“This time we cannot cross until we carry each other. All of us refugees, all of us prophets. No more taking turns on history’s wheel, trying to collect old debts no one can pay. The sea will not open that way. This time that country is what we promise each other, our rage pressed cheek to cheek until tears flood the space between, until there are no enemies left, because this time no one will be left to drown and all of us must be chosen. This time it’s all of us or none.”

- Aurora Levins Morales
Freedom and slavery, liberation and oppression, are both always present and always possible. We arrive at the Passover table breathless, with the salty taste of authoritarian racism ripe on our tongues. We arrive at the Passover table full of awe, with the rise of grassroots popular movements insisting on connection across borders and walls. We arrive at the Passover table devastated, lead in our water or no access to water. Ferguson, Flint, Aida Refugee Camp in Bethlehem. We arrive at our Passover table scared, aware of the rise in Islamophobia and anti-immigrant discourse. We arrive strong and grateful for over 10,000 members and 60 JVP chapters across the country.

In the words of the poet and activist, Aurora Levins Morales:

“This time we cannot cross until we carry each other. All of us refugees, all of us prophets. No more taking turns on history’s wheel, trying to collect old debts no one can pay. The sea will not open that way. This time that country is what we promise each other, our rage pressed cheek to cheek until tears flood the space between, until there are no enemies left, because this time no one will be left to drown and all of us must be chosen. This time it’s all of us or none.”

This year we dedicate our seders to all of us, to our insistence on intersectionality, from gentrification to colonization; we are organizing to disrupt the root causes of displacement and violence in the U.S. and in Palestine.

May you find moments in this seder to exhale, to lean your head on the shoulder of a friend or comrade, to feel yourself arriving on the shores of liberation.

May you find moments of fierce righteous rage that motivate you to re-commit to local and national organizing.

And may you find moments to carry one another across, your pain and your losses, your visions and your victories, because this time it’s all of us or none.

L’Chayim, To Collective Liberation,
JVP Rabbinical Council

Thanks to Ariana Katz, Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb, Rabbi Ari Lev Fornari, Rabbi Alissa Wise, and other rabbis of the JVP Rabbinical Council for their work on the 5775/5776 edition of the JVP Haggadah. Thank you to Jessica Rosenberg, Vincent Calvetti-Wolf, Rabbi Brant Rosen, and Wendy Somerson for their work in this ongoing haggadah project. Thanks also to Jews Against the Occupation (JATO) After Exodus Haggadah, the JVP-Seattle Haggadah, and the poets and authors that appear in these pages.
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!
   Fourth cup of wine: L’chayim to community!

15. **NIRTZAH** - Conclusion
**SING: HINEI MAH TOV**

Hiney ma tov u’ma nayim shevet achim 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 heartbreak. 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
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 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 Ya’akov finally pins the stranger down, he asks him for a blessing. The stranger says, “Your name will no longer be Ya’akov but Yisrael for you have wrestled with God and triumphed.” Therefore when we say “Yisrael” in prayer we are referring to being God-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 a possible 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.
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.*

Baruch atah adonai eloheynu melech ha'olam asher kidshanu b'mitzvotav v’tzivanu l’hadlik ner shel (Shabbat v’shel) yom tov.

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

**BLESS: SHEHECHIYANU**

*This blessing is recited when we do something for the first time.*

We recite it now for the unique gathering of people here and in honor of tonight as the first night of Passover 5776.

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 memory of all those we have lost in the past year, since we last sat at the Passover table together.

We remember those killed the summer of 2014 during the 50 days of death and destruction in Gaza known as Operation Protective Edge. In Gaza, nearly 2,000 people were killed, including over 500 children. In Israel, four civilians were killed. We remember the hundreds killed in this fall’s uprising, when Palestinians took to the streets to protest Israel’s nearly 50-year occupation.

We remember the Black people killed in this country by police and vigilantes. Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Kimani Gray, Timothy Russell, Yvette Henderson, Tamir Rice, Amadou Diallo, Sean Bell, Ramarley Graham, Oscar Grant, 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 pursue justice together.

“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.”

– Martin Luther King Jr., “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” April 16, 1963
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 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 share struggles they are involved in.

**TOGETHER:**

Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melekh ha-olam asher kid’shanu b’mitzvotav v’tsivanu l’irdof 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 educate ourselves on the history of the conflict, the history of social movements that have come before, the political analysis of today, and the Jewish textual tradition. May we continue to learn and value education in all its many forms.

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

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

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.

Let us also remember that this month of April marks the beginning escalations of Plan Dalet, the Haganah’s 1948 campaign to ethnically cleanse Palestine of its indigenous inhabitants. Throughout the month of April 1948, Zionist militias carried out massacres, expulsions, and campaigns of terror and intimidation against Palestinians in Deir Yassin, Tiberias, Safad, Haifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem, and elsewhere.

On April 21, the eve of Passover, the Haganah commenced Operation “Cleansing the Leaven” (bi’ur hametz), a reference to the Jewish ritual of eliminating all traces of bread and flour from the home before Passover, against the Palestinian citizens of Haifa. In his book The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine, historian Ilan Pappe recounts what happened in Haifa during Passover 1948.
“Jewish loudspeakers urg[ed] the Palestinian women and children to leave before it was too late...the orders [Haganah commander Mordechai Maklef] issued to his troops were plain and simple: ‘Kill any Arab you encounter; torch all inflammable objects and force doors open with explosives’. When these orders were executed promptly within the 1.5 square kilometres where thousands of Haifa’s defenceless Palestinians were still residing, the shock and terror were such that, without packing any of their belongings or even knowing what they were doing, people began leaving en masse...As soon as they had fled, Jewish troops broke into and looted their homes. When Golda Meir visited Haifa a few days later, she at first found it hard to suppress a feeling of horror when she entered homes where cooked food still stood on the tables, children had left toys and books on the floor, and life appeared to have frozen in an instant...in the early hours of dawn on April 22, the people began streaming to the harbour...the Jewish brigade’s officers, aware that people had been advised to gather near the port’s gate, ordered their men to station three-inch mortars on the mountain slopes overlooking the market and the port, and to bombard the gathering crowds below. The plan was to make sure people would have no second thoughts, and to guarantee that the flight would be in one direction only...We can learn what happened next from the horrifying recollections of some of the survivors- ‘Men stepped on their friends and women on their own children. The boats in the port were soon filled with living cargo. The overcrowding in them was horrible. Many turned over and sank with all their passengers.’”

As we remember the Palestinians who were made refugees by Zionist ethnic cleansing during Passover 1948, let us also remember the millions of refugees who today fill overcrowded boats, fleeing state-sponsored violence in Syria, Iraq, and elsewhere. Let us recommit to building a world where people can stay in their homes, and where refugees are welcomed, everywhere.

**MAGGID: TELLING OF THE STORY**

**Red Sea**

This passover, who reclines?  
Only the dead, their cupped hands filling slowly  
with the red wine of war. We are not free.  
The blood on the doorposts does not protect anyone.

They say that other country over there  
dim blue in the twilight  
farther than the orange stars exploding over our roofs  
is called peace.
The bread of affliction snaps in our hands like bones, is dust in our mouths. This bitterness brings tears to our eyes. The figs and apples are sour. We have many more than four questions. We dip and dip, salt stinging our fingers. Unbearable griefs braided into a rope so tight we can hardly breathe, Whether we bless or curse, this is captivity. We would cross the water if we knew how. Everyone blames everyone else for barring the way.

Listen, they say there is honey swelling in golden combs, over there, dates as sweet and brown as lovers’ cheekbones, bread as fragrant as rest, but the turbulent water will not part for us. We’ve lost the trick of it.

Back then, one man’s faith opened the way. He stepped in, we were released, our enemies drowned.

This time we’re tied at the ankles. We cannot cross until we carry each other, until the family blasted into fragments at the seder table bears the body of the Arab man beaten outside your friend’s apartment and shot in the head.

Until the child bulldozed to death in her grandmother’s house gathers in her arms the couple blown up on the bus. No more taking turns on history’s wheel, trying to collect old debts no-one can pay. The sea will not open that way.

This time that country is what we promise each other, our rage pressed cheek to cheek until tears flood the space between, until there are no enemies left, because this time no one will be left to drown and all of us must be chosen. This time it’s all of us or none.

– Aurora Levins Morales
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.

SHARE: What questions do you bring to the table? Turn to a neighbor and share what is on your heart and mind.

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 God 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’telem*
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 campaigns 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

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<th>A</th>
<th>I was standing by my window</th>
<th>I’ve seen walls and I’ve seen checkpoints</th>
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<td>I saw that bus for Jerusalem</td>
<td>I’ve seen segregated highways</td>
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<td>And I wanted so bad to go</td>
<td>But I’ve never seen al-Quds</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>But they said you can’t get on.</td>
<td>Even though I live ten miles away.</td>
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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.  

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 mi Mitzrayim, 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”
Your Child Will Ask

Rabbi Brant Rosen

Your child will ask
why do we observe this festival?

And you will answer
it is because of what God did for us
when we were set free from the land of Egypt.

Your child will ask
were we set free from the land of Egypt
that we might hold tightly
to the pain of our enslavement
with a mighty hand?

And you will answer
we were set free from Egypt
that we might release our pain
by reaching with an outstretched arm
to all who struggle for freedom.

Your child will ask
were we set free from the land of Egypt
because we are God's chosen people?

And you will answer
we were set free from the land of Egypt
so that we will finally come to learn
all who are oppressed
are God's chosen.

Your child will ask
were we set free from the land of Egypt
that we might conquer and settle
a land inhabited by others?

And you will answer
we were set free from the land of Egypt
that we might open wide the doors
to proclaim:

Let all who are dispossessed return home.
Let all who wander find welcome at the table.
Let all who hunger for liberation
come and eat.

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.

Traditionally water is poured twice or three times over the entire surfaces, front and back, of first the right and then the left hand. We then recite the hand-washing blessing before drying them.

Acknowledging the water shortages in Palestine and the lead poisoning in the water in Flint, we will wash our hands with mindfulness, pouring a little water over our hands.

Barukh atah Adonai Eloheinu melekh ha’olam asher kid’shanu b’mitzvotav v’tzivanu al netilat yadayim.

Blessed is our God, determiner of the universe, who has sanctified us with commandments, and commanded us to wash hands.
**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 ourselves 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 through 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 through 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
I could meet in a duel
the man who killed my father
and razed our home,
expelling me
into
a narrow country.
And if he killed me,
I’d rest at last,
and if I were ready—
I would take my revenge!

But if it came to light,
when my rival appeared,
that he had a mother
waiting for him,
or a father who’d put
his right hand over
the heart’s place in his chest
whenever his son was late
even by just a quarter-hour
for a meeting they’d set—
then I would not kill him,
even if I could.

Likewise ... I
would not murder him
if it were soon made clear
that he had a brother or sisters
who loved him and constantly longed to see him.
Or if he had a wife to greet him
and children who
couldn’t bear his absence
and whom his gifts would thrill.
Or if he had
friends or companions,
neighbors he knew
or allies from prison
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*

The movement for Black Lives is growing stronger and stronger every day as people of color in the United States continue to resist state-sanctioned violence and racism. Palestinians living under Occupation have been sending advice, love, and solidarity to activists and sharing advice for healing from weaponized chemicals via Twitter. Ferguson activists visited Palestine last winter and sang Ella’s Song, a touchstone of this movement. Check out www.blackpalestiniansolidarity.com for an incredible video produced this year as a joint project of the Dream Defenders, Black Youth Project, the DC Palestinian Film and Arts Festival, the Institute for Middle East Understanding, the Arab Studies Institute, and Jewish Voice for Peace.

*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.

This spring, we raise our third cup of wine to new victories!

G4S profits from providing security services for military checkpoints in the West Bank, in Israeli detention centers, and throughout illegal settlements on Palestinian land. Across the globe G4S contracts and investments are being dropped, reflecting a growing movement for economic non-cooperation in the company’s role in perpetuating injustice in Israel/Palestine. And it worked. G4S just announced that it is leaving Israel completely, as well as withdrawing from juvenile detention centers in the U.S. We are proud of our own contributions to this win, in particular the work of JVP-Triangle NC chapter, which played a key role in an interfaith coalition which got the city of Durham not to renew a contract with G4S last year.

On the very same day, Ahava announced that its factory is leaving the West Bank, after a concerted seven year campaign by our friends at Code Pink.

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 yilmعد 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.

**NIRTZAH: CONCLUSION**

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

**TEN COMMITMENTS TO CHALLENGE ISLAMOPHOBIA AND RACISM**

From The Network Against Islamophobia (NAI), a project of Jewish Voice for Peace, provides support and resources for those interested in organizing against Islamophobia and anti-Arab racism. Find out more at www.AgainstIslamophobia.org

1. We will not be silent about anti-Muslim and racist hate speech and hate crimes;
2. We condemn state surveillance of the Muslim, Arab, and South Asian communities;
3. We resist the notion that Islamophobia is perpetuated only by the “fringe” or the “right-wing” and pledge to challenge it at all levels of government and in society at large;
4. We challenge, through our words and actions, institutionalized racism and state-sanctioned anti-Black violence;
5. We protest the use of Islamophobia and anti-Arab racism to justify and perpetuate Israel’s repressive policies against Palestinians;
6. We fight anti-Muslim profiling and racial profiling in all its forms; 
7. We call for an end to racist policing #SayHerName #BlackLivesMatter, #BlackTransLivesMatter; 
8. We stand against U.S. policies driven by the “war on terror” that demonize Islam and devalue, target, and kill Muslims; 
9. We stand strong for immigrants’ rights and refugee rights; 
10. We pledge to visibly and consistently challenge Islamophobia and racism in all their manifestations.

**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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Od yavo‘ shalom aleinu</th>
<th>Peace will come upon us</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Od yavo‘ shalom aleinu</td>
<td>Peace will come upon us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Od yavo‘ shalom aleinu</td>
<td>Peace will come upon us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ve al kulam (x2)</td>
<td>and on everyone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaam (Salaam)</td>
<td>Salaam (<em>peace</em> in Arabic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aleinu ve al kol ha olam,</td>
<td>On us and on everyone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaam, Salaam (x2)</td>
<td>Salaam, Salaam</td>
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</tbody>
</table>