Jews United for Justice presents the Seventh Annual Labor Seder

A social justice seder about freedom, workers’ rights, and the DC voting rights campaign

Tuesday, April 15, 2008
Adas Israel Congregation
Washington, DC
2008 Labor Seder Cosponsoring Organizations:

DC Vote
Adas Israel Congregation
The Jewish Labor Committee
Greater Washington Metropolitan Council, AFL-CIO
DC Jobs with Justice
DC Interfaith Worker Justice
UFWC Local 400
SEIU Local 32BJ
UNITE HERE Local 25
American Rights at Work
The AVODAH/AJWS Alumni Partnership
The Greater Washington Jewish Community Relations Council
Tikkun Leil Shabbat
African Resource Center
The Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism
American Friends Service Committee

Many thanks for your support of the Labor Seder and of Jews United for Justice.
A Green and Just Seder

This year, we’ve tried to minimize the Labor Seder’s ecological impact and maximize its support of responsible labor practices in the following ways:

- The Labor Seder is located close to a metro station and several bus routes to encourage participants to seek alternatives to driving here.

- All of our ritual foods are local wherever possible, and all are organic. We sourced our apples, maror, beets, eggs, and karpas from local farmers, while our oranges, walnuts, and grape juice are organic but not local. Purchasing foods, particularly produce, from local sources eliminates the need to transport food long distances and supports farmers and open space in our communities. Purchasing organic foods when possible is one way to reduce our ecological “footprint” by supporting sustainable farming practices.

- Our seder plates, water pitchers, napkins, silverware, and vases are reusable.

- The disposable plates, cups, and bowls we are using tonight are made from plant sources: sugarcane, corn, and paper. All are biodegradable, and some are also compostable.

- Our haggadot and other printed materials are printed on 100% post-consumer recycled paper.

- There is Fair Trade Honest Tea on our tables tonight. Honest Tea is a DC-area company that strives to support sustainable agriculture and community-building as they create their healthy, all-natural teas. Find out more at www.honesttea.com.

- The flowers on your table were grown at Anchor Nursery in Galena, MD. Flowers are often imported from afar and treated heavily with pesticides, so think about buying your loved ones local and ecologically benign alternatives!

If you are interested in JUFJ’s Green and Just Purchasing Guide for DC-area Jewish Celebrations, forthcoming this summer, please email info@jufj.org.
Welcome Union Members/Hineh Mah Tov

Hineh mah tov umanayim
Shevet achim gam yachad.

Welcome union members
We are in your presence
Hand in hand together
We make the union strong

We are filled with power
Mobilized to organize
Conquerors and counselors
We shall not be moved

Welcome union members
We are in your presence
Hand in hand together
We make the union strong

Hineh mah tov umanayim
Shevet achim gam yachad.

Translation: How good and pleasant it is for brothers and sisters to sit together.

Welcome
Shelley Moskowitz, President of JUFJ

Welcome/Shehechiyanu:
Rabbi Charles Feinberg, Adas Israel Congregation and Rabbi Jessica Oleon, Temple Sinai

Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha'olam shehechiyanu, v’kimanu, v’higiyanu, lazman hazeh
Blessed are You, Source of All Life, Spirit of the Universe, who has kept us alive, sustained us and permitted us to reach this season.
The Passover Symbols

Before us on the seder plate are eight symbols of Passover. Each of these items reflects a tale as old as anything in our tradition—together, they retell the story of our triumph over injustice and oppression.

Many of the symbols recall the suffering of our ancestors. The bitter herbs symbolize the bitterness and pain of slavery; and the charoset, a mix of apples and nuts, represents the mortar with which the Egyptian slaves were forced to build monuments to a system that oppressed them. The blood-red beet represents the sacrifice of the lamb - and perhaps, of the Egyptian firstborns - reminding us that our freedom came at a price.

Although these symbols represent the pain of oppression, they also offer hope for a better future. Just as the sweet taste of the charoset overpowers the bitterness of the maror, we remember that, in the end, freedom won. And while we dip the karpas into the salt water—which reflects the tears shed by Hebrew slaves—the vegetable itself symbolizes the coming of spring. Meanwhile, while matzoh is the bread of affliction, eaten by slaves who did not have time to wait for the dough to rise, it is also the bread of liberation, eaten by those about to be free.

The egg is actually a mystery. It is mentioned in the Talmud as one of the items on the Passover menu, but not given any particular significance. Yet somehow, it has found its way to the center of our table. A common interpretation is that the egg takes the place of the Temple sacrifice—but this is only one possibility. The egg may also symbolize birth, fertility, and renewal—the promise of new life amidst pain and oppression.

The orange is a more recent addition to the seder plate. We owe the orange, originally, to Susannah Heschel, who first introduced it in the 1980s to symbolize the fruitfulness of communities that give full roles to women, gays, lesbians and others who have been marginalized in Jewish communities in the past. The orange reminds us that our Passover traditions are not only about remembering the past—that they can and should speak to today's struggles for equality. Tonight, we hope that this Passover, we will open ourselves up to new opportunities to pursue justice.

In that spirit, we begin tonight’s seder by eating karpas – green vegetable – dipped in salt water. A reminder of spring and rebirth tainted with salt water that symbolizes the tears of the oppressed, its taste is a call to action. The Washington, DC region is still far from the ideal of social justice, and we are surrounded by the cries of the oppressed. Yet this Passover, and this spring, we have the opportunity to begin our work anew to make our community a fairer, more just place for all.

Dip the green vegetable in salt water and say together:

ברוך אתה אדונא עמלת אלהינו מלכות העולם בורא פרא וברקך:

Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha'olam borei p'ri ha'adamah.
Blessed are you, Source of All Life, Spirit of the Universe, Creator of the Fruit of the Earth.

Eat the green vegetable.
Four Questions

- Why are voting rights a Jewish issue?
- Why are voting rights a Labor issue?
- What are the effects of DC’s lack of representation?
- What can we do to change things?
Pour the first cup of wine.

The Jewish History of Disenfranchisement

As we pour the first cup of wine, we remember that we as Jews were not always counted as equal members of the societies in which we lived. In some respects, the second-class status of DC residents is a reminder of our own history.

The history of Jewish emancipation is long and complex, but for most of our history, in most of the Diaspora, Jews were excluded from political representation. In fact, most Jews were excluded from gentile society entirely until at least the Enlightenment in the 18th century. In the worst cases, Jewish exclusion led to often violent persecution. In Spain, for instance, state persecution of the Jews and massacres throughout the 14th and 15th centuries ultimately culminated in forced conversions and, eventually, the Edict of Expulsion in 1492. In Imperial Russia, after failed attempts to convert all Jews within the empire, a 1792 law required them to move to the Pale of Settlement, a region on Russia's western border. Jews had to receive special permission to move to Russia proper, could not own any land or participate in elections. Violent pogroms led Jews to flee Russia, convert to Christianity, or starve.

Slowly, of course, this changed. In 1791, France became the first European nation to grant full legal equality to Jews. Over the course of the following century, more and more European nations followed, ending with Russia in 1917. Even then, though, the struggles for Jewish equality continued, most painfully under Communism and Nazism. Indeed, the struggle continues today in many places around the world.

Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel said that “the opposite of good is not evil; the opposite of good is indifference.” Given our own history of disenfranchisement, how can we be indifferent to the unjust treatment of DC residents?

Today, when we see injustice in our community, may we be inspired not to act with indifference.
As Jews, long disenfranchised members of societies throughout the Diaspora, we are well aware of the importance of having elected representation. The Jewish community has valued inclusive democratic representation dating back to biblical times. In the Book of Numbers, we learn of God’s instructions to Moses to gather 70 elders of Israel to serve as representatives of the people (Numbers 11:16–25).

Think about your own family’s history. Are you aware of when your ancestors became enfranchised? For how many generations has your family had the right to vote in the nation in which they live? How can we bring to bear our own family’s experiences, and the experience of the Jewish people as a whole, in the fight for DC voting rights?

Rabbi Yitzhak taught that, “A ruler is not to be appointed until the community is first consulted” (Babylonian Talmud, B’rachot 55a). Throughout history, Jews too often have represented disenfranchised members of their respective societies. From both scripture and historical lessons, the Jewish community has learned the importance of democratic representation, and affirms that government officials must be accountable to the citizens they represent. Our moral teachings command us to fight for the day where no American is a second class citizen.

How can we apply this Jewish moral imperative to our secular government? Is there common language or common directive within Jewish text and American historical text? What is it?

Long before Locke, Hobbes and other enlightenment thinkers laid the theoretical foundations of American Constitutional democracy, the Jewish sage Hillel taught his disciples about the obligation to participate in determining communal priorities:

If I am not for myself, who will be for me? If I am only for myself, what am I? If not now, when? (Pirkei Avot 1:14).

Can this sentiment be applied to voting? What are some of the consequences of not being allowed to determine communal priorities?
Let My People Go

When Israel was in Egypt’s land
   Let my people go!
Oppressed so hard they could not stand.
   Let my people go!
Go down, Moses
Way down in Egypt’s land
   Tell old Pharaoh
To let my people go!

Thus saith the Lord, bold Moses said
   Let my people go!
If not I’ll strike your first born dead.
   Let my people go!
Go down, Moses
Way down in Egypt’s land
   Tell old Pharaoh
To let my people go!

DC Voting Rights and the Jewish Community:
Heather Booth, Director of the AFL-CIO Heath Care Reform Campaign
and President of the Midwest Academy

We drink this first cup of wine in recognition that the Jewish people, like many other groups, have historically lived as second-class citizens. We recognize that our struggle is not over until all citizens in our nation have equal rights.

-baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha’olam borei p’ri hagafen
Blessed are You, Source of All Life, Spirit of the Universe, Creator of the Fruit of the Vine.

Drink the first cup of wine.
Pour the second cup of wine.

The Four Children: Teaching the Exodus

Four times the Torah bids us tell our children of the Exodus from Egypt. Four times the Torah repeats: “And you shall tell your child on that day . . . .” From this, the Jewish tradition infers that there are four kinds of children: the wise, the rebellious, the simple, and the one who does not know how to ask. As we teach the Exodus, we respond to each child in a different manner, according to the question, the situation, and the need.

In our time, our status as a free people is threatened by the fact that we in the District of Columbia have no voice in the way our government is run. So, in addition to retelling an ancient liberation, we must teach our children about an Exodus that has not yet come to pass.

The Wise Child Asks: “What are the laws and precepts which prevent DC from having congressional representation?”

You shall answer the wise child by detailing the legal chronology of the District, from the Constitutional formulation of the “seat of government” to the passage of “Home-Rule” in 1973.

You shall also remind her that the laws that define DC cannot be reviewed in a vacuum. To understand the true history of the District, you must also examine the political realities that have shaped these laws and the effect they have had on the people who make DC their home.

The Rebellious Child Asks: “Why do you want the right to vote?”

The rebellious child says “you,” placing himself at odds with the community, as though he were not affected by DC’s lack of representation. Tell him that not only is representation in government is our full right as citizens, but our entire Democracy is degraded by the disenfranchisement of DC’s residents.

The Simple Child asks: “What does it mean to vote?”

You shall explain to the simple child that having a voice in our government is what defines us as a free people. Tell her too that our lack of representation has had a concrete impact on our lives. It has affected everything from the education our children receive, to the housing we live in; from the quality of our jobs, to the safety of our streets.

The fourth Child is silent.

But contrary to our tradition, it is not because he does not know how to ask. He has spent over 200 years asking to be heard. And for more than 200 years he has been ignored, his concerns unheeded precisely because he has no representation. He has been silenced. We can respond to this child only by pledging to fight with him to restore his voice.
Telling the Story

The Passover story follows the arc of every great story of justice denied and justice found. Our story begins with a problem – the exploitation and oppression of the Israelite people, who are bound in slavery to a cruel leader. Pharoah deprives the Israelite slaves of their freedom, and, motivated by the fear of people power, seeks to deprive them of the next generation of leaders by issuing the cruel decree that they must kill their first born sons. A young couple, with the help of two brave midwives defy the decree and cast their child onto the river, where he is found, adopted and raised by the Pharoah's own daughter. Raised in a world of privilege, Moses cannot deny his true identity – and with God's guidance and help, Moses becomes the leader and organizer of his people, and with the help of miracles they are delivered to freedom.

We discover that this point in the story – the end of Israelite slavery in Egypt - is not an end, but a beginning. From this point, the challenges of freedom, of establishing a nation, and of creating and adhering to a new code of laws gives way to a never-ending journey. Our story does not conclude: we are reminded each year in its telling that though we may no longer be slaves in Egypt, we are still not free.

The story of the American Revolution follows a similar arc. The injustice of being subjected to the rule of government without representation and the daily injustices and hardships of colonialization, gave rise to the call for a revolution. Leaders emerged, great battles ensued, and in the end, our democracy was born. This democracy was meant to signify an ending to the greater injustice of being deprived the right of self-government. Yet, again, our story’s ending is incomplete. DC residents remain subject to taxation without representation. DC residents still have no voice in their government and are without true emancipation. Just as on Passover we observe that without freedom for all, no one is fully liberated, we are reminded that until the rights of citizenship are extended to everyone, we cannot truly call this the land of the free.

We are reminded in the stories of our ancestors – both the founders of our nation and the ancient Israelites– that we must carry on the legacy of shining the light of freedom where it has not yet reached. If there are still individuals who work for slave wages, then we are all still enslaved. If there are still individuals deprived of their most fundamental rights to housing, to health care, and the right to raise their family in safe, healthy environment then we all remain in Egypt.

As we come together to observe Passover this season, we celebrate the strides we have made and together prepare for the challenges we still must overcome so that next year, we may truly be free.
In ancient times, the Jewish sage Hillel ate a “sandwich” made of lamb, matzah, and bitter herbs. Thus the symbols of slavery and of liberation were intermingled. Today, because Passover tradition does not include the sacrifice of a lamb, we eat just the matzah and horseradish in a “Hillel Sandwich,” often with charoset added to sweeten the maror’s bitterness.

As we eat the Hillel sandwich tonight, the sweet charoset reminds us of the potential of this vibrant city, while the maror’s bitterness reminds us that our lives here are tainted by the injustice of disenfranchisement.

The matzah concealing it all reminds us that the rest of the country is predominantly unaware of this injustice. In a 2005 survey, 78% of Americans said they believed that Washington DC already has equal representation in Congress. It is our job to tell them that they’re mistaken.

In the words of the ancient Jewish text Pirkei Avot, “If I am not for myself, who will be for me?” DC is small, and injustice here is easily ignored. Those who live here must not remain silent.

Blessings over the matzah and maror, before eating the Hillel sandwich:

Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha’olam hamotzi lechem min ha’aretz.
Blessed are You, Source of All Life, Spirit of the Universe, who brings forth bread from the earth.

Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha’olam asher kidshanu b’mitzvotav v’tsivanu al achilat matzah.
Blessed are You, Source of All Life, Spirit of the Universe, who has sanctified us through the commandments and instructed us concerning the eating of matzah.

Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha’olam asher kidshanu b’mitzvotav v’tsivanu al achilat maror.
Blessed are You, Source of All Life, Spirit of the Universe, who has sanctified us through the commandments and instructed us concerning the eating of maror.

Eat the Hillel sandwich made from matzah, maror, and charoset.
We drink this second cup in recognition of the work of the people of the District of Columbia, who struggle daily to earn a living, educate their children, and raise their voices for justice.

ברוך אתה נב, אלוהינו מלך העולם, בורא פורי חלד.

"Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha'olam borei p'ri hagafen"

Blessed are You, Source of All Life, Spirit of the Universe, Creator of the Fruit of the Vine.

Drink the second cup of wine.
Pour third cup of wine.

Dayeinu

1. 1801: The Organic Act is passed, giving Congress jurisdiction over the District of Columbia from territory ceded by Maryland and Virginia. It does not provide for voting representation for residents, thereby stripping former Maryland and Virginia citizens of their right to vote.

   If Congress had remembered their commitment to “no taxation without representation,” for which the United States had just fought a revolution, it would have been enough.

2. 1802: U.S. Congress grants the City of Washington its first municipal charter, providing the ten-square-mile district with a city council but with no voice in national affairs.

   If District residents had been given the same basic rights as other American citizens at that time, it would have been enough.

3. 1820: For the first time, Congress permits the citizens of DC to elect their own mayor.

   If DC citizens’ enfranchisement had been extended to the federal as well as the local government, it would have been enough.

4. 1871: Congress replaces DC’s government with a system of absolute non-democratic control under three appointed commissioners. In large part, the white residents of the District do not object, fearing what a Southern senator referred to as “this load of negro suffrage that was flooding in.”

   If DC residents from all communities had worked together in support of voting rights for all, it would have been enough.

5. Early 20th Century: In four separate referenda, DC residents vote overwhelmingly in favor of home rule, by margins of seven to one in 1938 to 30 to one in 1968.

   If the nation had listened to our voices, it would have been enough.

6. 1961: The 23rd Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is ratified, granting DC residents the right to vote in U.S. Presidential elections for the first time.

   If Washington, DC had been granted a voice in the legislative branch as well as the executive branch of the federal government, it would have been enough.

7. 1974: DC regains an elected mayor and city council for the first time since 1871.

   If DC’s enfranchisement had been extended to the federal government, it would have been enough.

8. 1985: The DC Voting Rights Constitutional Amendment, which would give District residents voting representation in the House and the Senate, fails after receiving the votes of only 16 of the required 38 states for ratification.
If the nation had taken this opportunity to redress decades of injustice, it would have been enough.

9. 2007: The DC House Voting Rights Act, which would have given DC residents a voting representative in the U.S. House of Representatives passes in the House, but is halted by a threatened filibuster in the Senate.

If the Senate had moved beyond partisan politics to provide DC with its very first voting voice in Congress, it would have been enough.

In the coming year, let us work toward a truly fair, democratic government for the District of Columbia. This alone will be enough.

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My District, ‘Tis of Thee:
A Song from the “District of Columbia Day Sesqui-Centennial,” 1926
Lyrics by Frederic William Wile

My District, 'tis of thee,
Land without liberty,
   Of thee I sing.
Where Nation’s game is played,
Where income tax is paid,
   Yet, when all’s done and said,
Freedom can’t ring.

Why should the District be
Black sheep in land of free,
   Her spirit galled?
We send our sons to die,
Heed the republic’s cry,
   With all patriots vie,
Whene’er we’re called.

Land of the Congress folk,
Citizenship a joke,
   As it we fling.
We scorn our shackled right,
We mean someday to fight,
   With all our main and might,
And suffrage bring.

Nation, at large, to you
We raise our cry and hue:
   Hear our fair plea.
Tax, without voice or vote
Sure’s got our noble goat,
   See rank injustice smote,
End tyranny!
Ten Plagues

The consequences of Washington DC resident’s chronic disenfranchisement has created a set of plagues we must face without a voice in our national government.

As we name each plague, we remove a drop of wine or juice from our glasses with a finger or spoon to symbolize that our happiness cannot be complete while such injustices persist.

Blood - Dam
In 1999 Congress prevented DC from using federal and local funds for syringe exchange programs though they were proven a highly effective means of preventing the spread of HIV. As a result, Washington DC has an AIDS rate 10 times the national average.

Frogs – Tsfardeia
The Anacostia River is among the dirtiest in the nation, and the dilapidated sewer system and the river cannot get the required aid from the EPA for improvement. As a result, wild animal and plant life cannot survive in the toxicity of the river.

Lice – Kinim
DC Residents are itching for local autonomy. Though DC residents have home-rule, our democracy is limited. Every single law that the D.C. City Council passes and the mayor signs is subject to a veto by Congress. This practice violates the very fundamentals of federalism and the balance between local and federal power. DC Citizens still do not have ultimate control over local issues.

Beasts – Arov
Because DC does not have real home rule, DC district and circuit court judges, who preside over enforcement of DC laws are all appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate. The beastly injustice of allowing neither DC voters nor DC elected officials to determine the makeup of the judiciary that enforces and interprets DC laws must end.

Cattle Disease – Dever
Each day, 300,000 people commute from Maryland and Virginia into Washington DC for work. Despite this stampede of individuals, Congress has prohibited a “commuter tax”, even though these commuters use city services.

Boils – Shkhin
In 2001 Washington DC General Hospital was closed permanently, depriving citizens of its many clinic and services. Federal support for local infrastructure, including medical service providers, is woefully insufficient in Washington DC.

Firey Hail – Barad
DC’s violent crime rates are abysmal. Many DC residents live in fear that at any moment, a hail of gunfire might rain down upon them and their families.
The district’s attempt to control crime through a ban on handguns was challenged all the way to the Supreme Court, that will rule this summer in *Heller v DC* to uphold or strike down the ban. These judges were confirmed by the United States Senate, not one of whom represents the interests or concerns of DC residents.

**Locusts – Arbeh**
One of the most prominent examples of Congress meddling in DC’s internal affairs to the detriment of the district, has been the imposition of private school vouchers. This money drains public coffers, like locusts descending on the stores of grain in ancient Egypt. These vouchers make public schools suffer for lack of funding, as well as erode the wall between church and state.

**Darkness – Choshech**
Four libraries in the DC library system have closed for renovation only for reconstruction and rebuilding to be put off again and again. Depriving DC residents of public library facilities turns out the light of learning and leaves those seeking knowledge in the dark.

**Death of the first-born – Makat Bechorot**
The deprivation of so many resources and choices – the lack of representation here in Washington DC touches every facet of every resident’s life. From education to healthcare, from public spaces to public services, everyone suffers for our disenfranchisement.

**Experiences of Disenfranchisement:**
*Table Discussion*

- If you are a DC resident, do any of these “plagues” resonate with your own life?
- If you live outside the District, in what ways do you benefit from your freedom from one or more of these “plagues?”
- How might your life be different if your city or state did/ did not have congressional representation?

As we drink this third cup of wine, we reflect on DC residents’ long struggle for representation. We honor the perseverance of the many men and women who have worked to end DC’s exclusion from our nation’s government.

> בְּרוּחַ אֲדֹנָי אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָאֱלֹהִּים בָּרָא רְפָאִים בִּירֵי הָגֵפֶן

*Baruch atah adonai eloheinu melech ha’olam borei p’ri hagafen*

Blessed are You, Source of All Life, Spirit of the Universe, Creator of the Fruit of the Vine.

*Drink the third cup of wine.*
Pour the fourth cup of wine.

**Working for Representation:**
_Daniel Solomon, co-founder of DC Vote_

**Taking Action for DC Voting Rights**

_Avadim Hayinu_

Avadim hayinu, hayinu
Ata b’nai chorin, b’nai chorin.
Avadim hayinu
Ata, ata, b’nai chorin
Avadim hayinu
Ata ata b’nai chorin, b’nai chorin.

Translation: Once we were slaves, but now we are free.

**Next Year with the Vote:**
_DC Councilmember Mary Cheh, Ward 3_

**Closing:**
_Jacob Feinspan, Executive Director of Jews United for Justice_

As we drink this fourth cup of wine, we commit ourselves to ending this two-hundred-year injustice speedily, and in our days.

_Brachot 11a, Aloheinu Melech Haolam Borei Pri Hagafen_
Blessed are You, Source of All Life, Spirit of the Universe, Creator of the Fruit of the Vine.

Drink the fourth cup of wine.
Acknowledgements

Many thanks to the board and staff of Jews United for Justice; Rabbi Charles Feinberg and Rabbi Jessica Oleon; all of our seder speakers and participants; Henry Silberman and the rest of the staff at Adas Israel Congregation; our partner, DC Vote, and the other seder co-sponsors; and Honest Tea and the Jewish Community Relations Council for their generous in-kind donations.