this time, we take a moment of silence, in memoriam of all those who we have lost in the past year, since we last sat our the Passover table together. We remember those killed this past summer during the 50 days of death and destruction in Gaza known as Operation Protective Edge. In Gaza, nearly 2000 people were killed, including over 500 children. In Israel, 4 civilians were killed.

We remember the Black people killed in this country by police and vigilantes. Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Yuvette Henderson, Tamir Rice, and too many others.

We remember the trans people, mostly trans women of color, killed since January 2015. Lamia Beard, Taja Gabrielle de Jesus, Bri Golec, Ty Underwood, Kristina Gomez Reinwald, and too many others.

We remember… [participants share names of those they are remembering]

May the memories of these righteous be a blessing, and a reminder of why we gather together to organize, to co-resist, and to demand justice.

We will now hold a minute of silence in remembrance.

SING: I CAN'T BREATHE PROTEST SONG
by The Peace Poets

I can hear my neighbor crying "I can't breathe"
Now I'm in the struggle saying "I can't leave"
We're calling out the violence of the racist police.
We ain't gonna stop – till people are free.
We ain't gonna stop – till people are free.
BLESS: Social Action Blessing
A blessing to mark the purpose of our gathering—to strengthen our commitment to together pursue justice.

“I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly.”
16 April 1963, Martin Luther King Jr., Letter from a Birmingham Jail

Tonight we have a powerful group of people, gathering around this table telling the Exodus story as one way to gain a deeper understanding of oppression and refuel our work for liberation in our time. While JVP focuses on peace and justice in the Middle East, we are involved in many struggles, in our local communities and around the world, all intersecting and inseparable.

At this seder we have a participants involved in many different facets of the struggle for justice and liberation. Before we say a blessing for social justice, we invite everyone here to share campaigns they are involved in, issues they are working on, struggles they feel passionately connected to. We know that all of our disparate work is but different parts of the same struggle for healing and justice.

Participants may choose to share struggles they are involved in.

TOGETHER:

Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melekh ha-olam asher kid’shanu b’mitzvotav v’tsivanu lirdof tzedek

Blessed is the source who shows us paths to holiness, and commands us to pursue justice.
Kadesh: The first cup of wine

L’chayim to education!

“…Education is where we decide whether we love our children enough not to expel them from our world and leave them to their own devices, not to strike from their hands their chance of undertaking something new, something unforeseen by us, but to prepare them in advance for the task of renewing a common world.” –Hannah Arendt, 1968

We raise the first glass to education. At JVP we continually are educating ourselves on the history of the conflict, the history of social movements that came before, the political analysis of today, the Jewish textual tradition and more. We value popular education that sees the learner as the primary text. May we all continue to learn and value education in all its many forms.

This first cup we raise, l’chayim, to education!

TOGETHER:

Baruch atah Adonai Eloheinu melech ha’olam borei pri hagafen
OR
Brucha at Ya Eloheinu Rucah haolam boreat pri ha

Blessed is the Eternal, determiner of the universe, who creates the fruit of the vine.
**Ur’chatz: Washing hands before eating a green vegetable**

*There is a bowl of water, a cup, and a towel near your table. We invite each person to pour water over their neighbor’s hands, helping them to wash.*

**TOGETHER:**

As we help each other to wash our hands, we reflect on the mutual dependence that water creates. We commit to work for justice with others, rather than in isolation.

**Karpas: Eating a piece of vegetable dipped in salt water**

**TELL:**

While the sound of suffering
Sails lost in the listening
As the voices of heartache hail
The power of presence
People as portals
Passports to heaven
Here is a protest in the form of a prayer
---Poet Aja Monet

*Read at the Dream Defenders Ferguson to Palestine action in Nazareth, Winter 2014*

We dip a spring vegetable into salt water—the spring vegetable reminding us of potential and promise and the salt water reminding us of the tears and the pain along the way. This is an invitation to hold complexity—a reminder that change is possible even in what seems like endless darkness. As you dip the green vegetable into the salt water, affirm for yourself the potential for justice even as we hold the tears of occupation.

**TOGETHER:**

*Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha’olam borei pri ha’adamah*

*Blessed is the One, who sustains all life, and brings forth fruits from the earth*
Yachatz: Breaking the middle matzah

Born in rural Galilee in 1931, Muhammad Ali was left without a home when his village was destroyed in 1948. He fled to Lebanon along with most of the village’s residents, only to return a year later and settle with his family in Nazareth - one mile away from the village of his childhood. A souvenir salesman by trade and a devotee of old Mickey Mouse cartoons, Muhammad Ali is self-taught in the arts of poetry and short fiction.

READ: There Was No Farewell by Taha Muhammad Ali

We did not weep when we were leaving -
for we had neither time nor tears,
and there was no farewell.
We did not know at the moment of parting
that it was a parting,
so where would our weeping have come from?
We did not stay awake all night
(and did not doze)
the night of our leaving.
That night we had neither night nor light,
and no moon rose.
That night we lost our star,
our lamp misled us;
we didn’t receive our share of sleeplessness -
so where would wakefulness have come from?

We will now break the middle matzah, hiding one half to be found later as the afikomen. Once the matzah is broken, it cannot be repaired completely. Irreparable damage has been done -- but the pieces can be reunited.

As we break the middle matzah we acknowledge the break that occurred in Palestinian life and culture with the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 when hundreds of villages were destroyed and hundreds of thousands of people displaced. This damage cannot be undone -- but repair and return are possible.

Inspired by the Israeli organization Zochrot, remembrance, who put up signs on streets and buildings around towns in Israel to reveal the Palestinian communities that once existed there, we will now recite the names of the villages destroyed this week in 1948:

Saydun
Khulda
Sirin
Dayr Muhaysin
Bayt Far
Khirbat
Umm Kalkha
Maggid: Telling of the story

ASK: Four More Questions for Pesach from Rabbi Brant Rosen

We will ask two now, and two more along the way throughout the seder.

Question 1: Maggid, Telling the Tale

A new king arose over Egypt who did not know Joseph. And he said to his people, “Look, the Israelite people are much too numerous for us. Let us deal shrewdly with them, so that they may not increase; otherwise in the event of war, they may join our enemies in fighting against us and rise from the ground.” So they set taskmasters over them to oppress them… (Exodus 1:10-11)

As we begin the Exodus story, we read that the oppression of the Israelites resulted from Pharaoh’s fear that their growth would somehow overwhelm the Egyptian nation. These verses certainly have an ominous resonance for the Jewish people. Indeed any member of a minority faith or ethnic group knows all too well the tragedy that inevitably ensues when a nation views their demographic growth as a “threat.”

Today it is all too common to hear Israel’s leaders and supporters suggest that the “Jewish character” of Israel is threatened by the demographic growth of the Palestinian people. How should we react to the suggestion that the mere fact of this group’s growth necessarily poses a national threat to Israel? As Jews living in the Diaspora, how would we respond if our leaders raised questions about the “demographic threat” of a particular minority group to the “national character” of our country? In a multi-ethnic society, can a state’s identity ever be predicated upon the primacy of one ethnic group without the oppression of another?

Question 2: Zayit, Olive

As we ask this question, pass olives around the table

Zayit: al shum mah? – This olive: why do we eat it?

The olive tree is one of the first plants mentioned in the Torah and remains among the oldest species in Israel/Palestine. It has become a universal symbol of peace and hope, as it is written in Psalm 52:

I am like a thriving olive tree in God’s house, I trust in God’s loyal kindness forever and ever.

We add this olive to our Seder plate as a reminder that we must all be God’s bearers of peace and hope in the world. At the same time, we eat this olive in sorrow, mindful that olive trees, the source of livelihood for Palestinian farmers, are regularly chopped down, burned and uprooted by Israeli settlers and the Israeli authorities. As we look on, Israel pursues systematic policies that increasingly deny Palestinians access to olive orchards that have belonged to them for generations. As we eat now, we ask one another: How will we, as Jews, bear witness to the unjust actions committed in our name? Will these olives inspire us to be bearers of peace and hope for Palestinians – and for all who are oppressed?
BLESS:
B'rucha at Shekhinah, b'tocheynu, ruach ha'olam, borayt p’ri ha-eitz
Blessed are you, Shekhinah, who is within us, spirit of the world, who brings forth fruit from the trees.

SING: The Frog Song
One morning when Pharaoh awoke in his bed
There were frogs on his bed and frogs on his head
Frogs on his nose and frogs on his toes
Frogs here!
Frogs there!
Frogs just jumping everywhere!

SHARE: What questions do you bring to the table? Turn to a neighbor and share what is on your heart and mind. How have you been impacted by the struggle for justice from Ferguson to Palestine?

The Ten Plagues

The idea of justice embodied in our story is direct and unquestioned—suffering for suffering. The people of Mitzrayim suffered because of their own leader, who is in part set-up by an angry G-d eager to demonstrate his own superiority. In our story, all of this was necessary for freedom.

Jews have been troubled by this for generations, and so, before we drink to our liberation, we mark how the suffering diminishes our joy by taking a drop of wine out of our cup of joy for each of the ten plagues visited on the people of Mitzrayim. We are about to recite the ten plagues. As we call out the words, we remove ten drops from our overflowing cups with our fingers.

We will not partake of our seder feast until we undergo this symbolic purification, because our freedom was bought with the suffering of others. As we packed our bags that last night in Egypt, the darkness was pierced with screams. May the next sea-opening not also be a drowning; may our singing never again be their wailing. We shall all be free, or none of us shall be free because our liberations are intertwined.

Dam...Blood
Tzfardeyah...Frogs
Kinim...Lice
Arov...Wild Beasts
Dever...Blight
Shichin...Boils
Barad...Hail
Arbeh...Locusts
Choshech...Endless Night
Makat B’chorot...Slaying of the First-Born
The Ten Plagues of the Israeli Occupation
As we read each of the ten plagues, spill a bit of the wine out of your cup.

1. **Poverty**  
*From The Canadian International Development Agency*  
Almost 58 percent of Palestinians live in poverty, and about half of this group lives in extreme poverty. About 50 percent of Palestinians experience or risk experiencing food insecurity. Food insecurity is particularly severe in Gaza, where the majority of the population relies on humanitarian assistance to survive.

2. **Restrictions on movement**  
In addition to more than 100 permanent checkpoints and the separation wall that snakes throughout the West Bank, the IDF has erected hundreds of physical obstacles: flying checkpoints, concrete blocks, dirt piles, boulders, trenches, and more to block roads and prevent movement between Palestinian communities.

3. **Water shortage**  
*From B’tselem*  
Israel's citizens, like those of developed countries worldwide, benefit year-round from unlimited running water to meet their household needs. On the other hand, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians suffer from a severe water shortage throughout the summer.

This shortage of water affects every function that water plays in human life: drinking, bathing, cleaning, and watering of crops and animals.

The shortage drastically affects the residents' health and economic well-being. The shortage of drinking water can cause dehydration and the inability to maintain proper hygiene and thus lead to illness. Failure to water crops and animals affects the livelihood of the residents.

The water shortage violates the basic human rights of Palestinian residents of the Occupied Territories such as the right to health, to adequate housing, to equality, and to benefit from their natural resources. This harm results from Israeli policy, in effect since 1967, based on an unfair division of resources shared by Israel and the Palestinians.

4. **Destruction of Olive Trees**  
Olive trees have long been a symbol of Palestinian culture and livelihood. Israeli military and settler violence and the construction of the Wall have destroyed hundreds of thousands of Palestinian olive trees since 2000, and more than a million since 1967.

5. **Home demolitions**  
Since 1967, over 18,000 Palestinian homes have been demolished in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem, leaving tens of thousands of families traumatized and without shelter. Under the Fourth Geneva Convention, all occupying powers are prohibited from destroying property or employing collective punishment. Israel's policy of
house demolitions seeks to confine Palestinians to small enclaves, leaving most of the land free for Israeli settlement.

6. **Settlements**
Illegal settlements and the network of “bypass roads” that connect them, continue to claim Palestinian land and escalate violence against Palestinian communities with the complicity of Israeli military. Under article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, Israel is prohibited from establishing settlements.

7. **Child prisoners**
*From www.fosna.org*
Israel practices a systematic policy of arresting, detaining, and torturing Palestinian children. This is in direct contravention to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. The systematic attack on children and their parents, in Gaza and the West Bank, traumatizes an entire generation in an attempt to limit Palestinian self-determination.

8. **Profiteering**

Jewish Voice for Peace chapters nationwide are organizing a variety of local BDS campaign targeting a segment of the companies profiting from the Israeli occupation.

G4S profits from and facilitates the Israeli occupation of Palestine by bolstering Israel's child detention policies by providing the Israeli military with infrastructure and surveillance equipment for multiple Israeli prisons currently holding child prisoners.

VEOLIA profits from the construction and expansion of illegal Jewish-only settlements by operating a landfill in the West Bank, exploiting Palestinian natural resources to serve the settlements, and by contracting for the future operation of an illegal light rail system connecting these settlements with Jerusalem.

HP profits from Israeli control of the Palestinian population of the occupied West Bank by providing the technology for Israel's biometric identification of Palestinian civilians, and of Gaza by providing the IT infrastructure for the Israeli Navy, thereby helping to enforce the blockade of Gaza.

CATERPILLAR profits from the destruction of Palestinian homes and the uprooting of Palestinian orchards by supplying the armor-plated and weaponized bulldozers that are used for such demolition work.

9. **Denial of the Right of Return**
The original Palestinian refugees and their descendants are estimated to number more than 6.5 million and constitute the world’s oldest and largest refugee population. Israel implements a Law of Return giving every Jewish person rights to settle in Israel as a citizen and denies Palestinians the Right of Return guaranteed under international Law.
JVP's position on Palestinian refugees and the right of return:

The plight of Palestinian refugees needs to be resolved equitably and in a manner that promotes peace and is consistent with international law. Within the framework of an equitable agreement, the refugees should have a role in determining their future, whether pursuing return, resettlement, or financial compensation. Israel should recognize its share of responsibility for the ongoing refugee crisis and for its resolution.

10. Erasing histories
Many Jewish schools and communities wrongly teach that in 1948 Palestine was “a land without a people for a people without a land.” Yet the place where Israel was founded was never empty or barren, it was home to almost one million Palestinians living in over 700 villages and cities, who share a vibrant history and culture. Most of these villages and cities were depopulated and renamed during and after 1948, as part of the still ongoing efforts to undermine and disavow Palestinian identity and history.

SING: Palestinian Freedom Riders Song
This song was written to be sung at solidarity actions across the U.S. on November 15, 2011 when six Palestinian human rights activists boarded buses in the West Bank, attempting to reach East Jerusalem.

To the tune: Will the Circle be Unbroken
Words by Mark Gunnery, JVP-Baltimore

A
I was standing by my window
D A
I saw that bus for Jerusalem
A
And I wanted so bad to go
E A
But they said you can't get on.

Well I told that bus driver
I won't stand for apartheid
Because separate is never equal
I'm gonna ride, I'm gonna ride.

I've seen walls and I've seen checkpoints
I've seen segregated highways
But I've never seen al-Quds
Even though I live ten miles away.

And if you lock me in your prison
For demanding equality
You won't stop people from riding
Toward a day when we're all free.

Can the occupation be broken
Freedom Ride, yeah, Freedom Ride
There's a better future waiting
In a free, free Palestine
NAKBA DAYENU

For tonight’s Dayenu, let us all stand. This Dayenu, from Jews Against the Occupation-NYC, is call and response—if you are so moved to read one of these statements, speak up. An uneven chorus of voices, a lone voice and periods of silence are all acceptable. The bolded “We should have said enough” responses we all say together.

When the Etzel and the Stern Gang massacred 250 Palestinians at Deir Yassin, outside of Jerusalem we should have said enough.

When in villages throughout Palestine, Jewish brigades implemented a procedure of expulsion - we should have said enough.

When soldiers rounded up Palestinian men and massacred them collectively – we should have said enough.

When other men were forced to dig their neighbors’ graves – we should have said enough.

When women and children were ordered to walk towards Arab countries, while Jewish soldiers fired shots over their heads – we should have said enough.

When Palestinian men were forced into labor camps, where their labor included destroying Palestinian homes – we should have said enough.

When the on the Eve of Passover, in an operation called, “Cleaning Out Chametz" the Haganah shelled the Palestinian residential quarters of Haifa, forcing 70,000, 90% of the city's Palestinian residents, to flee – we should have said enough.

When similar operations were carried out in Jaffa, Tiberias and Safad – we should have said enough.

When the 10,000 Palestinian residents of Majdal, now Jewish Ashkelon, were enclosed for two years in a ghetto, or closed militarized area, and later forced on trucks and transferred to Gaza – we should have said enough.

When the IDF forced the inhabitants of the cities of Lud and Ramle out of their homes at gunpoint and forced them to march west towards Jordan – we should have said enough.

When, after villages were depopulated, they were obliterated by the IDF, houses and mosques bombed and bulldozed, all signs of former life destroyed – we should have said enough.
When Palestinian homes were confiscated by Israel and repopulated with Jews – we should have said enough.

When the Haganah used live fire to prevent villagers from returning to their homes – we should have said enough.

When Israel continues to deny that the forced expulsions happened – we should have said enough.

When Israel and the American Jewish community continue to deny the Right of Return to the refugees of 1948 - We say: enough!

Dayenu!

TRADITIONAL DAYENU

Ilu hotsi, hotsianu, Hotsianu miMitzrayim, Hotsianu mi Mitzrayim, Dayenu!

Ilu natan, natan lanu, Natan lanu et haShabbat, Natan lanu et haShabbat, Dayenu!

Ilu natan, natan lanu, Natan lanu et haTorah, Natan lanu et haTorah, Dayenu!

LEARN:

Palestinians have faced two centuries of orientalist, colonialist and imperialist domination of our native lands. As countless Palestinian activists and organizers, their parties, associations and campaigns, have attested throughout the last century, our struggle was never, and will never be, with Jews, or Judaism. We reaffirm that there is no room in this historic and foundational analysis of our struggle for any attacks on our Jewish allies, Jews, or Judaism; nor denying the Holocaust; nor allying in any way shape or form with any conspiracy theories, far-right, orientalist, and racist arguments, associations and entities. Challenging . . .the illegitimate power of institutions that support the oppression of Palestinians, and the illegitimate use of Jewish identities to protect and legitimize oppression, must never become an attack on Jewish identities, nor the demeaning and denial of Jewish histories in all their diversity. It leaves one squarely outside true solidarity with Palestine and its people.

...We stand with all and any movements that call for justice, human dignity, equality, and social, economic, cultural and political rights. We will never compromise the principles and spirit of our liberation struggle. We
will not allow a false sense of expediency to drive us into alliance with those who attack, malign, or otherwise attempt to target our political fraternity with all liberation struggles and movements for justice.

When the Palestinian people call for self-determination and decolonization of our homeland, we do so in the promise and hope of a community founded on justice, where all are free, all are equal and all are welcome. Until liberation and return.
---US Palestinian Communities Network statement "Granting No Quarter"

Second cup of wine
L'chayim to solidarity!

Solidarity is hard work. It means ongoing self-reflection, clear accountability structures, continual learning and critical thinking. Also, humility, empathy, commitment, hope and love. Solidarity is about communities with different levels of oppression and privilege uniting in the struggle for liberation. It involves community building, support in struggle, awareness of our own relationship to different forms of oppression, and commitment to action that is accountable to those most directly affected by injustice.

So as we join together tonight to celebrate liberation, we recommit to struggling together for a world where everybody can have their voices heard.

We raise our glass and re-ignite our commitment to the work, responsibility and the joy of solidarity.

L'chayim to solidarity!

TOGETHER:

Baruch atah adnai eloheinu melech ha'olam borei pri hagafen

Brucha at Ya Eloheinu Rucah haolam boreat pri hagafen

Blessed is the Eternal, determiner of the universe, who creates the fruit of the vine.
Rach’tzah: Washing hands before eating matzah

From www.mecaforpeace.org

In the West Bank and Gaza, the Israeli Occupation systematically denies Palestinian adequate quality and quantities of water. Palestinian communities inside the state of Israel have less access to water than their Jewish counterparts, as well. Water is diverted from Palestinian resources in the West Bank (and previously in Gaza) to illegal Israeli settlements and into Israel. Israel denies materials, fuel, and permits to sustain and expand water systems. Military attacks predictably—and often deliberately—destroy wells, water tanks, pipes, treatment plants, and sewage systems. Widespread poverty prevents people from purchasing clean water or repairing their wells and plumbing. The health and well being of virtually every Palestinian child and adult is affected by the shortage of clean, safe water.

Acknowledging the water shortage in Palestine, we will refrain from washing our hands right now.

Motzi & Matzah: Blessing over matzah as food and as a special mitzvah

We will now bless the matzah, “the bread of affliction”, and as we bless it and eat it we dedicate our selves to fighting oppression in all its forms so that never again shall anyone have to eat this bread of affliction, even as we understand so many currently suffer.

Together:

Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha’olam ha’motzi lechem min ha’aretz

Blessed is our God, determiner of the universe, who brings forth bread from the earth.

Together:

Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha’olam asher kidshanu b’mitzvotav v’tzivanu al achilat matzah

Blessed is our God, determiner of the universe, who has made us holy though commandments and has commanded us to eat unleavened bread.
Maror: Eating the bitter herbs

We taste a bit of maror, the bitter herb, as it calls to mind the bitterness of slavery, the bitterness of life under occupation.

Together:

Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha'olam asher kidshanu b'mitzvotav v’tzivanu al achilat maror

Blessed is our God, determiner of the universe, who has made us holy though commandments and has commanded us to eat unleavened bread.

Let us now in silence and mindfulness, taste the bitter herb.

Korech: Eating a sandwich of haroset & bitter herbs

As we prepare to eat the Hillel sandwich with the sweetness of haroset and the bitterness of maror, highlighting the challenge to us to taste freedom in the midst of oppression, to be aware of oppression even as we are free, we hold the contradictions of bitter and sweet.

TELL: Revenge by Taha Muhammed Ali

At times … I wish
even by just a quarter-hour
I could meet in a duel
for a meeting they’d set–
the man who killed my father
then I would not kill him,
and razed our home,
even if I could.
expelling me
Likewise … I
into
would not murder him
a narrow country.
if it were soon made clear
And if he killed me,
that he had a brother or sisters
I’d rest at last,
who loved him and constantly longed to see
and if I were ready–
him.
I would take my revenge!

But if it came to light,
Likewise … I
when my rival appeared,
would not murder him
that he had a mother
if it were soon made clear
waiting for him,
that he had a brother or sisters
or a father who’d put
who loved him and constantly longed to see
his right hand over
him.
or a father who’d put
friends or companions,
his right hand over
neighbors he knew
the heart’s place in his chest
or allies from prison
whenever his son was late
or a hospital room,
or classmates from his school … asking about him and sending him regards.

But if he turned out to be on his own—
cut off like a branch from a tree—
without a mother or father,
with neither a brother nor sister,
wifeless, without a child,
and without kin or neighbors or friends,

... colleagues or companions,
then I'd add not a thing to his pain
within that aloneness—
not the torment of death,
and not the sorrow of passing away.
Instead I'd be content
to ignore him when I passed him by
on the street—as I convinced myself
that paying him no attention
in itself was a kind of revenge.

All: Make and eat a Hillel sandwich
SING: Ella's Song
Lyrics and music by Bernice Johnson Reagon

This year we saw a powerful movement grow in Ferguson, St. Louis in response to the systematic and prolonged killing of people of color in the United States through state sanctioned violence. We witnessed Palestinians living under Occupation sending advice, love, and solidarity to activists in Ferguson, sharing advice for healing from weaponized chemicals via Twitter. Ferguson activists visited Palestine this winter, and sang Ella's Song, a touchstone of this movement. Today in solidarity with this movement, we sing:

We who believe in freedom cannot rest
We who believe in freedom cannot rest until it comes

Until the killing of black men, black mothers' sons
Is as important as the killing of white men, white mothers' sons

That which touches me most is that I had a chance to work with people

Passing on to others that which was passed on to me

To me young people come first, they have the courage where we fail
And if I can but shed some light as they carry us through the gale

The older I get the better I know that the secret of my going on
Is when the reins are in the hands of the young, who dare to run against the storm

Not needing to clutch for power, not needing the light just to shine on me
I need to be one in the number as we stand against tyranny

Struggling myself don't mean a whole lot, I've come to realize
That teaching others to stand up and fight is the only way my struggle survives

I'm a woman who speaks in a voice and I must be heard
At times I can be quite difficult, I'll bow to no man's word

We who believe in freedom cannot rest
We who believe in freedom cannot rest until it comes
**Shulchan orech: Eating the festive meal**

It is now time to eat and shmooze with new and old friends and comrades! Enjoy!

**Tzafun: Eating the afikomen**

We now find the afikomen and bring it together with the piece it was separated from. One comment on this ritual is that it symbolizes the reunification of the 12 tribes of Israel. Rebbe Nachman of Bratslav, a famous rabbi and storyteller who lived in Ukraine during the 19th century, used to call the Patriarch Jacob, who was the father of the 12 sons who would lead the tribes of Israel, "the little that holds a lot." This is because from one person came many different ways to live, act, and be Jewish.

This year we saw one way that a little could do a lot.  
*Take time to name your small (and large) victories from the past year.*

**Barech: Grace after meals**

**Four More Questions for Pesach from Rabbi Brant Rosen**

**Question 3: Return**

*When God returns Zion from captivity, it will be as in our dream; Our mouths will be filled with laughter, our tongues with songs of joy… (Psalm 126: 1-2)*

We begin the blessing after the meal with the image of return: a vision that has always been central to our collective Jewish "dream." Today, of course, this Jewish ideal has been realized by means of political nationalism. Zionism has succeeded in "returning" the Jewish people to sovereignty in its historic homeland.

The founding of the Jewish state, however, has tragically created a nightmare for another people. The creation of Israel in 1948 displaced 700,000 indigenous inhabitants from their land. As a result, over 4,000,000 Palestinian refugees now yearn passionately to return to their homes.

And so we ask: what has the Jewish "return" to Zion wrought? How do we understand a Jewish "right of return" to Israel that grants automatic citizenship to any Jew anywhere in the world while denying that same right to the very people who actually lived on this land not long ago? Can any "return" truly be complete as long as it denies that right to others? Could there possibly be a way that both peoples might realize their respective dreams of return?
Third cup of wine
L’chayim to the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement!

“The Only Recognizable Feature of Hope Is Action”
- Grace Paley, Jewish American author and activist

JVP is proud to be a part of the global, Palestinian-led Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement to end Israeli human rights violations, as part of our work for freedom, justice and equality for all people. We believe that the time-honored, non-violent tools proposed by the BDS call provide powerful opportunities to make that vision real.

We join with communities of conscience around the world in supporting Palestinians, who call for BDS until the Israeli government:

Ends its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands occupied in June 1967 and dismantles the Wall; recognizes the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and respects, protects and promotes the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN Resolution 194.

In the long and varied history of Jewish experience, we are inspired by those who have resisted injustice and fought for freedom. We strive to live up to those values and extend that history. As part of the BDS movement, we make our hope real and our love visible and we claim our own liberation as bound with the liberation of all.

JVP is committed to supporting and organizing all kinds of powerful and strategic campaigns to secure a common future where Palestinians, Israeli Jews, and all the people of Israel/Palestine may live with dignity, security, and peace.

L’chayim to the BDS movement!

TOGETHER:

Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha’olam borei pri hagafen
Brucha at Yah Eloheinu ruach haolam boreat pri hagafen

Blessed is the Eternal, determiner of the universe, who creates the fruit of the vine.
Hallel: Praise
Together we will sing songs of peace & hope

LO YISA GOY
Lo yisa goy el goy cherev
Lo yilmedu od milchama
Nation shall not war against nation, and they shall study war no more.

OSEH SHALOM
Oseh shalom bimromav
Hu ya’aseh shalom aleinu
V’al kol ha olam
V’imru v’imru amein
The one who makes peace on high, make peace upon us, upon all the world and let us say: amen

Take Us out of Mitzrayim
(sung to the tune of “Take Me Out to the Ball Game”)

Take us out of Mitzrayim
Free us from slavery
Bake us some matzah in a haste
Don't worry 'bout flavor--
Give no thought to taste.
Oh it's rush, rush, rush, to the Red Sea
If we don't cross it's a shame
For it's ten plagues,
Down and you're out
At the Pesach history game!
Fourth cup of wine

L’chayim to community!

From the JVP 2011 National Membership Meeting: Building a Community of Respect and Trust, a note from Stefanie Brendler, JVP Board member

We come together as JVP members to strengthen and build community. We come together to envision the world we want to live in: a world where every individual has the right to self-determination by participating in shaping our future together. In this world, we look out and care for one another; we practice trust and kindness; we respect each other's personal (physical and emotional) space; we lend an ear or ask for a helping hand; we believe that everyone comes to do this work with good intent; and, we hold each other accountable when we err.

JVP is home to a multitude of diverse identities (including race, class, gender, sex, sexuality, age, physical ability, size, religion, religious/secular, etc.), and we will affirm each other in our spectrum of identities. We will model our shared vision of the world by creating a space that is as safe, inclusive and supportive as possible for all of us. This includes having thoughtful conversations with each other if/when we hear language used pejoratively or language that perpetuates stereotypes.

We all feel the stress of the present state of affairs, and it is physically and emotionally draining. Though it is sometimes difficult to see, we know there is a rainbow on the other side of the storm cloud of injustice; if we didn’t know this, we wouldn't be participants in the movement for peace and justice. It is because of the rainbow, not the storm cloud, that we act.

We raise the fourth cup to the rainbow. L’chayim to community!

TOGETHER:

Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha'olam borei pri hagafen
Brucha at Yah Eloheinu ruach haolam boreat pri hagafen

Blessed is the Eternal, determiner of the universe, who creates the fruit of the vine.

LEARN:

Most of our youth are taken away to prison. I have been arrested ten times and placed under administrative detention. For my whole life most of the Israelis I met were soldiers and interrogators. But when we started the popular resistance in 2009 I began to see that there were some Israelis who had removed the occupation from their minds. Like Jonathan [Pollack], who was the main person to bring Israelis and internationals here in the beginning. So we became friends.
We don’t hate them on the other side; we simply demand that they end the occupation of their minds. The separation between us is between different ways of thinking, not between land. If we change our ways of thought and remove the mentality of occupation from our minds – not just from the land – we can live together and build a paradise.
--- Bassem Tamimi

**Nirtzah: Conclusion**

**LEARN:**

Guard our going out and our coming in, for life and peace, now and forever

As American Jews we know the history of injustice. We cannot sit by and let injustice happen because we know that "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." We are commanded to not harden our hearts or shut our hand against our brothers or sisters who are in need. These men who have died are part of us; they are our brothers. The people protesting in the streets of Ferguson are our brothers and sisters. They are part of us and part of our community. We must speak out to stop racial profiling and we must rid ourselves of the myth that what happens in Ferguson or on the streets of our own cities, doesn’t affect us. *Blessed are You Compassionate One, who spreads your canopy of peace over all Your people Israel, over Jerusalem and over the entire world.*
---Sandra Lawson, "A Prayer for Ferguson"

**Four More Questions for Pesach from Rabbi Brant Rosen**

**Question 4. “Next Year in Jerusalem!”**

We now end our Seder meal once again with the proclamation "Next Year in Jerusalem!" And so we ask: what will we do to ensure that Jerusalem lives up to its name as a city of peace? How will we respond as the Jewish state increasingly implements policies that claim this holy city in the name of one people only? Do we dare to dream of a city divided or a city truly united for all its inhabitants?

…and if we do believe that Jerusalem must be, once and for all, a true City of Peace, what are we willing to do to make it so?

**CLOSING**

As we close tonight, go around your table and say goodnight and one thing that you are taking away with you from this evening’s seder.

**TOGETHER:** Next Year in Jerusalem! Next Year in al-Quds! Next year in a City of Peace!
SING: OD YAVO SHALOM ALEINU

Od yavo’ shalom aleinu
Od yavo’ shalom aleinu
Od yavo’ shalom aleinu
Ve al kulam (x2)
Salaam (Salaam)
Aleinu ve al kol ha olam,
Salaam, Salaam (x2)

Peace will come upon us
Peace will come upon us
Peace will come upon us
and on everyone.

Salaam (*peace* in Arabic)
On us and on everyone
Salaam, Salaam
ADDENDUM

1. Ferguson List of Demands: Our Vision for a New America
WE WANT JUSTICE FOR MICHAEL BROWN. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR OUR COMMUNITIES

We Want an End to all Forms of Discrimination and the Full Recognition of our Human Rights
The United States Government must acknowledge and address the structural violence and institutional
discrimination that continues to imprison our communities either in a life of poverty and/or one behind
bars. We want the United States Government to recognize the full spectrum of our human rights and its
obligations under international law.

We Want An Immediate End To Police Brutality And the Murder Of Black, Brown & All Oppressed People
Every 28 hours a black person in the United States is killed by someone employed or protected by the
government of the United States. Other communities are also criminalized, targeted, attacked and
brutalized. We want an immediate end to state sanctioned violence against our communities.

We Want Full Employment For Our People
Every individual has the human right to employment and a living wage. Inability to access employment and
fair pay continues to marginalize our communities, ready us for imprisonment, and deny us of our right to a
life with dignity.

We Want Decent Housing Fit For The Shelter Of Human Beings
Our communities have a human right to access quality housing that protects our families and allows for our
children to be free from harm.

We Want an End to the School to Prison Pipeline & Quality Education for All
We want an end to policies that criminalize our young people as well as discriminatory discipline practices
that bar access to quality education. Furthermore, we want all children to be able to access free, quality
education. Including free or affordable public university.

We Want Freedom from Mass Incarceration and an End to the Prison Industrial Complex
We want an end to the over policing and surveillance of our communities. This will hasten an end to the
criminalization of black and brown people and hyper incarceration everywhere. Policing in the United States
has historically helped to enforce racist laws, policies and norms. The result is a massive prison industrial
complex built on the warehousing of black people. We call for the cessation of mass incarceration and the
eradication of the prison industrial complex all together. In its place we will address harm and conflict in our
communities through community based, restorative solutions.

---fergusonaction.com/demands
II. Pinkwashing Letter from Wendy Somerson, JVP-Seattle

The story of Passover is the story of how all of our liberations are intertwined. Recent activism that we did in Seattle around Pinkwashing highlights how coalition work can further our collective liberation.

My friend Selma and I were gripping each other's hands tightly on Thursday night, March 15th, as Seattle's LGBT Commission voted on whether to cancel an Israeli pinkwashing event that was scheduled to happen the next day at Seattle City Hall. We had both spoken in favor of cancelling the event, and I knew that Selma, a queer Palestinian American activist, couldn’t help but feel like they were deciding on the legitimacy of her personal history.

For a few weeks prior to this eventful night, activists in the Pacific Northwest were mobilizing to respond to the March pinkwashing tour, “Rainbow Generations: Building New LGBTQ Pride & Inclusion in Israel” coming to our region. StandWithUs and the Israeli Consulate sponsored four leaders of Israeli LGBT organizations to “share the innovative work they are doing in Israel, learn from counterparts in the US, and build relationships for future collaboration.”

What could be wrong with inclusion, pride, and collaboration? Nothing until you realize that this warm and fuzzy rainbow disguises a cynical government campaign. Events like this are part of “Brand Israel,” a public relations program launched in 2005 to promote Israel as the progressive center of cultural advances in the Middle East in order to deflect criticism of Israel's violations of Palestinian rights. Pinkwashing refers to the arm of this campaign that uses racism to position Israel as an oasis of gay freedom surrounded by uncivilized and homophobic Arabs, particularly Palestinians.

Inspired that queer anti-Occupation activists across the Puget Sound successfully got events in Tacoma and Olympia cancelled, a coalition of Jewish and Palestinian American queer activists decided to attend a public meeting the night before the event. Three of us Jewish Voice for Peace activists (Stefanie, Katie, and I) explained to the commission that we could not support a tour backed by the hateful group StandWithUs and the Israeli government. We also differentiated between being critical of Israeli government propaganda and actual instances of anti-Semitism.

By addressing objections to cancelling the event, we worked to be allies to our Palestinian American friends, Selma and Laila, so they could have the space to tell their stories. Selma read from her letter to the Commission about how her father became a refugee when their home in Palestine was ethnically cleansed in 1948. She linked this dispossession to how pinkwashing covers up Israeli policies that hurt her and her community and explained that her queer and Palestinian identities are inextricably linked together. Then Laila, a queer Palestinian whose family has Israeli citizenship, explained that her family members are
treated as fourth-class citizens within Israel. She described how her visits to Israel are accompanied by government harassment simply because of her ancestry.

While these stories appeared to affect everyone in the room, it seemed as if the event would take place as planned. But then something extraordinary happened. With tears in his eyes and a voice shaking with emotion, one of the Commissioners said that he felt they had made a huge mistake because they had no idea that holding this event meant marginalizing and invisibilizing Palestinian LGBT folks. Many Commissioners described their own naiveté when they agreed to host this event and their subsequent confusion.

Stefanie jumped in to point out how it was no coincidence that they felt confused because pinkwashing propaganda is designed to obfuscate the truth. Selma beseeched the commissioners to listen to their consciences:

By being courageous and taking a stand and canceling this event, you will be standing alongside many other national and international organizations and leaders who have said no to the exploitation of our queer community to wash away war crimes that continue to subjugate and oppress my family and my community.

We then watched as six out of the eight Commissioners raised their hands in favor of cancelling the event. My grip on Selma's hand tightened, and I just kept repeating, "it was a majority, a majority!" We hugged in joyful disbelief. Something unusual happened that night in City Hall: Palestinian American stories were put at the center. The Commissioners listened to Selma's and Laila's moving testimonies about their experiences and activism as queer Palestinians, and these stories prompted them to change their minds.

Outside of city hall, our small group of activists and supporters literally jumped up and down with excitement and joy to celebrate a victory made possible by years of working together in coalition.

When the LGBT Commissioners took the courageous stance of canceling this event, they privileged the voices of individual queer activists in our communities over a nation-state that wants to use our queerness to forward their pro-Occupation agenda. This time around, as anti-Occupation activists, we got to call off our protest and instead celebrate how we made our queer Jewish and Palestinian voices heard. This is what working for our collective liberation looks like.

III. Ashamnu, Hallelujah: We have been guilty, by the JVP Rabbinical Council

It is a Jewish tradition to confess our sins in the plural, knowing that, even if we personally have not committed every sin -- God forbid -- our souls are bound up one with the other. In this spirit I invite you to respond to each of these sentences by responding: ashamnu-אשׁאַמְנָן –we have been guilty

For the children living in fear from bombs  אשׁאַמְנָן
For the children killed by bombs, ashamnu.

For the children made orphans by bombs, ashamnu.

For the grieving parents, ashamnu.

For valuing Jewish lives over lives of others, ashamnu.

For ignoring the daily humiliation and violence of occupation, ashamnu.

For not believing there is another way, ashamnu.

We must praise, halleluyah, for all the blessings of the sacred work to ensure justice and dignity for all people.

For the blessing of common purpose; halleluyah

For the blessing of supporting, in ways seen and unseen, the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people; halleluyah

For the blessing of participating, in ways seen and unseen, in the liberation of the Jewish people from the cruel role of oppressing another people; halleluyah

For the blessing of participating, in ways seen and unseen, in bringing peace, reconciliation, hope and healing to a wounded place in our world; halleluyah

For the blessing of living in a world in which healing is always possible; halleluyah

For the blessing of living in a world in which efforts towards love and justice always bring good, whether or not we witness their results; halleluyah

We must bring new light to shine, not on our guilt, but on our power, to ensure justice and dignity for all people.

ashamnu.

Halleluyah