

H A R E D

L D G A

A H L

LEILA



Passover Haggadah

הגדה של פסח

Order of the Seder



1. <i>Kadaysb</i>	קֹדֶשׁ	Recite the Kiddush
2. <i>Urchatz</i>	וְרַחֵץ	Wash the hands
3. <i>Karpas</i>	בְּרַפֵּס	Eat a green vegetable
4. <i>Yachatz</i>	יַחַץ	Prepare afikoman
5. <i>Magid</i>	מַגִּיד	Recite the story
6. <i>Rochtzo</i>	רְחֹצֵה	Wash the hands
7. <i>Motzi matzo</i>	מוֹצִיא מַצָּה	Bless the matzo
8. <i>Moror</i>	מְרוֹר	Eat the bitter herb
9. <i>Koraych</i>	בוֹרֵךְ	Bitter herb with matzo
10. <i>Shulchon oraych</i>	שֶׁלַחַן עוֹרֵךְ	Serve the meal
11. <i>Tzofun</i>	צִפּוֹן	Eat the afikoman
12. <i>Boraych</i>	בִּרְךְ	Grace after meal
13. <i>Hallel</i>	הַלֵּל	Recite the hallel
14. <i>Nirtzob</i>	נִרְצֵה	Conclude the Seder

Note on pronunciation

In transliterations of Hebrew I have opted in general for the traditional Ashkenazi pronunciation as an act of identification with diasporic Judaism, instead of the Israeli pronunciation which is most prominent among young non-Hasidic Jews due to the Zionist capture of Jewish institutions.

Recitation of the Kiddush



Every one at the table has a glass or cup of wine before him.

The First Cup

If the festival is on Friday night, the following is added:

וְיִהְיֶה עֶרֶב וְיִהְיֶה בֹקֶר יוֹם הַשְּׁשִׁי. וַיְבַלּוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ וְכָל-צָבָאָם: וַיְכַל אֱלֹהִים בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי, מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה. וַיִּשְׁבַּת בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מִכָּל מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה: וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וַיְקַדֵּשׁ אוֹתוֹ, כִּי בּו שְׁבַת מְכַל-מְלַאכְתּוֹ, אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת:

Va-y'hi erev va-y'hi voker yom ha-shishi. Va-y'chulu ha-shomayim v'ho-oretz v'chol tz'voo-m. Va-y'chal Elohim ba-yom ha-sh'vi-i m'lachto asher oso. Va-yishbos ba-yom ha-sh'vi-i mi-kol m'lachto asher oso. Va-y'vorech Elohim es yom ha-sh'vi-i va-y'kadaysh oso, ki vo shovas mi-kol m'lachto, asher boro Elohim la-asos.

And it was evening and it was morning, the sixth day. The heavens, the earth, and all their hosts were finished. God declared complete on the seventh day the work which It had done, and It rested on the seventh day from all Its work which It had done. And God blessed the seventh day and made it holy, because on it It rested from all Its work which It had done in creation.

If the festival is on another night of the week, begin here. (On the Sabbath add words in parentheses.)

בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יי, אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם, בּוֹרֵא פְרִי הַגֶּפֶן:

Boruch atoh Adonoy, Elohaynu melech ho-olom, boray p'ri hagofen.

Blessed art Thou, Eternal our God, Ruler of the universe, Creator of the fruit of the vine.

רוּךְ אַתָּה יי, אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם, אֲשֶׁר בָּחַר בְּנוּ מִכָּל-עַם, וְרוּמְמָנוּ מִכָּל-לְשׁוֹן, וַקְדִּשְׁנוּ בְּמִצְוֹתָיו, וַתְּתַן-לָנוּ יי אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּאַהֲבָה (שְׂבֻחוֹת לְמִנוּחָהּ ו)מוֹעֲדִים לְשִׂמְחָהּ, חֲגִים וְזִמְנִים לְשִׂשׁוֹן אֶת-יוֹם (הַשְּׁבֻתָה הַזֶּה וְאֶת-יוֹם) חַג הַמִּצּוֹת הַזֶּה, זְמַן חֲרוּתְנוּ, (בְּאַהֲבָה), מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ, זָכַר לְיִצְיַאת מִצְרָיִם. כִּי בְנוּ בְּחִרְתָּ וְאוֹתָנוּ קִדְשְׁתָּ מִכָּל-הָעַמִּים. (וְשְׂבֻתָה) וּמוֹעֲדֵי קֹדֶשׁךָ (בְּאַהֲבָה וּבְרִצּוֹן) בְּשִׂמְחָהּ וּבְשִׂשׁוֹן הַנְּחַלְתָּנוּ: בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יי, מִקְדֵּשׁ (הַשְּׂבֻתָה) וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְהַזְּמַנִּים:

Boruch atoh Adonoy, Elohaynu melech ho-olom, asher bochar bonu mi-kol om, v'rom'monu mi-kol loшон, v'ki'd'shonu b'mitzvosov, va-titen lonu Adonoy Elohaynu b'ahavoh (Shabbosos lim'nucho u-)mo-adim l'simcho, chagim uz'manim l'soson, es yom (ha-Shabbos hazeh v'es

yom) chag ha-matzos hazeh, z'man chayrusaynu, (b'ahavoh,) mikro kodesh, zaycher litzi-as Mitzroyim. Ki vonu vocharto v'osonu kidashto mi-kol ho-amim. (V'Shabbos) u-moaday kodsh'cho (b'ahavoh uv'rotzon) b'simcho uv'soson hinchaltonu. Boruch atoh Adonoy, m'kadaysh (ha-Shabbos v') Yisrol v'ha-z'manim.

Blessed art Thou, Eternal our God, Ruler of the universe, Who chose us from all peoples and exalted us among all nations, by making us holy with Its commandments. With love You gave us (the Sabbath for rest and) the festivals for happiness, holidays and seasons for rejoicing; as this day (of Sabbath and this day) of the Feast of Matzoth, the season of our freedom, which is a holy assembly, in remembrance of the going out from Egypt. For You have chosen us from all peoples to make us holy with (the Sabbath and) Your holy festivals (with love and favor) in joy and in happiness. Blessed art Thou, Who makes holy (the Sabbath and) Israel and the festive seasons.

If the festival is not on Saturday night, recite "Shehecheyonu" here. (See next page.)

בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יי, אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם, שֶׁהֵחֵינּוּ וְקִיְּמָנוּ וְהִגִּיעֲנוּ לַזְּמַן הַזֶּה:

Boruch atoh Adonoy, Elohaynu melech ho-olom, shehecheyonu v'kiy'monu v'higi-onu la-z'man hazeh.

Blessed art Thou, Eternal our God, Ruler of the universe, Who has given us life and sustenance and brought us to this happy season.

Leaning on the left side, drink the first cup of wine.

Washing Hands

וְרַחֵץ

Wash your hands, but do not say the blessing.

וידישקייט

What is at issue is the possibility for an individual, defined as a mere human animal, and clearly distinct from any Subject, to decide to become part of a political truth procedure. To become, in a nutshell, a militant of this truth. ...the individual body and all that it entails in terms of thought, affects, potentialities at work in it, and so forth, becomes one of the elements of another body, the body-of-truth, the material existence of a truth in the making in a given world. This is the moment when an individual declares that he or she can go beyond the bounds (of selfishness, competition, finitude ...) set by individualism (or animality – they're one and the same thing). He or she can do so to the extent that, while remaining the individual that he or she is, he or she can also become, through incorporation, an active part of a new Subject. I call this decision, this will, a **subjectivation**. More generally speaking, a subjectivation is always the process whereby an individual determines the place of a truth with respect to his or her own vital existence and to the world in which this existence is lived out.

..For about two centuries (from Babeuf's 'community of equals' to the 1980s), the word 'communism' was the most important name of an Idea located in the field of emancipatory, or revolutionary, politics. To be a communist was of course to be a militant of a Communist Party in a given country. But to be a militant of a Communist Party was also to be one of millions of agents of a historical orientation of all of Humanity. In the context of the Idea of communism, subjectivation constituted the link between the local belonging to a political procedure and the huge symbolic domain of Humanity's forward march towards its collective emancipation. To give out a leaflet in a marketplace was also to mount the stage of History.

...To put it in a nutshell: we have to be bold enough to have an idea. A great idea. We have to convince ourselves that there is nothing ridiculous or criminal about having a great idea. The world of global and arrogant capitalism in which we live is taking us back to the 1840s and the birth of capitalism. Its imperative, as formulated by Guizot, was: 'Get rich!' We can translate that as 'Live without an idea!' We have to say that we cannot live without an idea. We have to say: 'Have the courage to support the idea, and it can only be the communist idea in its generic sense.'

Alain Badiou, *The Communist Hypothesis*

The Passover story is the national origin myth for the Jewish people. From our identification as “chosen” by God in his decision to liberate us from bondage, to our active self-identification in the painting of the door post (symbolically becoming Jewish), to receiving the Torah in the desert and becoming a living and breathing social organism complete with laws and ritual.

Each year, when we retell this story, we reinscribe in our own minds what it means to be Jewish. On top of the skeletal narrative presented above, it is possible to layer many different particular lessons.

The main one that many of us grew up with, is that Jews have always been persecuted, and implicitly, will always be persecuted. It is not hard to see how this narrative is deployed in the service of Zionism: if Jewish persecution is somehow a static fact about the world – even the essence of Jewishness – then the best we can hope for is holing up in a bunker with enough guns and nuclear bombs to keep the world out. This is the core logic of Zionism.

This narrative is wrong. There is no unchanging essence of Jewishness. Jewishness is not outside of history, Jewishness is a historical phenomenon. For specific historical reasons, in the Anglo/European world especially, Jews have been cast in the role of a scapegoat to mystify class rule.

Scapegoats are a very important ideological device for the ruling class to maintain control, by misdirecting people’s criticisms. Jews have not always been in this role, but the collective unconscious contains a well-developed vocabulary of symbols that can be dusted off whenever some mystification of class rule is required.

We recognize, therefore, the historical nature of antisemitism: that it is something that basically belongs to class society, or at least that its elimination would require the elimination of class. From this position of understanding, we have a choice: what do we want Jewishness to mean for us?

Here is one possibility, the one taken up by this haggadah: our Jewishness can be a particular, concrete, socially embodied expression of the idea of abolishing social class which, for convenience, we call communism.

One may not like the idea of putting one’s Jewishness in the service of a greater logic. However, to do so is unavoidable. Any cultural expression necessarily has a social meaning. That is, it must relate to or express a movement in society at large. There is no such thing as a “pure” cultural expression which has no relation to the society outside of it.

For example, under capitalism, we necessarily express our Jewishness in part through the purchase of commodities: the shabbos candles, the boxes of matzo, the yarmulkes, etc. Our Jewishness is connected to cycles of capital accumulation via commodity production whether we like it or not. This is what will happen when we act as capitalist subjects.

However, we are not determined by the mode of production we live under. We can make choices. For Israelis their Jewishness is put in the service of the political logic of Zionism to such a degree that they don't even make a distinction. It is also the case for American Jews who belong to Zionist synagogues. When they go to shul, they are asked for money for Israel and get a Zionist propaganda speech in the form of the rabbi's drashas. Wanting to educate their children in Judaism, they send them to propaganda-filled Hebrew school, or to Zionist summer camps. They may take part in the Maccabi Games, go on Birthright, host IDF soldiers, or any other of a number of cultural programs designed to produce affective bonds between American Jews and Israel.

Among some there is an idea that diasporic Jews bear a responsibility or guilt for the Israelis' sickening crimes. What is our real relation to the genocide?

The US state and the Zionist organizations invoke us in their discourse to justify their actions. We do not belong to Zionist synagogues. We do not buy Israeli products. We do not take any material action in support of Israel.

However, we are responsible insofar as there are actions we can take to obstruct the perpetuation of this genocide. Almost all of those actions have nothing to do with being Jewish, and non-Jews have an equal responsibility to take them up. As Jews, there is very little relation between us *as Jews* and the genocide, except that we are invoked in the Zionist discourse to justify their actions.

That means, as Jews, we are responsible for letting ourselves be instrumentalized this way, and if we do not use our Jewish life to politically articulate ourselves, as Jews we will be nothing but props for Zionists. As Marx wrote, speaking of French peasants in the 19th century,



Thus the great mass of the French nation is formed by the simple addition of homologous magnitudes, much as potatoes in a sack form a sack of potatoes [or in our case, a pot of Matzo balls]. Insofar as millions of families live under conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests, and their culture from those of the other classes, and put them in hostile opposition to the latter, they form a class. Insofar as there is merely a local interconnection among these small-holding peasants, and the identity of their interests forms no community, no national bond, and no political organization among them, they do not constitute a class. They are therefore incapable of asserting their class interest in their own name, whether through a parliament or a convention. They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented. Their representative must at the same time appear as their master, as an authority over them, an unlimited governmental power which protects them from the other classes and sends them rain and sunshine from above.

Those carrying out the genocide in Palestine have wrapped themselves in a big Jewish star. I am a Jew despite that. Accepting a kind of collective guilt for American Jews of Israelis crimes is to accept the Zionist logic that Israel = Jews, which we deny in word and in deed. Our Jewish life must be part of the movement to smash Israel and liberate Palestine.

On the other hand, Zionists and most non-Jews will continue to make this equation for the foreseeable future. What that implies, we can discuss throughout the night.

The vantage point of this seder

Now we see the aim of this seder: to subjectivate ourselves as a political community of Jews, oriented toward universal liberation in general, and Palestinian liberation in particular.

The usual seder is in the past tense (“when I came forth out of Egypt,” etc.) We are looking backward at an already completed liberation, presumed to have taken place in a society which is in the actual past of our actual present world.

But our actual present world is not a liberated world. Therefore we will leave the purely backward gaze of the usual seder behind. However, all the ritual of Passover is based on the narrative device of looking backwards at a completed liberation, as well as a joyful atmosphere, and we can't just throw all of that away.

We will conduct our seder from the point of view of an imagined future, looking back at our present world. We see ourselves as the inhabitants of this liberated future world, who took part in the process that produced it.

We know a better world is possible because we are from that world. We were the ones who struggled to build it.

Eating a Green Vegetable

ברכה

The master of the house then takes some parsley, or any green vegetable, and dips it into vinegar or salt-water, and when it is distributed to every one at the table, they say the following blessing before they eat it:

ברוך אתה יי, אלהינו מלך העולם, בורא פרי האדמה:

Boruch atoh Adonoy, Elohaynu melech ho-olom, boray p'ri ho-adomoh.

Blessed art Thou, Eternal our God, Ruler of the universe, Creator of the fruit of the earth.

Break the Middle Matzah

יחץ

The leader of the seder breaks the middle matzoh in the plate, and leaving half of it there, they put aside the other half till after supper, for the Afikomon.

Telling the Story

מגיד

This is the bread of affliction which our predecessors ate. All who are hungry – let them come and eat. All who are needy – let them come and celebrate the Passover with us. Now we are here; next year may we be in a liberated world. Now we are slaves; next year may we be free.

The Four Questions

מה נשתנה הלילה הזה מכל הלילות:

Mah nishtanoh ha-lailo hazeh mi-kol ha-laylos?

Why is this night different from all other nights?

פֶּאָרװאָס איז די נאַכט פֿון פסח אנדערש פֿון אַלע נעכט פֿון אַ גאַנץ יאָר?

Farvos iz di nakht fun peysekh andersh fun ale nekbt fun a gants yor?

1 שְׁבֹכֵל הַלֵּילוֹת אָנוּ אוֹכְלִין חֶמֶץ וּמֶצֶה. הַלֵּילָה הַזֶּה כֻּלּוֹ מֶצֶה:

She-b'chol ha-laylos onu och'lin chomaytz u-matzo. Ha-lailo hazeh kulo matzo.

On all other nights we eat either leavened bread or (matzoh) unleavened; on this night why only unleavened bread?

אַלע נעכט פֿון אַ גאַנץ יאָר עסן מיר חמץ אָדער מצה; אָבער די נאַכט פֿון פסח, עסן מיר נאָר מצה.

Ale nekbt fun a gants yor esn mir khomets oder matse; ober di nakht fun peysekh, esn mir nor matse.

2 שֶׁבֶּכַל הַלַּיְלוֹת אָנוּ אוֹכְלִין שְׂאֵר יִרְקוֹת הַלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה מְרוֹר:

She-b'chol ha-laylos onu och'lin sh'or y'rokos. Ha-lailo hazeh moror.

On all other nights we eat herbs of any kind; on this night why only bitter herbs?

אַלֶּע נֶעֱבַט פֿון אַ גאַנץ יאָר עסן מיר אַלענרליי גרינסן; אָבער די נאַכט פֿון פּסח, עסן מיר ביטערע גרינסן.

Ale nekht fun a gants yor esn mir alerley grinsn; ober di nakht fun peysekhh, esn mir bitere grinsn.

3 שֶׁבֶּכַל הַלַּיְלוֹת אֵין אָנוּ מְטַבִּילִין אֶפִּילוּ פֶּעַם אַחַת. הַלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה שְׁתֵּי פֶּעַמִּים:

She-b'chol ha-laylos ayn onu matbilin afilu pa-am echos. Ha-lailo hazeh sh'tay f'omim.

On all other nights we do not dip our herbs even once; on this night why do we dip them twice?

אַלֶּע נֶעֱבַט פֿון אַ גאַנץ יאָר טונקען מיר ניט איין אַפֿילו איין מאָל ניט; אָבער די נאַכט פֿון פּסח, טונקען מיר איין צוויי מאָל.

Ale nekht fun a gants yor tunken mir nit ayn afile eyn mol nit; ober di nakht fun peysekhh, tunken mir ayn tsvey mol.

4 שֶׁבֶּכַל הַלַּיְלוֹת אָנוּ אוֹכְלִין בֵּין יוֹשְׁבֵי וּבֵין מְסַבִּין. הַלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה בְּלָנוּ מְסַבִּין:

She-b'chol ha-laylos onu och'lin bayn yosh'vin u-vayn m'subin. Ha-lailo hazeh kulonu m'subin.

On all other nights we eat our meals in any manner; on this night why do we sit around the table together in a reclining position?

אַלֶּע נֶעֱבַט פֿון אַ גאַנץ יאָר עסן מיר סײַ זיצנדיק און סײַ אָנגעלענט; אָבער די נאַכט פֿון פּסח, עסן מיר נאָר אָנגעלענט.

Ale nekht fun a gants yor esn mir say zitsndik un say ongelent; ober di nakht fun peysekhh, esn mir nor ongelent.

The Four Children

The Torah speaks about four children: one who is wise and one who is contrary; one who is simple and one who does not even know how to ask a question.

The wise child asks: "What is the meaning of the rules, laws and customs which we follow?" You shall explain to them all the laws of Passover, to the very last detail about the Afikoman.

The contrary child asks: "What is the meaning of this service to you?" Saying *you*, they exclude themselves, and because they exclude themselves from the group, they deny a basic principle. You may therefore tell them plainly: "Because of what was required for me to make a revolution" I do this. For *me* and not for *them*; had they been there, they would not have helped usher in the new world.

The simple child asks: "What is this?" To them you shall say: "through an institutionally embodied commitment to the idea of communism, through learning from the history of our struggles, and through the construction of alternatives, we made a revolution."

As for the child who does not even know how to ask a question, you must begin for them: patiently explain the progression of history which led to capitalist society, the laws of motion of capitalist society and their consequences, the history of the long process of revolution, the nature of our communist social relations and how they prevent the re-formation of classes.

The Answer



We were slaves of Pharaoh in Egypt and the Eternal our God brought us out from there with a strong hand and an outstretched arm. Now if God had not brought out our forefathers from Egypt, then even we, our children, and our children's children might still have been enslaved to Pharaoh in Egypt. Therefore, even were we all wise, all men of understanding, and even if we were all old and well learned in the Torah, it would still be our duty to tell the story of the departure from Egypt. And the more one tells of the departure from Egypt, the more is he to be praised.

The past was a world of domination. After a long historical process, passing through many forms of class society, humanity arrived at capitalism. Capitalism's essential aspects were the dispossession of the majority, the shoe-horning of much of life into the form of producing commodities for sale on the market, and the subordination of all questions to that of profit: the good was that which made the most money for the capitalist class.

This had far-reaching implications for the structure of this world. It was a world of

imperialism: those of us in countries far away from the ruling class were basically dealt with using all sticks and no carrots. Our houses bombed, our crops destroyed, our labor conditions the harshest possible. Even in the imperialist countries, at best we woke up and spent most of our day in a manner not of our own choosing in order to buy the essentials of life, or at least those products they decided to produce for us. At worst we were imprisoned, tortured, and killed by the state. Non-human nature was dealt with in an irrational manner; humanity's relation to natural cycles was systematically ignored.

In order to preserve communist society, and guard against the re-formation of social class, we remember this history every year.



Moses was raised as an Egyptian prince in Pharaoh's palace. One day, he saw an overseer beating a Hebrew worker and killed him in righteous anger. He retreated into the desert and eventually meets God who puts him on the path to enacting our liberation.

In the early days before we were organized, those of us who wanted to change things had only moral indignation and individual acts of resistance to channel our anger into (ranging from demonstrations, to sabotage, even to assassination). Over time, we put together more durable institutions with a wide range of capacities, that were able to draw more and more people into activity. Labor unions, tenant unions, artists' cooperatives, theater collectives, sports teams, cooking crews. All participating with varying degrees of awareness in the process of transcending class society.



God instructed Moses to go to Pharaoh and demand he release us from bondage. Moses asked 10 times. Each time, God "hardened Pharaoh's heart", making him say "no". After each refusal, a plague was visited upon Egypt.

Through these institutions we carried out many struggles with the component parts of the capitalist power structure: the police and military, landlords, employers, etc. Often we were defeated. Capitalism's persistence had disastrous consequences.

The Ten Plagues

Spill a drop of wine for each of the ten plagues:



דָּם (Dam)

Blood

The system required violence to keep it going: the brutality of imperialist rule, mass death in wars over resources, concentration camps, prisons, etc.



צַפְרָדַיָּע (Tzefardeiya)

Frogs

Money invaded and came to structure every aspect of our lives. From the food we chose to eat, to the nature of our romantic and familial relationships, to how we perceived and valued ourselves.



כִּנִּים (Kinim)

Vermin

The system produced inadequate housing. As Engels wrote, “The breeding places of disease, the infamous holes and cellars in which the capitalist mode of production confines our workers night after night, are not abolished; they are merely shifted elsewhere! The same economic necessity which produced them in the first place, produces them in the next place also.”



עֲרוֹב (Orov)

Wild Animals

The system produced fascism, creating violence-addicted psychos who terrorized the rest of the population in order to stabilize the overall system of domination.



דֶּבֶר (Dever)

Livestock Pestilence

The system destabilized the conditions of life for wild animals at the same time as it produced billions of animals who lived lives of torture in meat factories.



שְׁחִין (Sh'chin)

Boils

The system produced pandemics it could not respond to.



בֶּרֶד (Borod)

Hail

The system produced extreme weather: floods, droughts, wildfires.



אַרְבֵּה (Arbeh)

Locusts

Capital's insatiable need for growth stripped the Earth of its resources, turning forests into deserts.



חֹשֶׁךְ (*Choishech*)

Darkness

The system produced mass ignorance, through addictive entertainment, propagandistic “news” which presents a fictional view of the world, and through its drive to deskill workers and prevent them from managing themselves.



מַכַּת בְּבוֹרוֹת (*Makas Bekhoros*)

Death of the Firstborn

It happened unevenly, at different times and for different reasons in different places, but there were moments of crisis so intense the system ceased to function. In some places it was war, in some places it was famine, in some places unlivably hot weather. Circumstances combined with painstakingly built organization enabled us to take matters into our own hands en masse. We developed new systems and supplanted the functions of the bourgeoisie’s state.

Then followed a period of civil war. In some places it was intense and short-lived, in others it was prolonged. Often times things ended here.

But enough of us made it through: despite losing many, we kept alive our organizations and our vision of a new society. In the end, we succeeded in expropriating the expropriators. Many of them gave up their privileges and kept their lives. The ruling class was quite durably disorganized.

We did away with heritable private property and began to experiment with systems of use in-common. The red flag flew high.



We fled, bringing with us unleavened bread, having had no time to wait for it to rise. God split the Red Sea so we could cross to the other side. However, Pharaoh had changed his mind and was in pursuit. Once we made it safely to the other side, God closed the sea again, drowning Pharaoh’s army.

The revolutionary process proceeded in fits and starts, with many partial setbacks. The state of a society in any given moment can be mostly defined in terms of

- ✦ A set of technologies
- ✦ A certain relation to nature
- ✦ Mental conceptions of the world
- ✦ Social relations
- ✦ Institutional arrangements
- ✦ The patterns and activities of daily life
- ✦ Labor and production processes

These are all interdependent. For example, employing a certain technology – say the internal combustion engine – along with the daily life fact of driving to work, implies

a certain relation to nature: namely, living in a rapidly warming climate.

A revolutionary transformation in one of these eventually necessitates a revolutionary transformation in the others. And because the revolutionary process proceeded in different ways in every country, there were also difficulties in knitting together all the changes.

Inevitably old forms of life reasserted themselves, and they were dealt with as they arose.

➤ In the third month after leaving Egypt, while Moses was on Mount Sinai, we made a golden statue of a calf to worship.

Overcoming the ways of thinking particular to capitalism was a particularly difficult and painful process. We had to (re)discovered ways of thinking about ourselves, others, and non-human nature that were appropriate to a society oriented toward the needs of humanity as a whole.

➤ In all, we spent 40 years wandering the wilderness before reaching the promised land, and during that time developed into a people.

Creating a new society was a very long process. We made many mistakes. In some places, popular power never took hold and most power was held by bureaucrats. In some places capitalism was restored in the name of socialism, for lack of a better option. In some places, agriculture was mismanaged and thousands starved. In some places, the economy ossified, unable to respond to changing needs.

Through it all, despite periods of loss and deprivation, we continued to build our society: free clinics, autonomous food distribution centers and mess halls in every neighborhood, cooperative workplaces, cooperatively-run housing complexes, new systems of schooling, arts centers, workers' self-defense committees, new systems of economic planning that enabled coordination without capital accumulation, the partial integration of agriculture into the city, management of waste production (e.g., plastics and carbon emissions) across the entire globe.

Eventually, a stable global system emerged, rooted in production for need and balance with natural cycles. This system was extremely variegated: there was not a simple global set of social relations as in capitalism, but many sets of place-specific social relations.

Daiyenu

אלו · הוציאנו · ממצרים ... דיינו !
I-lu ho-tzi-ya-nu mi-mitz'-ra-yim ... Da-yei-nu!

אלו · עשה בהם שפטים ... דיינו !
I-lu a-sah va-hem sh'-fa-tim ... Da-yei-nu!

אלו · נתן לנו את השבת ... דיינו !
I-lu na-san la-nu es ha-sha-bes ... Da-yei-nu!

אלו · נתן לנו את התורה ... דיינו !
I-lu na-san la-nu es ha-to-rah ... Da-yei-nu!

The Three Symbols

Rabban Gamliel used to say: Whoever does not explain the following three symbols at the Seder on Passover has not fulfilled his duty:

The Passover Offering – פסח

The Matzah – מצה

The Bitter Herbs – מרור

Have someone explain the shank bone, the matzo, and the bitter herbs.

The Second Cup

ברוך אתה יי, אלהינו מלך העולם, בורא פרי הגפן:

Boruch Atoh Adonoy, Elohaynu Melech ho'olom, boray p'ri hagofen.

Blessed art Thou, Eternal our God, Ruler of the universe, Creator of the fruit of the vine.

Drink the second cup of wine.

Washing Hands

רחצה

Wash the hands and say:

ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם, אשר קדשנו במצותיו, וצונו על נטילת ידים:

Boruch Atoh Adonoy Elohaynu Melech ho'olom, asher kidshonu bemitzvosov, vetzivonu al netilas yodoyim.

Blessed art Thou, Eternal our God, Ruler of the universe, Who made us holy with Its commandments, and commanded us concerning the washing of the hands.

Motzi Matzo

מוציא מצה

Say the first blessing while holding all three Matzos.

ברוך אתה יי, אלהינו מלך העולם, המוציא לחם מן הארץ:

Boruch Atoh Adonoy, Elohaynu Melech ho'olom, hamotzi lechem min ho'oretz.

Blessed art Thou, Eternal our God, Ruler of the universe, Who brings forth bread from the earth.

Say this blessing while holding only the top and broken middle Matzot.

ברוך אתה יי, אלהינו מלך העולם, אשר קדשנו במצותיו, וצונו על אכילת מצה:

Boruch Atoh Adonoy, Elohaynu Melech ho'olom, asher kidshonu bemitzvosov, vetzivonu al achilas matzah.

Blessed art Thou, Eternal our God, Ruler of the universe, Who made us holy with Its commandments, and commanded us concerning the eating of matzah.

Eat the top and broken middle Matzah.

Bitter Herb

מרור

Dip bitter herbs in charoses and say:

ברוך אתה יי, אלהינו מלך העולם, אשר קדשנו במצותיו, וצונו על אכילת
מרור:

*Boruch Atoh Adonoy, Elohaynu Melech ho'olom, asher kidshonu bemitzvosov,
vetzivonu al achilas moror.*

Blessed art Thou, Eternal our God, Ruler of the universe, Who made us holy with Its commandments, and commanded us concerning the eating of bitter herbs.

Eat the bitter herbs.

Bitter Herb with Matzo

בורר

Eat a sandwich of bitter herbs between two pieces of the bottom Matzah and say:

זכר למקדש בהלל: בן עשה הלל בזמן שבית המקדש היה קיים, היה בורר
מצה ומרור ואוכל ביחד, לקיים מה שנאמר: על-מצות ומרורים יאכלהו:

*Zaycher leMikdosh keHillel: Kayn osoh Hillel bizman sheBays HaMikdosh
boyoh kayom, boyoh koraych matzoh umoror ve'ochel beyachad, lekayem
mah shene'emar: Al matzos umerorim yochluhu.*

In remembrance of the holy Temple, we do as Hillel did in Temple times: He put matzah and bitter herbs together and ate them as a sandwich, in order to observe literally the words of the Torah: "They shall eat it (the Passover offering) with matzah and bitter herbs."

Meal

שילחן עורר


Talk with the people around you about what we have read. What did you agree with? What did you disagree with? How would you fill in the skeletal narrative of the revolutionary process?

Afikoman

צפון

After the meal, the Afikoman is distributed to all.

After-Meal Grace



Wait a little while about coming here, until we have quieter times again, to some extent. To live in the present turmoil and hourly danger, the constant changing of living quarters, the strain and the rushing around, is not for you, and in particular there would be no possibility at all of working or even consulting in an orderly manner. I hope in a week or so the situation will have clarified itself in one way or another and regular work will again be possible. Then your relocating here would be the beginning of a systematic collaboration, in the course of which mutual agreement and a commonly shared understanding will come about automatically.

...On the whole our movement is developing splendidly, and throughout all of Germany at that. The split from the USPD had become absolutely unavoidable for political reasons, because even if the people were still the same as at Gotha, nevertheless the situation has become totally different.

The severe political crises that we've experienced here in Berlin during all of the past two weeks or even longer have blocked the way to the systematic organizational work of training our recruits, but at the same time these events are a tremendous school for the masses. And finally, one must take history as it comes, whatever course it takes. — The fact that you are receiving *Rote Fahne* so infrequently is disastrous! I will see to it that I personally send it to you every day. —At this moment in Berlin the battles are continuing. Many of our brave lads have fallen. Meyer, Ledebour, and (we fear) Leo ave been arrested.

For today, I have to close.

I embrace you a thousand times, your R.

— Rosa Luxemburg's final letter, to Klara Zetkin

We are grateful to be here, to continue the process set in motion by those who are gone.

This process will probably take hundreds of years to complete.

I too will be gone before that happens.

That is OK with me.

The Third Cup

בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יי, אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם, בּוֹרֵא פְּרֵי הַגָּפֶן.

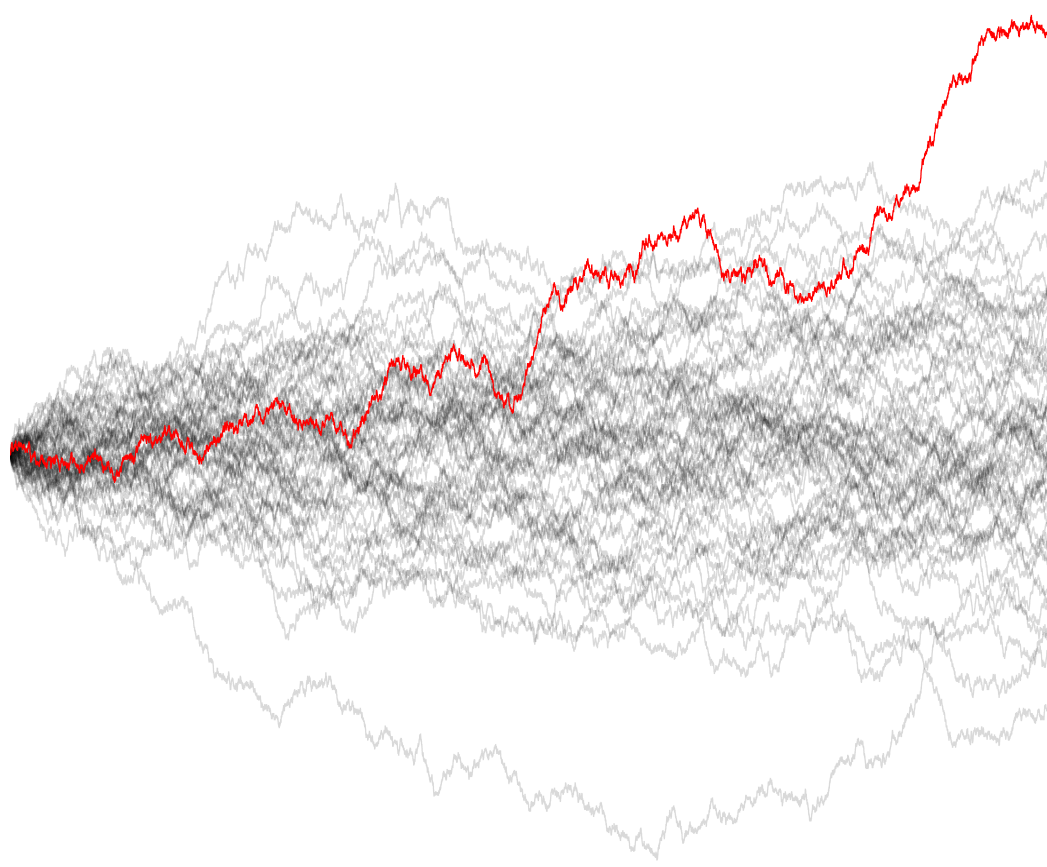
Boruch Atoh Adonoy, Elohaynu Melech ho'olom, boray p'ri hagofen.

Blessed art Thou, Eternal our God, Ruler of the universe, Creator of the fruit of the vine.

Drink the third cup of wine.

Fill the fourth cup of wine and open the door for Elijah the Prophet. All rise.

Close the door. All are seated.



Hallel



Every attempt to build communism failed before we succeeded.

One ended in tens of thousands who believed in a better world being executed in the streets.

One failed to overcome the power of the state bureaucracy.

One was crushed in military defeat by local reaction.

One found itself simply stuck in the path of its development, due to isolation from the rest of the global economy.

One was bombed to nothing by the imperial hegemon.

One restored capitalism in the name of socialism.

One was strangled in its cradle when the ruling class assassinated its leaders.

One petered out after years of low intensity civil war.

These failures did not invalidate our central contention: we could do better than class society; we could build a world “in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all”. We took them each as experiments and tried to draw lessons for next time. Our slogan was: “hasta la victoria siempre.”

We tried again, and again, and again. We have walked one successful path out of an unknown number of failed ones. At no point did it have to happen the way it did. We chose to act, knowing it might end in failure, but that it also might end in success.

The Fourth Cup

בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יי, אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם, בּוֹרֵא פְרֵי הַגָּפֶן.

Boruch atoh Adonoy, Elohaynu melech ho-olom, boray p'ri hagofen.

Blessed art Thou, Eternal our God, Ruler of the universe, Creator of the fruit of the vine.

Drink the fourth cup of wine.

Conclusion of the Seder



Ended is the Passover Seder According to custom, statute and law. As we were worthy to celebrate it this year, So may we perform it in future years. O Pure One in heaven above, speedily lead Your redeemed people to global communism in joy.

NEXT YEAR IN A FREE PALESTINE

