

Opening remarks

The aim of this Seder is to get us thinking about the relation between our Jewishness and the struggle for a better world. A world in which all people have their needs taken care of, in which what we do is decided by us and not the algorithm of the market, in which we are mostly free to spend our time as we want, in which we re-establish healthy relations with non-human nature. In which to be Jewish is not to be an alien to the social body, or in the case of the Israelis, a brutal oppressor.

The horror of the genocide happening right now in Palestine looms large in any discussion of Jewish identity this year. The historical trauma of European Jewry is used by Zionists to justify the unjustifiable. There was a time when the idea of an Jewish ethnostate, modeled on European nationalism had a common sense for Jews in America. That time is over. Building a militarized ethnostate on stolen land is an utterly failed program for responding to the history of European anti-Semitism. We reject it categorically.

Let's start with a story about the Baal Shem Tov, the founder of hasidism. There is a dish they serve at the hotel in Medzhybizh, the town in Ukraine where Baal Shem Tov lived. They call this dish "maykhl Baal Shem Tov", which in Yiddish means Baal Shem Tov's treat. It's just tzimmes with farfel.

Why is it called maykhl Baal Shem Tov? ...the reason it's called Maychal Baal Shem Tov is simply because the Baal Shem Tov ate those foods.

Why did the Baal Shem Tov eat farfel and steamed carrots? Probably because there was no other food. They ate simple foods.

This is what Jews in the Ukraine had. Some of them were poor. This is what was eaten at the time. There was nothing special about him eating it. There was nothing special. Every Jew ate it. And if you were richer, you ate something else.

...Baal Shem Tov said that the words farfel and tzimmes... if you use the concept of atbash in gematria, gematria, atbash, that alef equals tof, and beys equals shin, and gimel equals resh, and dalet equals kuf, it comes out that these two foods, the acronym and the roshei teivos of these two foods is actually Yud Kei Vav Kei – Hashem's name. So when you're sitting down at your shabbos table, you're not really eating tzimmes, you're not really eating carrots and farfel, you're eating Hashem's name, and your food is holy, and your shabbos is holy, and it's kidusha, and your shabbos is different, and it's b'simcha, and even though you're eating because you're hungry and you have nothing else to eat, but all of a sudden it's filled with so much kidusha. So was he joking around? Was he kidding? Come on, Yud Kei Vav Kei?...

It has nothing to do with Yud Kei Vav Kei. It's not because it's Hashem's name. That's the name of the food, and you eat it because you're hungry. If you really, really want to get there, you're eating it because it's shabbos, and it's a mitzvah. But, you know, let's be honest. The fact that it's Yud Kei Vav Key has nothing to do with the equation.

So what was the Baal Shem Tov talking about? ...It's that he said you're anyways eating. And it's anyways these foods. And it's these foods because that's what you found in the market that day, and that's what Jews in the Ukraine eat. And you're eating because you're hungry, and you're eating because it's a mitzvah to eat on shabbos. That's all a given.

So now let's see what we can do with that. That's all given. So we could just do it, or perhaps we could do something more.

Let's take all the things that we're doing anyway and try to do something with it. And here we can do something, because we found a little remez. There's Yud Kei Vav Kei, there's Hashem's name, and now it's kedusha, and now when you eat it, it's holy, and now shabbos is different, now you're different, and now you are serving Hashem with every bite, and what you're doing is so much more meaningful, and has so much more power and holiness.

And that's exactly what the Baal Shem Tov was doing. He said, take the things you're doing anyway, take the life you're leading anyway, take the world that you have of gashmies, of rukhnies, of physicality, of holiness, whatever you're doing, and take it a step further, make it more holy, make it more real, and give it much more meaning. And when you give much more meaning, you'll be happier, you'll be serving Hashem all the time, and your life will have so much more meaning.

(From Jewish History Soundbites: The Baal Shem Tov Vol II)

Traditionally the Seder is the telling of our foundational myth as Jews. But this myth is insufficient. It does not tell us how to act as a force for the liberation of the world, for the construction of a world whose basic principle is freedom rather than domination. But look: anywhere we're here, anyway we're having a Seder with a room full of people who believe in that world, so let's see what we can do with it.

We will tell the traditional Passover story. Then we will look at a piece of our real history as Jews, unfortunately only a small one, to try to understand how we got here. As we eat, we will think through how our Jewishness can related to our organizing against capitalism, against oppression, and toward freedom for all.

1. Kadeish	קַדַּש	Recite the Kiddush
2. Urchatz	ڹۛڔڝٙ؆	Wash the hands
3. Karpas	בַרְפַּס	Eat a green vegetable
4. Yachatz	זַתַץ	Prepare afikoman
5. Magid	מַגִּיד	Recite the story
6. Rachtzah	רָחְצָה	Wash the hands
7. Motzi matzo	מוֹצִיא מַצָּה	Bless the matzo
8. Maror	מָרוֹר	Wash the hand
9. Koreich	כּוֹרֵך	Eat the bitter herb
10. Shulchan oreich	שַׁלְחָן עוֹרֵך	Bitter herb with matzo
11. Tzafun	צָפוּן	Serve the meal
12. Bareich	בַרַך	Eat the afikoman
13. Hallel	הַלֵּל	Recite the hallel
14. Nirtzah	נִרְצָה	Conclude the Seder

Order of 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 secular Jews due to the Zionist capture of Jewish institutions. This is something personal, and of course the Israeli pronunciation is very similar to the traditional Sephardi pronunciation so everyone should pronounce as they feel.

Lighting the festival candles

Before sunset any day of the Festival say: (On the Sabbath, add words in parentheses)

בָּרוּך אַתָּה אַדֹנָ-י אֱ-לֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶך הָעוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר קִדְשָׁנוּ בְּמִצְוֹתָיו וְצִוָּנוּ לְהַדְלִיק נֵר שֶׁל (שַׁבָּת וְשֶׁל) יוֹם טוֹב

Ba-ruch a-tah A-do-noi, E-lo-hei-nu me-lech ha-o-lam, a-sher kid'-sha-nu b'-mitz'-vo-sav, v'-tzi-va-nu l'-had'-lik neir shel (Sha-bes v'-shel) yom tov

The first cup of wine

Everyone at the table has a glass of wine. Raise it and say:

בָּרוּך אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶך הָעוֹלָם בּוֹרֵא פִּרִי הַגָּפֶן

Ba-ruch a-tah A-do-noi, E-lo-hei-nu me-lech ha-o-lam, bo-rei p'-ri ha-ga-fen.

Blessed are You, Lord our God, Ruler of the universe, Creator of the fruit of the vine.

בּרוּך אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶך הָעוֹלָם שֶׁהֶחֱיָנוּ וְקִיּמָנוּ וְהִגִּיעָנוּ לְזְמַן הַזֶּה

Ba-ruch a-tah A-do-noi, E-lo-hei-nu me-lech ha-o-lam, she-he-che-ya-nu v'-ki-y'-ma-nu, v'-hi-gi-a-nu la-z'-man ha-zeh.

Blessed are You, Lord our God, Ruler of the universe, Who has kept us in life, and sustained us, and enabled us to reach this festive season.

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

Washing the hands

Wash your hands, but do not say the blessing.

Eating a green vegetable

The Leader of the Seder takes some parsley, or any other vegetable, and dips it into salt water or vinegar; when it is distributed to everyone at the table, they say the following blessing before eating it:

בּרוּך אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶך הָעוֹלָם בּוֹרֵא פְּרִי הָאֲדָמָה

Ba-ruch a-tah A-do-noi, E-lo-hei-nu me-lech ha-o-lam, bo-rei p'-ri

ha-a-dome

Blessed are You, Lord our God, Ruler of the universe, Creator of the fruit of the earth.

Breaking the middle matzo

The Leader of the Seder breaks the middle Matzah in the plate, and leaving half of it there, puts aside the other half until after the meal, for the Afikoman.

The Passover story

The passover story is a mythical history. We appreciate its poetic merits and its function in maintaining Jewish identity but we are also interested in our real history.

Where did we come from?

Judaism originated as the religion of a group of people ruled by the Kingdom of Judah in 1200 BCE, a little over 3000 years ago. At that time, it was mainly focused on worship led by a class of priests at the temple in Jerusalem.

But most of us are from America, or Canada, or Mexico, or Europe, or one of many other places, so, how did the Jewish diaspora get started?

The Kingdom of Judah had the misfortune of being between several much more powerful kingdoms at the time. One of these was the Assyrians, who kicked out many of the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Judah around 730 BCE. Not too long after, around 580 BCE, the Babylonians conquered the territory, and killed and deported a large number of the inhabitants.

This marked the beginning of the Jewish diaspora. The displaced subjects of the Kingdom of Judah spread throughout the Middle East, and they were able to start to re-orient their religion around "portable" practices (like reading the Torah which was developing around this time, and following daily rituals) rather than temple worship. The modern Jewish communities of Iran and Iraq are likely descended from Jews who were displaced by these exiles.

Soon after the Babylonians conquered Judah, they themselves got conquered by the Persian empire of Cyrus. Cyrus established a self-governing Jewish province in modern day Palestine. The Jews built a new temple, and temple-based Judaism dominated by priests was restored. Control of the region passed hands a few times, eventually becoming part of the Roman empire around 60 BCE. The second temple was destroyed by the Romans in the context of a rebellion by the Jews against Roman rule about 100 years later in 70 CE. Not too long after, the Jews were expelled

The destruction of the temple and resulting crisis of temple-based Judaism led to two new forms of Judaism: Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism, which adapted Judaism to the new conditions in different ways.

Rabbinic Judaism re-centered the religion on reading Torah, prayer, and the observance of laws and rituals in daily life – a set of practices compatible with living anywhere, rather than the rituals of the temple in Jerusalem.

Already by this time, more Jews lived in the diaspora than Palestine having relocated or been relocated for a lot of different reasons, but this innovation made it much easier to maintain a Jewish identity through the many migrations that would follow, with traditions synthesized with local ones. Over the centuries Jews spread throughout the Islamic empires and post-Roman Europe, often initially as traders.

Antisemitism in Europe

We will now look at the very broad strokes of Jewish life in Europe, because this is where antisemitism and later Zionism were born.

By the 1000s, Europe was ruled by warlords (usually called nobles or aristocrats) who controlled medium-sized areas and secured their power by extracting from peasant farmers in the areas under their military control. We call this regime "feudalism".

European Jews at this time had a wide variety of economic roles. A relatively large percentage of Jews – although generally the minority of the Jewish population – were traders and later money-lenders, probably since that is how they had come to Europe in the first place. Even though the majority of lending during the medieval period was carried out by Christians, moneylending was stereotyped as a Jewish occupation. Lending was imagined to be parasitic to the feudal structure, rather than simply a part of the aristocracy's system of exploitation. This image of Jews was promulgated in numerous ways in feudal times.

Moreover, the Catholic Church – the "mass media" of its day, stoked hatred of Jews on religious grounds. Priests taught the masses that Jews had killed Jesus, and promulgated "blood libels", claiming they killed Christian children to use their blood for religious rites.

All this together meant Jews were condemned to serve an extremely useful

social function for the feudal ruling class: as a release valve for the pain and anger peasants felt due to their exploitation by the aristocracy. Their anger could be misdirected away from the system as such and toward Jews.

European feudal antisemitism also relied on Jews being kept separate from the general population, which was enforced by restrictions on their movement, the banning of Jews from owning land or living in rural areas (which restricted them to work in trade, lending, and crafts), and in certain times and places requirements for Jews to wear special badges or hats, so that they could be easily identified.

In this context, we can see that the Holocaust was not something that emerged from nothing due to an evil man named Hitler, or from an eternal hatred of Jews, but from hundreds of years of ideology that served a powerful role in maintaining the feudal class hierarchy.

Socialism and nationalism

For reasons outside our scope, nationalism emerged as an ideology in Europe. The idea of a "nation" is an imagined community, membership in which is determined by some set of cultural practices. European nationalism contended that every "nation" in this sense should have corresponding to it a state – that is, an organization composed of a military and a bureaucracy capable of controlling and exploiting the population of a given geographic region.

This idea was taken up by Zionists who applied it to the Jews as a potential solution for European antisemitism. It appealed to pessimism of overcoming antisemitism and the religious affinity with the land of Israel.

The other idea taken up by Jews as a potential solution to European antisemitism was socialism. Socialist thought identified class domination as the main obstacle to overcoming antisemitism, since the scapegoating of Jews for the pain caused by that domination was so useful for maintaining ruling class control. Therefore it posited the end of social class, and thus the end of a need for scapegoating, as a solution to antisemitism. Jewish adherence to socialism was also driven by the fact that the masses of Jews were being proletarianized (i.e., turned into workers).

Tragically, European socialists failed to overthrow capitalism in the early 20th century. The early 20th century was a period of extreme crisis for capitalism in Europe ending in the World Wars, which led to the genocide of the Jews of Europe with the Nazis drawing on the many centuries of antisemitic ideology.

After the war, hundreds of thousands of Jews were housed in displaced

persons camps. The Allies' policy was to repatriate them (Polish Jews to Poland, German Jews to Germany, etc.). This was resisted by Jews for obvious reasons, but only very few were allowed to emigrate to the US, Canada, or elsewhere in the Americas. The establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 provided a solution to the Jewish refugee crisis that was convenient on a number of levels to the ruling states of that time (primarily England and the US). The majority of the survivors migrated to Palestine, usually by necessity rather than an ideological commitment to Zionism. However, the idea of building socialism in Europe as a way of combating antisemitism was pretty much discredited.

In Israel, the Zionists worked hard to eliminate diasporic Jewish culture, which was seen as antithetical to their project of creating a new Jewish nation. This is summarized in the Zionist concept of *shlilat hagalut* ("negation of the diaspora") which posits that Jews in the diaspora are essentially deficient, weak, uncultured and degenerated (echoing European antisemitism) and that Jews could never be safe or flourish without their own state.

Owing to its nationalist self-conception and the need to establish a capitalist economy, Zionism entailed the mass displacement of Palestinians, the people who had been living in Palestine prior to Zionist settlement. Decades of land-seizures and violence against Palestinians culminated in the Nakba, in which about 750,000 people (about half the population), were expelled by Zionist paramilitaries and the IDF. The overall effect of Zionism was essentially colonial: the ways of life of the original inhabitants of Palestine were disrupted and they were forcibly brought into the global capitalist system on very bad terms.

Uncover the Matzah and lift the plate for all to see.

This is the bread of affliction that our ancestors ate in the land of Egypt. Whoever is hungry, come eat with us! Whoever is needy, come join our Seder! This year we're here; next year in a free Palestine and a communist world! This year we're slaves; next year we will be free!

Pour the second cup of wine.

The four questions

The youngest present asks:

ַמַה נִּשְׁתַּנָּה הַלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה מִכָּל הַלֵּילוֹת ?

Mah ni-sh'-ta-nah ha-lai-lah ha-zeh mi-kol ha-lei-los?

Why is this night different from all other nights?

Question 1:

ַּשֶׁבְּכָל הַלֵּילוֹת אֵין אָנוּ מַטְבִּילִין אֲפִילוּ פַּעַם אֶחָת הַלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה שְׁתֵי? פִּעָמִים

She-b'-chol ha-lei-los ein a-nu mat'-bi-lin a-fi-lu pa-am e-chas, ha-lai-lah ha-zeh sh'-tei p'-a-mim?

Why is it that on all other nights we do not even dip our vegetables once, but on this night we dip them twice?

Question 2:

ַּשֶׁבְּכָל הַלֵּילוֹת אֵין אָנוּ מַטְבִּילִין אַפִּילוּ פַּעַם אֶחָת הַלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה שְׁתֵי? פְּעָמִים

She-b'-chol ha-lei-los a-nu o-ch'-lin cha-meitz u-ma-tzah, ha-lai-lah ha-zeh ku-lo ma-tzah?

Why is it that on all other nights during the year we eat either bread or matzo, but on this night we eat only matzo?

Question 3:

יַשֶׁבְּכָל הַלֵּילוֹת אָנוּ אוֹכְלִין שָׁאָר יְרָקוֹת הַלַּיְלָה הַזֶּה מָרוֹר ?

She-b'-chol ha-lei-los a-nu o-ch'-lin sh'-ar y'-ra-kos, ha-lai-lah ha-zeh ma-ror?

Why is it that on all other nights we eat all kinds of vegetables, but on this night we eat bitter herbs?

Question 4:

She-b'-chol ha-lei-los a-nu o-ch'-lin bein yo-sh'-vin u-vein m'-su-bin, ha-lai-lah ha-zeh ku-la-nu m'-su-bin?

Why is it that on all other nights we eat either sitting or reclining, as we choose, but on this night we eat in a reclining position?

Uncover the matzo.

The four children

The Torah speaks for four types of children: one is understanding; one is recalcitrant and scornfully insolent; one is quite simple; and the fourth incapable of even asking a question. The understanding child, what is her response? "What are the testimonies, statutes and judgments which the Lord our God has commanded us?" Accordingly (since she has asked an intelligent, proper and valid question) so should you, too, respond in the same vein, and in your re- ply include the explanation of the entire scope of the Passover laws and regulations even to the minutest details.

The boorish child, what is his reaction? Petulant, he interrupts to ask curtly and contemptuously, "What is this tiresome, meaningless ritual of yours with which you are so preoccupied?" "Yours," he makes it a special point to emphasize, but not "his!" Because he excluded himself from his own people, you retort to him in kind to dull the sharp edge of his biting sarcasm. Tell him "it is because of what the Lord did for me when I went forth from Egypt!" Emphasize "me," pointedly not including him by not referring to him at all (just as he himself had left himself out of consideration as a participant). For had he or a fellow like him been present there in Egypt, he would certainly not have been redeemed!

The simple child, what does she say? Innocently, merely "what's this all about?" So should you, too, briefly, without any fuss or complicated explanations, merely quote the explanatory Biblical verse: "With a mighty hand the Lord brought us out of the house of bondage."

But as for him who is unfortunately incapable of understanding enough to even ask, let alone to formulate or phrase a question, you yourself should provide the necessary help, relieving him of any possible embarrassment by breaking the silence and introducing the explanation yourself; just as the Bible itself instructs us to do: "For you shalt tell your child even on that day, saying: because of what the Lord did for me when I came forth out of Egypt."

The plagues and disasters

Spill three drops of wine, one for each of the disasters:

ַדָם. וָאֵש. וִתִימְרוֹת עָשָׁן

Dam. Va-eish. V'sim-ros-ashan

Blood. Fire. Pillars of smoke.

Spill one drop of wine onto your plate for each plague.

- 1. דָם (Dam) **Blood**
- צְפַרְהֵע (Tsfar-dei-a) Frogs
- 3. כְּנָים (*Ki-nim*) Lice
- 4. אָרוֹב (*Or-ev*) Wild beasts
- 5. דָרָ (*De-ver*) **Livestock disease**
- 6. שחין (Shchin) Boils
- 7. בָּרָד (Bo-red) Hail
- 8. אַרְבֶּה (*Ar-beh*) **Locusts**
- 9. אושר (Hoyshech) Darkness
- 10. מַכַּת בְּכוֹרוֹת (Ma-kes b'choy-res)
- Slaying of the firstborn

Daiyenu

אָלוּי הוֹצִיאָנוּ מִמִצְרַיִם ... דַּיֵנוּ ! I-lu ho-tzi-ya-nu mi-mitz'-ra-yim ... Da-yei-nu!

אָלוּ עָשָׂה בָהֶם שְׁפָטִים ... דַּיֵּנוּ ! I-lu a-sah va-hem sh'-fa-tim ... Da-yei-nu!

אָלוּ נָתַן לָנוּ אֶת הַשָּׁבָּת ... דַּיֵּנוּ ! I-lu na-san la-nu es ha-sha-bes ... Da-yei-nu!

אָלוּ נָתַן לָנוּ אֶת הַתּוֹרָה ... דַּיֵּנוּ ! I-lu na-san la-nu es ha-to-rah ... Da-yei-nu!

The Passover symbols

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

The second cup of wine

Everyone at the table has a glass of wine. Raise it and say:

בָּרוּך אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶך הָעוֹלָם בּוֹרֵא פְּרִי הַגָּפֶן

Ba-ruch a-tah A-do-noi, E-lo-hei-nu me-lech ha-o-lam, bo-rei p'-ri ha-ga-fen.

Washing the hands

Before eating the meal, wash the hands and say:

בָּרוּך אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶך הָעוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר מִדְשָׁנוּ בְּמִצְוֹתָיו וְצִוָּנוּ עַל נְמִילַת יָדָיִם

Ba-ruch a-tah A-do-noi, E-lo-hei-nu me-lech ha-o-lam, a-sher kid'-sha-nu b'-mitz'-vo-sav, v'-tzi-va-nu al n'-ti-les ya-day-im.

Motzi and matzo

Say the two brokhes over the matzo.

בָּרוּך אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶך הָעוֹלָם הַמּוֹצִיא לֶחֶם מִן הָאָרֶץ

Ba-ruch a-tah A-do-noi, E-lo-hei-nu me-lech ha-o-lam, ha-mo-tzi le-chem min ha-o-retz.

Blessed are You, Lord our God, Ruler of the universe, Who brings forth bread from the earth.

בָּרוּדְ אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶך הָעוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר קִדְשָׁנו בְּמִצְוֹתָיו וְצִוָּנוּ עַל אַכִילַת מַצָּה

Ba-ruch a-tah A-do-noi, E-lo-hei-nu me-lech ha-o-lam, a-sher kid'-sha-nu b'-mitz'-vo-sav, v'-tzi-va-nu al a-chi-les ma-tzah.

Blessed are You, Lord our God, Ruler of the universe, Who sanctified us with His commandments, and commanded us to observe the eating of matzo.

Bitter herbs and charoses

בָּרוּדְ אַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶך הָעוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר קִדְּשָׁנו בְּמִצְוֹתִיו וְצִוָּנוּ עַל אֲכִילַת מָרוֹר

Ba-ruch a-tah A-do-noi, E-lo-hei-nu me-lech ha-o-lam, a-sher kid'-sha-nu b'-mitz'-vo-sav, v'-tzi-va-nu al a-chi-les ma-ror.

Break the bottom matzo, and make a sandwich of bitter herbs and matzo.

In remembrance of the Temple, we do as Hillel did in Temple times.

The meal

Here are some important things to discuss as you eat. Also, those who wish should briefly describe organizing projects they are involved in so that others can come talk to them.

- 1. What political work does our received narrative of Jewish history do?
 - (a) How, and in what contexts, have you seen Jewish history (real and mythological) weaponized against collective liberation?
 - (b) How, and in what contexts, have you seen it wielded toward liberation?
- 2. Many people today, both Jews and non-Jews, appear to believe that Jewish safety and liberation can be separated from the safety and liberation of others, or even that Jewish liberation and (for example) Palestinian liberation are at odds with one another. Why do you think people buy into this idea? Where does it come from? Who benefits?
- 3. What does it mean to engage in solidarity with others on the basis of our Jewishness? In what situations is it useful to engage in such identity-based solidarity?
- 4. What, beyond our shared stories and rituals, connects Jewish people to one another today?
 - (a) We've talked about the role of Jews in the political economy of feudal Europe (and the antisemitic myths that the ruling class of the time developed around that role). What, if anything, is/are our role(s) in today's political economy, especially in the U.S.?
 - (b) What levers of power, if any, do we have access to in our capacity as Jews? How might we use them toward collective liberation?
- 5. How can we use our Jewishness as a source of connection (with fellow Jews and with non-Jews) in pursuit of working-class power?

The third cup of wine

Everyone at the table has a glass of wine. Say the brokhe and drink it.

Elijah the prophet

Fill the fourth cup of wine and open the door for Elijah the prophet.