This haggadah is lovingly dedicated to Elissa Froman z”l, whose passion, compassion, and limitless talent helped JUFJ become the organization we are today.

March 22, 2014 marked the one-year anniversary of Elissa Froman’s death. Elissa was a longtime JUFJ Board Member and helped create many of our Labor Seders. She was a powerful and fiercely dedicated force for love and justice in the world. Elissa died tragically young, and her absence tonight is a tremendous loss for all of us. She would have been proud that the JUFJ community and our allies have done over the last year to achieve such incredible, historic victories for working people in the DC region.

May Elissa’s memory inspire us to keep fighting, and to keep winning.
**Why a Labor Seder?**

A traditional Passover *seder* is a festive, ritual-rich meal in which we remember and reenact the ancient Jewish story of liberation from slavery in Egypt, a great struggle for freedom and dignity. Tonight, we remember that the struggle for human freedom did not end with the Exodus. We come together to recognize that there are people in our midst who struggle every day for dignity in their work and freedom in their lives as a whole.

Over the centuries, thousands of different versions of the Passover *haggadah*, or “narrative,” have been written. This haggadah tells the story of the Exodus from Egypt for our community today and for the leaders and members of the Jewish, labor, and activist communities. This haggadah connects the ancient liberation story with the struggles of working people to improve their lives and the lives of their families, co-workers, and communities. The story of Passover resonates deeply for those who care about workers’ rights: persecution, oppressive taskmasters, impossible work demands, work quotas, and finally, a struggle for freedom.

**Why the Minimum Wage?**

On Passover, the Jewish people celebrate our liberation from slavery, and relive our ancient history through the seder. Freedom is not something we take for granted: the Jewish freedom story has become an important thread through our long history, and we are commanded to remember the Exodus every day.

This year, our Labor Seder focuses on the need to raise the minimum wage. Why the minimum wage and how is this issue related to Passover?

The minimum wage, and current campaigns to raise it, are one piece of a larger story. For the past several decades, our country’s distribution of wealth and income has grown outrageously unequal. Productivity and corporate profits have increased significantly, along with the salaries of those at the top of the corporate ladder, but low-income workers have not seen their wages rise in tandem with overall economic gains. At the same time, the cost of living has risen, making it even harder for people to support themselves on their earnings. Today, the American dream we so want to believe in—the idea that any person can achieve prosperity through hard work—is no longer a reality for workers struggling to afford their basic needs. And inequality isn’t just bad for low-wage workers. When a large share of American workers do not have enough money to meet their basic needs, our whole country suffers.

The Passover story teaches us to abhor and reject slavery. While minimum wage workers are not slaves, many are inextricably wound up in a system that keeps them entangled in poverty. One full-time, minimum wage job at $7.25 per hour equals a yearly salary of about $15,000. Often, low-wage workers must take more than one job or rely on public benefits simply in order to make ends meet. Low-wage workers effectively become *avdei avodah* (slaves to work).

Liberation means more than not being a slave. Liberation means being able to support ourselves and our families with dignity, and it means having opportunities to rest from work, a concept that is so highly valued in Judaism. Raising the minimum wage is not a complete solution to wage-slavery and income inequality, but it is one important tool we can use to begin solving those problems. Tonight we will learn about the oppressive nature of our system of low-wage work, and about about efforts to ensure a decent minimum wage for everyone. And together we will take action, adding our voices to this contemporary liberation story.

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1 *All words and phrases marked with an asterisk are defined in a glossary on page 21 of the haggadah.
2 Adapted from the Jewish Labor Committee Passover Haggadah, Third Edition: Spring 2002
Hinei Mah Tov (How Good It Is)

Hinei mah tov umah na’im
Shevet achim gam yachad.
Hinei mah tov umah na’im
Shevet achayot gam yachad.

How good and pleasant it is for brothers and sisters to sit together!

Shechecheyanu

The Shechecheyanu blessing gives thanks for the arrival of any long-awaited occasion such as a holiday or a new beginning. It is also recited whenever we do something for the first time.

Tonight we recite this blessing in gratitude for the opportunity to gather together as a community in a time of enormous local momentum for economic justice. Earlier this year, JUFJ played a major role in a coordinated regional effort to raise the minimum wage in the District, Montgomery County, and Prince George’s County. This win was critical not only for our local community, where over 64,000 workers in DC alone will get a much-needed raise, but also as a model for the larger movement as JUFJ works for higher minimum wages statewide in Maryland, and advocates across the country strive to raise the federal minimum wage.

With gratitude for this moment, let us say together:

Baruch atah adonai, eloheinu melech ha-olam, shechecheyanu vekiyemanu vehiqianu lazeman hazeh.
Blessed are You, Source of All Life, Spirit of the Universe, who has given us life, and kept us strong, and brought us to this time.

EM’s story

I live in Baltimore, MD. I know firsthand what it is like to try to survive on low wages, which is why I support raising the minimum wage. I am 34 years old and have four children. I am also a vet. I’ve have served in Bosnia, Serbia, Kosovo and Iraq.

I was recently working at Papa John’s delivering pizza. I was making $7.25 an hour and a handful of tips. $7.25 is nowhere near enough to support a family. I’ve had to rotate paying my bills. One month I’ll pay one, the next another. I’m no longer with Papa John’s. Working as a delivery person, you have to use your own personal vehicle. My car broke down and because my pay was so low, I could not afford to fix it. I didn’t have a vehicle, so I lost my job. I’ve tried to go back to school, but every time I enroll I get deployed.

$10.10 is still not enough to get by on, but at the end of the day it would help stretch out my budget a little bit more. We need to raise the minimum wage so that people who are working hard can catch a bit of a break.

**B'chol Dor Va'Dor (In Every Generation): Responsive Reading**

**Reader Recites:**

Jewish tradition teaches that *b’chol dor vador*, in every generation, we are obligated to see ourselves as though we personally came out of Egypt and escaped from slavery to freedom.

All Recite:

For generations, American Jews have been on the frontlines of struggles for workers’ rights. As workers in garment factories, we organized unions that brought together people of many different backgrounds. Together, we won major victories that improved conditions for all factory workers and set new standards for working conditions all across the country.

**Reader:**

Every generation has had to fight to protect its workers. First it was the eight-hour workday, then the abolition of child labor, the establishment of the minimum wage, and social safety net programs.

**All:**

In every generation our people have struggled alongside others for justice and fairness. Today we are still fighting. Our struggle to raise the minimum wage will make wages more decent and livable for all workers. No one who works full time should live in poverty.

**Jane’s story**

My family immigrated from Belarus to the United States in 1990. My parents had with them $300 for the four of us, and we started in America with welfare assistance. Since my parents were college educated, they were able to start working quickly but worked multiple jobs and staggered shifts for minimum wages. We became part of America’s thousands of working poor families. This meant at 8 years old, I was a latchkey kid and virtually never saw my parents. My brother who was two years old stopped speaking Russian, since he was at daycare for most of his waking hours. There was always food on the table and a roof over our heads, but what I needed most as a child - and can never get back - was to have quality time growing up with my parents and brother. For me today, raising the minimum wage in addition to a pay check boost is about families and allowing caregivers breathing room to provide more than basic necessities for their young ones. It’s about providing a family life together. It’s about dignity, and it’s about time!

**Song**

**Avadim Hayinu (We Were Slaves)**

(Traditional melody, new lyrics by Rabbi Gilah Langner)

**Chorus:**

*Avadim hayinu, hayinu*

*Atah b’nei horin, b’nei horin* (3x)

*Once we were slaves / in Egyptland*

*Then we were freed / by God’s own hand*

*But you can’t be free / without proper work*

*A decent wage, a decent place / a boss who’s not a jerk*

*We stand with those / who are still in misery*

*Good jobs are the cornerstone of liberty.*

Translation of Hebrew chorus: Once we were slaves. Today we are free people!
**Blessing Over the First Cup of Wine**

*Fill the first cup of wine or juice.*

In a traditional seder, we drink four cups of wine. Tonight, we will drink the first and last cups to provide structure to our seder as we first learn about the minimum wage and then take action together. We raise this first cup in honor of all those who struggle daily to support themselves and their families on an unlivable minimum wage.

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָּ, אֱ-לוֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָּעוֹלָּם, בוֹרֵא פְּרִי הַגָּפֶן.

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.*

**Elijah and Miriam’s Cups**

There is a Passover custom to fill a cup of wine for Elijah the prophet. We open the doors of our homes and place Elijah’s cup on the table, inviting him to enjoy the Passover meal with us. This cup can act as a symbol of inclusion, and it resonates with the haggadah’s command: “Let all who are hungry come and eat.” Tonight, this cup represents all those who are not able to be with us at this seder. We recognize that we are fortunate to be able to spend a few hours together in leisure. But many cannot be here as they struggle to work as many hours as possible in order to support themselves and their families.

Recently, many people have also added another cup, this one filled with water, to honor Miriam, Moses’ sister. This cup symbolizes the well that followed Miriam and sustained the Israelite people as they wandered in the desert for 40 years. Miriam’s cup also commemorates Jewish women who have led and inspired their communities from the Biblical era to the present day. Tonight, we honor the more than 15 million working women in the United States who would be helped by an increase in the federal minimum wage,* and all the women who work long hours at low-paying jobs in a culture that devalues women’s work.

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*Edward A’s story*

I am a minimum wage worker at a restaurant and trying to provide for my family is really tough. I have a fiance who makes minimum wage as well. We have three children and our paychecks combined barely cover the necessities like a roof over our heads, gas and lights, and clothes for the kids. We wouldn’t be able to make it without government assistance like food stamps and a medical card. There is constant stress because we are living paycheck to paycheck and never have enough money. Everyone needs help sometimes, especially since the economy is so bad and it has made life even harder for working people. This isn’t about needing more money for luxury things, we need a raise in the living wage in order to survive.

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**Visualizing Wealth Inequality**

As we begin to learn the ins-and-outs of the minimum wage, we start with a question that will connect our learning to the larger context: **why is it so important, at this moment in our history, to raise the minimum wage?**

The answer has to do with the staggering levels of wealth and income inequality in America today:

The richest 1% of Americans own 40% of the nation's wealth.  

[Diagram showing 1% of Americans owning 40% of the nation's wealth]

The poorest 80% of Americans own 7% of the nation’s wealth.

[Diagram showing 80% of Americans owning 7% of the nation’s wealth]

We focus tonight on raising the minimum wage because it is one concrete and powerful tool we can use to begin chipping away at this enormous disparity.

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**What is wealth?**

Wealth is not the same as income. Wealth is defined as **anything of value that you own** (think real estate, stocks, and bonds) minus any debts, like house mortgages, loans, and credit card debts.

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**MG’s story**

I am a 40 year old fast food worker from Randallstown, MD. I make $8 per hour. I report to work for up to 39 hours per week, but nothing more. Although I make more than the current minimum wage of $7.25, I continue to find difficulty in obtaining basic necessities. If it wasn’t for my job providing a $5 lunch allowance, I would go hungry. I rent a room in in a house, which leaves me financially strapped once I pay my weekly rent of $135. By the time I get off of work, it is late and unsafe. Public transportation is not as readily available in the late evenings, therefore I must catch a cab home or walk with a taser in my pocket, hoping that no one tries to rob or attack me. Luckily, I've built a relationship with my cab driver, who does not always charge me full price to drop me off at home.

I have applied for many other jobs, with no success at gaining a second source of income, as of yet. I spend a lot of time looking for side jobs, such as baby sitting for friends and family, which sometimes provides an opportunity for more income, yet it is not reliable, nor consistent.

While at work, I talk to my customers about raising the minimum wage. Many of my customers are making minimum wage themselves. My surrounding community supports this legislation and agree that a wage under $10 is not a fair living wage. Increasing the minimum wage to $10.10, will help families by giving us a little more opportunity to increase our quality of life.

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6 Ibid.
The Four Questions

The questions we ask at the beginning of the seder set in motion the telling of the Passover story. The usual four questions begin with “Mah nishtanah.../ Why is this night different from all other nights?” But Rabbinic commentary tells us that any genuine question can serve the same purpose. The Talmud even tells the story of Rabbah, a rabbi who would remove the table from the room before dinner, just to provoke questions from the surprised children! In that spirit, tonight’s four questions are meant to catalyze our thinking about the importance of raising the minimum wage.

All ask: What is the minimum wage? And why do we have one?

The minimum wage protects workers by establishing a wage floor: no worker may be paid less than the minimum wage. Setting a minimum wage ensures that employers cannot take advantage of the inherent imbalance of power in the workplace by paying less than a fair wage. The minimum wage also serves a symbolic purpose: it reflects our country’s belief that all workers deserve dignified treatment and societal protection. Former Secretary of Labor Robert Reich explained that “providing a bottom line beneath which worker’s hourly pay must not fall is the nation’s moral duty.”

The federal minimum wage was established by the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) of 1938. The law set the minimum wage at $0.25 per hour, strictly limited child labor, and set a maximum number of hours for the work week. Passed at the height of the Great Depression, FLSA’s stated purpose was to keep America’s workers out of poverty, and increase consumer purchasing power in order to stimulate the economy. Unfortunately, many categories of workers were exempted from the original FLSA, necessitating a continuous fight to expand the law to guarantee all workers earnings that meet the cost of living. Since 1949, the FLSA has been amended seven times to increase the minimum wage and expand coverage to previously exempted categories of workers, including non-seasonal agricultural workers, retail and service workers, and state and local government employees. Today is there also an important campaign to expand coverage to in-home care workers.

Today the federal minimum wage is just $7.25 per hour. Someone who works a forty-hour week at one minimum wage job will earn only about $15,000 annually, which is $3,600 below the federal poverty line for a parent with two children.

7 “What if there were no minimum wage?” http://www.cnn.com/2013/02/24/opinion/greene-minimum-wage/
8 Ibid.
10 “To Work with Dignity” http://www.epi.org/publication/work-dignity-unfinished-march-decent-minimum-wage/
our allies helped lead. Statewide in Maryland and Virginia, however, the minimum wage is still stuck at the federal minimum. Tipped workers, including many in the restaurant industry, make an even lower baseline wage. The federal tipped minimum wage has stagnated at $2.13 per hour since 1991, while Maryland tipped workers make $3.63 per hour. Legally, employers are required to make up the difference if employees’ tips do not bring their wages up to the regular minimum wage. But many employers simply ignore the law. As a result, tipped workers on average earn less than other workers and often earn even less than the minimum wage.

All ask: Who would benefit from an increase in the minimum wage?

The typical person working for the minimum wage (or just above it) is in her early thirties, works full-time, has a family to support, and earns half of his or her family’s total income. Raising the minimum wage is not primarily for the benefit of middle-class teens on summer vacation, as is commonly claimed by those in the opposition. Instead, this measure will support hardworking people who are their families’ breadwinners and who rely on their wages to afford their most basic needs.

Women and people of color are also more likely to be paid the minimum wage, as many are tracked into low-paying “pink collar” jobs such as child care, cleaning, and food service. In 2011, more than six in ten Maryland workers earning the minimum wage were women. In addition, black and Latina women are disproportionately represented among female minimum wage workers across the country. Women are also more likely to be living in poverty than men, so raising the minimum wage will help break the gendered nature of poverty.

Unfortunately, the number of people making the minimum wage in America continues to grow.
The Great Recession hit hard in higher-wage sectors like construction and manufacturing, and new job growth has been concentrated disproportionately in low-wage industries such as retail, food services, and administrative, support, and waste management services.\textsuperscript{18} Fifty-eight percent of all the jobs created after the recession are low-wage positions in similar industries.\textsuperscript{19} And this is not a short-term trend: low-wage industries are only projected to grow in the next decade as the economy continues to recover from the recession\textsuperscript{20}. An increase in the minimum wage will therefore have an enormous impact on the increasing numbers of people employed in these industries.

\textbf{All ask: Why raise the minimum wage now?}

The minimum wage was established in order to actualize our society’s commitment to fair pay for a fair day’s work: a principle that today’s minimum wage fails to uphold.

The minimum wage was at the peak of its purchasing power in 1968. As the cost of living has risen since then, the minimum wage has decreased in actual value. If it had kept pace with inflation over the past forty years, the minimum wage would be around $10.65 per hour today.\textsuperscript{21} Thus, employers today are actually paying less – in real dollars – than they were in the late 1960s. Raising the minimum wage now will restore its historic value.

It is also worth noting that while the purchasing power of the minimum wage has declined, corporate profits and executive pay have skyrocketed. CEO compensation, for example, has risen by a staggering 900% since 1968, and in 2012, the top 100 most highly compensated CEOs made salaries of more than $15 million dollars, or about $7000 per hour.\textsuperscript{22} In just two hours of any day, these CEOs make just under the yearly salary of a minimum wage worker. Corporations have failed to fairly compensate the low-wage workers who helped create much of the new wealth that enables such salaries.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{18} “The Low-Wage Recovery and Growing Inequality” /www.nelp.org/page/Job_Creation/LowWageRecovery2012.pdf?nocdn=1
  \item \textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{20} “Occupations with the most job growth” http://www.bls.gov/emp/ep_table_104.htm
  \item \textsuperscript{21} “Inflation and the Real Minimum Wage: A Fact Sheet” http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R42973.pdf
  \item \textsuperscript{22} “America’s Highest Paid Chief Executives.” http://www.forbes.com/lists/2012/12/ceocompensation12_rank.html
\end{itemize}
Increasing the minimum wage to $10.10 per hour would boost the annual earnings of a full-time minimum wage earner to a little over $20,000, an increase of $5,500 per year. This increase would be enough to lift a family of three out of poverty.\textsuperscript{23}

Increasing the minimum wage will also stimulate our recovering economy via the consumer spending the drives the economy and jumpstarts production and rehiring\textsuperscript{24}. Research shows that minimum wage earners generally put the extra money they earn back into their communities.\textsuperscript{25} It is estimated that raising the federal minimum wage to $10.10 per hour would generate a net increase of $22 billion in economic activity across the country.\textsuperscript{26}

Will raising the minimum wage kill jobs? Though this is a controversial and highly contested question, the most rigorous research over the past twenty years has consistently demonstrated that raising the minimum wage has little to no negative impact on net employment, and some studies even show a positive net effect on employment.\textsuperscript{27} States with minimum wages higher than the federal minimum actually showed stronger job growth from 1998 to 2003 than states that used the lower federal minimum.\textsuperscript{28} In recent surveys of economists, most agree that the benefits of raising and indexing the minimum wage outweigh the costs.\textsuperscript{29} In fact, research by the Economic Policy Institute indicates that if we had a federal minimum wage of $10.10 per hour, the economic stimulus caused by increased spending among low- and moderate-wage workers would actually create an estimated 140,000 jobs.\textsuperscript{30} The same is true on a local level. EPI’s research indicates that raising the Maryland minimum wage would increase the salaries of 455,000 Marylanders, inject approximately $456 million into Maryland’s economy, and create an estimated 1,600 jobs.\textsuperscript{31}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{overall-income-new.png}
\caption{Overall, American incomes have gone up since 1979.}
\end{figure}

\textbf{Overall, American incomes have gone up since 1979.}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Good thing for everybody, right? Not quite.}
\item The top 1\% captured 86.3\% of all income growth.
\item Over three decades, the top 1\%’s income more than doubled.
\item \begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
1979 & $454,537 \\
2011 & $1,040,506 \\
\textbf{128.9\% raise} & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\item The other 99\% of Americans got a raise of only 2.3\%.
\item \begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
1979 & $41,751 \\
2011 & $42,684 \\
\textbf{2.3\% raise} & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{itemize}

Notes: Income data are in 2013 dollars.\textsuperscript{29} Adapted from Estelle Simonelli and Mark Price, \textit{The Increasingly Unequal States of American Income Inequality by State, 2007 To 2012}, an Economic Analysis and Research Network (EARN) report published February 20, 2013.

ECONOMIC POLICY INSTITUTE

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\begin{itemize}
\item 23 Ibid.
\item 25 “\textit{Raising the Federal Minimum Wage to $10.10 Would Lift Wages for Millions and Provide a Modest Economic Boost}” http://www.epi.org/publication/raising-federal-min-wage-to-1010/
\item 26 Ibid.
\item 28 “\textit{States with Minimum Wages above the Federal Level have had Faster Small Business and Retail Job Growth}” http://www.fiscalpolicy.org/FPISmallBusinessMinWage.pdf
\item 29 http://www.igmchicago.org/igm-economic-experts-panel/poll-results?SurveyID=SV_br0IEq5a9E77NMV
\item 30 “\textit{Raising the federal minimum wage to $10.10 would give working families, and the overall economy, a much-needed boost}” http://www.epi.org/publication/bp357-federal-min-wage-increase/
\item 31 “\textit{Raising the Maryland Minimum Wage Will Benefit Nearly Half a Million Workers and Modestly Boost the State’s Economy}.” http://s4.epi.org/files/2014/MD_to_1010%201_31_14.pdf
\end{itemize}
All ask: Why is raising the minimum wage a Jewish issue?

Our community’s history demands that we speak out in support of livable wages. Many Jewish immigrants to America, including the families of many of us here tonight, were low-wage workers when they arrived in this country. They experienced firsthand the struggle to support their families and maintain their dignity under poor working conditions and inadequate wages. Many joined together to fight for fair wages and decent working conditions for all workers. Many workers of the time were able to extricate themselves from poverty because of the risks their community took. When we continue that fight today on behalf of all workers, we honor our ancestors’ courage and we recognize our obligation to ensure that all people have access to the same decent working conditions.

Jewish law is also very clear about our obligation to treat all workers with fairness and dignity. Recognizing the reality that employers almost always hold the upper hand in the workplace, Judaism mandates all sorts of protections for workers, including the right to fair and timely compensation. More broadly, we are also taught about an obligation to create social structures that enable people to overcome poverty. Rambam*, for example, writes that the highest form of tzedakah* is to help someone experiencing poverty find the kind of stable, decently-paid work that will enable them to become self-sufficient.

Finally, cycles of work and rest are also central to Jewish conceptions of time, and emblematic of the Jewish relationship with God. Each Friday night, we sanctify Shabbat over a cup of wine. The blessing names Shabbat as a commemoration of both the work of creation and the exodus from slavery in Egypt. We say:

_Blessed are you, God, sovereign of the universe, who made us holy with your commandments and favored us and gave us your holy Shabbat, in love and favor, to be our heritage, as a reminder of the work of Creation. It is the foremost day of the holy festivals marking the Exodus from Egypt...._

Both aspects of this blessing – remembering Creation and the Exodus from Egypt – teach important lessons about labor patterns. From the commandment to keep Shabbat as a remembrance of God’s work of creation, we learn that although work is critical it must also allow for rest. In remembering our own origins in slavery, we are reminded that modern oppression still exists and that all people must be free both to work and to rest. No one should be a slave to work; everyone should have some control over his or her own time.

Unfortunately, rest has become close to impossible for many people earning the minimum wage because they need to work more than one job to support themselves and their families. As Jews, we should be sensitized to the impossibility of working continuously. As Jews who value rest and work as ways of walking in G-d’s footsteps, we therefore advocate for a minimum wage that is sufficient for workers to make ends meet with one job, thus allowing all people to experience rest along with their work.

Renowned capitalist Henry Ford doubled the hourly wages of his employees in 1914, explaining, "If you cut wages, you just cut the number of your own customers."
Passover Symbols

The traditional symbols of Passover sit before us on the seder plate. Each food represents an aspect of our oppression and liberation. Many items recall the suffering of our ancestors. Together, they retell the story of triumph over injustice, and represent our hope for the future.

The matzah is a central symbol of Passover. It is both the bread of affliction and the bread of liberation. This meager, hastily-made, unleavened bread was prepared as the Israelites hurried to leave Egypt with no time to allow their bread to rise. On this night, the matzah symbolizes a life with no time for rest or pleasure, as many minimum wage earners must work long hours and multiple jobs just to make ends meet.

The maror, or bitter herb, symbolizes the bitterness of the lives of the Israelites when they were slaves in Egypt. Tonight, the maror represents the bitterness of working harder all the time only to fall further behind.

The karpas, or green vegetable, symbolizes the coming of spring, with all of the optimism and energy of new growth. Last year, the fight began to raise the minimum wage in Maryland and this karpas represents our renewed energy to win this year.

HaroSET is a mixture of fruits and nuts combined into a sticky paste that symbolizes the mortar the Israelite slaves used to make and bind together bricks. At this seder, the haroset symbolizes the idea of the minimum wage as the glue that holds society together, as a social contract that is meant to guarantee all workers a fair wage.

A roasted shank bone or beet symbolizes the Passover sacrifice, a lamb whose blood served as a sign to the Angel of Death to spare the Israelites. Tonight, this item represents the sacrifices minimum wage workers must make when they can’t afford their basic needs, such as having to choose which bills to pay each month. The Hebrew word for the shankbone, zeroa, is the same word the haggadah uses when God’s outstretched arm (zeroa netuyah) delivers us from slavery in Egypt. Tonight we vow to extend our own arms and fight for a higher minimum wage, regionally and nationally.

The egg is a traditional symbol whose roundness represents the cycle of life. Tonight, the egg reminds us of the sacred Jewish cycle of work and rest. No one should have to work all the time without rest, but right now this is impossible for people who must work overtime at multiple jobs in order to make ends meet on such low wages.

The orange is a modern addition to the seder plate. Scholar Susannah Heschel introduced it in the 1980s to symbolize the fruitfulness of communities that give full roles to women, queer Jews, and others who were marginalized in Jewish communities in the past. The orange reminds us that our traditions are not only about remembering the past: they can and should speak to today’s struggles.

The tomato is another modern addition, which began as part of Truah: The Rabbinic Call for Human Rights’ work to mobilize the Jewish community in the Campaign for Fair Food, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers’ farmworker movement to end widespread abusive conditions in Florida’s tomato fields. The tomato reminds us to remember that many workers, including seasonal farmworkers, are paid below the minimum wage and are subject to abusive work conditions.32

32 “A Tomato on the Seder Plate: Standing with Farmworkers in their Struggle to Uproot Modern-Day Slavery”
http://www.truah.org/images/stories/tomato.on.seder%202013.pdf
**Ten plagues**

To help persuade Pharaoh to let the Hebrew slaves go free, God brought ten plagues on the people of Egypt. In a traditional seder, we remove a drop of wine or juice from our glasses as we name each ancient plague, symbolizing that even as we celebrate our liberation, our joy is reduced by the suffering of the Egyptians. Tonight, we read a list of modern plagues that are the consequences and causes of an inadequate minimum wage. We remove a drop from our glasses after we read each plague to symbolize our anguish at the suffering these plagues have caused.

*We read the name of each plague aloud together. As we name each plague, remove a drop of wine or juice from your glass with your finger or spoon: our happiness cannot be complete while injustice persists.*

**Millions live in poverty while working full-time.**

While minimum wage workers are not slaves in the sense that we talk about in the Passover story, no person should feel enslaved to a job that keeps them mired in poverty. People often do not have enough money to feed, clothe, and care for their children, and lack paid sick leave. Some workers live in communities that are unsafe or far from work, and to make ends meet, they must work multiple jobs with no time for rest or family.

**Low wages reinforce racial and gender inequality.**

Women and people of color are more likely to be paid the minimum wage than their male or white counterparts. In 2011, more than six in ten Maryland workers earning the minimum wage were women. Nationally, African-American and Hispanic women are disproportionately represented among female minimum wage workers.33

**Unscrupulous employers commit wage theft.**

Wage theft happens when employers demand that workers work off the clock, fail to pay overtime, or simply renege on promised wages. As many as two-thirds of the nation’s employees are missing money from their paychecks every week. A 2008 survey of large urban areas showed that the average low-wage worker lost out on 15% of a year’s wages.34 Though wage theft is a crime, many workers don’t understand their legal rights and government enforcement is lax. Wage theft is a serious problem for workers who can easily fall into serious debt problems when wages are withheld. Furthermore, the tipped minimum wage system, with its reliance on the bookkeeping and good will of owners, leaves restaurant workers particularly vulnerable to wage theft.

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Productivity goes up, but wages stay flat...

The American worker has never been more productive. Between 1973 and 2011, worker productivity rose 80%. But workers have not shared in that wealth—wealth that they themselves have created. Worker pay and benefits make up the lowest share of the American economy in over 50 years, even as corporate profits have soared to record levels. If workers’ pay had increased to match their increased productivity over the past 45 years, the minimum wage would be $18.67 today.

...While CEOs are making higher wages than ever.

Top corporate officers have always made many times what workers at the bottom earn. In the years since the economic crash of 2008, however, the incomes of CEOs and other executives have increased dramatically while wages at the lowest end of the spectrum have stagnated and even decreased in purchasing power. In 1978, the average ratio of CEO to worker pay was 29 to 1, while in 2012 the ratio was 202.3 to 1. These officers are not 200 times more productive than their workers – the chasm between pay rates does not represent fair pay in relation to skill and productivity. When as a society we allow top executives to continuously increase their salaries while their lowest paid workers struggle to make ends meet, we send a message that we value managers at the expense of workers.

Taxpayers subsidize corporate poverty wages.

When employers don’t pay their workers enough to meet their basic needs, we all pay the price. Even as corporate profits skyrocket, many of their employees turn to public benefits in order to survive. This means that the American taxpayer ends up subsidizing massively profitable companies. Just last year, an Ohio Walmart held a Thanksgiving food drive for its own employees. And McDonald’s told a working mother, unable to subsist on the company’s low wages, that she should just sign up for food stamps. Companies making billions of dollars in annual profits can afford to pay their workers a living wage, yet they lobby to ensure that their wages will be subsidized by American taxpayers.

35 “Our Economic Pickle” nytimes.com/2013/01/13/sunday-review/americas-productivity-climbs-but-wages-stagnate.html?_r=2
36 Ibid.
37 “Lagging minimum wage is one reason why most Americans’ wages have fallen behind productivity.” http://www.epi.org/publication/lagging-minimum-wage-reason-americans-wages/
38 “CEO Pay in 2012 Was Extraordinarily High Relative to Typical Workers and Other High Earners” http://www.epi.org/publication/ceo-pay-2012-extraordinarily-high/
41 “End corporate welfare for McDonald’s. Better yet, raise the minimum wage” http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/oct/30/mcdonalds-helpline-food-stamps-minimum-wage
Tipped workers are left behind.

There’s something missing from the prices on the menu: servers depend on you, not the restaurant owner, for their pay. And they’re not alone. Tipped workers also wash cars, cut hair, and drive taxis. More than 3 million Americans do not earn the minimum wage. Federal law permits employers to pay tipped workers $2.13, an amount so low that 21 states plus the District have opted to pay more—but not much more. In the District, tipped workers earn $2.77 per hour, and in Maryland they earn $3.63 per hour. If they don’t earn enough to reach the minimum wage rate, their bosses are obligated to make up the difference—a system that’s ripe for abuse. Although DC’s minimum wage will rise in July, tipped workers will benefit only indirectly. The federal “sub-minimum wage” hasn’t changed in so long that babies born when it was set are now old enough to vote.

Low wage workers get their pay cut every year.

$7.25 just doesn’t go as far as it used to. That’s because the price of goods and services continues to go up—due to natural inflation—while the minimum wage stays flat due to government inaction. Since Congress last raised the minimum wage to $7.25 per hour in 2009, it has already lost about 6% of its purchasing power. The solution would be to peg the minimum wage to inflation—as the price of goods and services rises, the minimum wage would automatically rise along with it. Until that happens, minimum-wage workers will always see that their already meager salaries buy them less and less of the things they need to make ends meet.

Less Money, Mo’ Problems

According to the US Census Bureau, 15% of Americans, or 45.6 million people, are living in poverty. Recent bipartisan cuts to public assistance programs such as SNAP (food stamps) have showed us that as a nation, we do not see poverty as a systemic problem but rather an individual issue. When we see poverty as the fault of those experiencing it rather than a symptom of the economic system at large, it inhibits national urgency in changing the system that leaves too many workers behind.

Table 2.1 Why Are People in Need?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent of respondents answering that poor people are poor because of laziness and lack of will power</th>
<th>Percent of respondents answering that poor people are poor because of an unfair society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>61%</td>
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<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>57</td>
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<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td>Chile</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td>Norway</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Sweden</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>Armenia</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In a range of surveys between 1995 and 2000, people were asked: “Why, in your opinion, are there people in this country who live in need?” The survey was not carried out in the United Kingdom. Source: World Values Survey, http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/.

42 “Who makes minimum wage?” http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/07/19/who-makes-minimum-wage/
43 “5 facts about the minimum wage” http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/12/04/5-facts-about-the-minimum-wage/
Corporations influence policy more than ordinary people.

The Center for Responsive Politics estimates that the average cost of winning a congressional election has nearly doubled in the last twenty years to $1.6 million for a US House seat and $10.35 million for a US Senate seat. While money has always had a role in the political process, the increasing power of big donors in elections has expanded the ability of wealthy individuals and corporations to shape political outcomes. The priorities of lower-income Americans have been overlooked or blocked by those in power. When corporations can not only lobby for favorable laws but spend endlessly to elect sympathetic officials, we see outcomes like stagnant minimum wages that do not allow workers to afford their basic needs.

♫ SONG ♫

The Wages, They Need A-Raising
(Sung to the tune of “The Times They Are A-Changin’)

Come gather round people, and let us protect
The belief that all workers must be treated with respect
And let us agree that we will not accept
Unlivable minimum wages
So listen up Maryland and do not neglect
For the wages, they need a-raising

Come big corporations, please heed our call
That fair wages and hours should be given to all
For without your workers, your business would fall
If your profits to you are worth saving
Then share them with your workers who have helped build you tall
For the wages, they need a-raising

All mothers and fathers need time with their young,
Time to rest, though some peoples’ hours are long,
And some people can’t spend enough time at home
When they are paid such low wages
So let’s raise our voices to call out this wrong
For the wages, they need a-raising

State senators, delegates, please understand
That we will not rest ‘til we Raise Maryland
And a wage of $10.10, we will demand
‘Til a bill passes your chambers
And is signed into law by the governor’s hand
For the wages, they need a-raising
"In the traditional Ashkenazi haggadah we say "b'chol dor vador chayav adam lir’ot et atzmo k’ilu hu yatza mi-mitzrayim / In every generation we are obligated to see ourselves as though we personally came out of Egypt.

But Rambam*, an important medieval philosopher, had a slightly different version of the text. Instead of the word lir’ot / to see, Rambam’s version uses the word l’har’ot / to show or present. In Hebrew, the two words are the spelled same except for the addition of one extra letter in the second version. With that small twist, Rambam’s version says that in every generation we are obligated to show ourselves as though we personally came out of Egypt, not just that we are obligated to see ourselves that way. Most Sephardi haggadot use this version.

What difference does it make? What is the difference between seeing ourselves as having gone through a certain experience and showing ourselves that way?

Seeing ourselves in a certain way is about an internal sense of identity, one that might or might not result in action. Showing ourselves to others takes work; it’s an outwardly-directed activity. To really show ourselves to the world as people who have known persecution, action is required.”

--Rabbi Elizabeth Richman, JUFJ Rabbi-in-Residence

Tonight we aim to remember our own story of oppression and liberation, and connect it to the current struggle to raise the minimum wage. Using the text above as an inspiration, please share a personal story with your discussion partner.

Take a minute to think about your life. What is a story that connects your personal history to our current fight to raise the minimum wage? This can be a story about something you’ve witnessed or experienced, your family, a friend, personal values, or something else. Any story that feels relevant to you is a good story to share.

Below are some jumping off points that may be helpful as you try to identify a story to share:

- Have you tried to support yourself or your family working a low-wage job?
- Do you have relatives or friends who have worked low-wage jobs?
- If you or your relatives or friends have worked for the minimum wage or low wages, what was that like? Did those experiences reflect the idea that the minimum wage is meant to provide a baseline level of support for all workers?
- Think about a job you’ve had—was it a good job or a bad job (according to your own interpretation)? What factors made it that way? How do you see these factors reflected in what we’ve discussed about the minimum wage?
- Have you ever worked for a low wage as a source of extra income? What was that like?
- Are you or have you been an employer? What responsibility did you feel toward your workers? Tell a story about a time you treated a worker well, or had to make a hard decision between competing values or priorities.

If you have time after you and your partner share your stories, discuss: How can your personal story connect you more deeply to the struggle for better wages? How might you see and show yourself as having left Egypt, through your actions today and in your life?
**Hillel Sandwich**

Right before the Passover meal is eaten there is a tradition of making a "Hillel sandwich" (named for its inventor, a rabbi who lived in Jerusalem during the time of King Herod) in which the bitter maror and sweet charoset are combined and eaten between two pieces of matzah.

Those working for the minimum wage may experience a “sandwich” of a different kind as the careful balance of their lives is stuck between stagnating wages and rising prices. No worker should feel sandwiched in this way. If we believe that people who work hard should live decent lives, we need laws that mandate livable, realistic wages that are based accurately on the cost of necessities like rent, food, and childcare.

44 According to the EPI, for the period between 2000 and 2012, prices increased 33% even as wages remained flat or even declined for the bottom 60% of wage-earners.

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**Song**

**We Shall Not Be Moved**

(Traditional melody)

**Chorus:**
We shall not, we shall not be moved (2x)
Just like a tree that's planted by the water
We shall not be moved.

We’re fighting for $10.10…
All people need to rest…
We'll win this fight together…
Dayeinu

Dayeinu (It Would Have Been Enough for Us) is a beloved Passover song, in which we list each stage of the Exodus from Egypt and beyond, and exclaim that even if we had only reached that step alone, it would have been enough. Dayeinu expresses the tension between feeling grateful for every step towards liberation, and yearning for complete freedom, for which none of the steps is truly sufficient. In the same spirit, tonight we celebrate the progress that so many people in this room have worked hard to achieve, not only the minimum wage wins, but also the many other victories that lift up vulnerable workers. There is more work to be done together and yet we all need to sing and celebrate along the way!

The leader will read the title, and all will respond, “Dayeinu.”

In 2004, San Francisco became the first American city to raise the minimum wage. While the current federal minimum wage is stuck at $7.25, San Francisco took local action a decade ago to pass a groundbreaking measure that raised the local minimum wage to $8.50 an hour, indexed to inflation so that it has been rising with the cost of living ever since. Currently the minimum wage is $10.74 an hour, and San Francisco has become a model of a city that both treats its workers well and continues to thrive. Dayeinu.

The Occupy Wall Street protests of 2011 articulated the 99% consciousness. Occupy catalyzed a renewed national consciousness about social and economic inequality in our country. Dayeinu.

JUFJ and allies passed bills to guarantee paid sick days and raise the minimum wage in the District. In 2013, JUFJ and our allies in the Paid Sick Days for All coalition joined forces with the Minimum Wage coalition. Together we organized to pass two strong bills that expanded paid sick days to all workers in the city and that will raise the minimum wage to $11.50 by 2016 and index it to inflation beginning in 2017. Dayeinu.

At the same time, JUFJ advocated to raise the minimum wage in Montgomery County in a coordinated effort with Prince George’s County and DC. Maryland JUFJers, in addition to unions, workers, and community groups, organized for higher minimum wages in Montgomery County. In November 2013, both Maryland counties passed bills to raise the minimum wage to $11.50 by 2017 so that workers in all three neighboring jurisdictions would benefit and no jurisdiction would be left behind. Dayeinu.

Tired of waiting for Congress to act, thirteen states are raising the minimum wage in 2014. Voters at the ballots and elected officials are raising the minimum wage at the statewide level. The states that will increase their minimum wages in 2014 are: Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Washington. (New York, ever an outlier, raised its minimum wage on December 31, 2013.) Dayeinu.

Walmart, fast food, and government contract workers are saying no to poverty wages. On Black Friday, workers and community supporters protested Walmart’s low pay and lousy treatment of their employees. Less than a week later, fast food workers in 100 cities across the nation went on strike for wages of $15 per hour and the right to unionize without retaliation. These protests showed corporate and elected leaders that hundreds of thousands of Americans refuse to sit passively while income inequality worsens. Locally, the strike catalyzed a new union shop for 200 Smithsonian workers here in the District. Dayeinu.

President Obama gave federal contract workers a raise. As a result of grassroots organizing by Good Jobs Nation, a coalition of federal contract workers, President Obama announced an executive order raising the minimum wage to $10.10 an hour for workers contracted by the federal government in January 2014. President Obama also called raising the federal minimum wage and ensuring paid sick days a national priority, and encouraged activists to keep the momentum rolling locally if Congress fails to act. Dayeinu.

Next up: a win in Annapolis! JUFJ and our allies are working hard to raise the minimum wage to $10.10 in Maryland, and our bill has passed through the House of Delegates! Unfortunately, the bill was weakened in the House by the removal of the inflation indexing and by the addition of an amendment to freeze the tipped minimum wage at $3.63. The bill is now in the Senate, and we won’t stop until everyone in Maryland makes $10.10. Dayeinu. It will be enough.

🎵Song🎵

Dayeinu
(Traditional melody with a few new lyrics)

If in our community
We had fair wages for all employees
That would be enough for me—Dayeinu

Chorus:
Dai-dayeinu, dai-dayeinu, dai-dayeinu, dayeinu dayeinu

If there was growing energy
To fix income inequality
That would be enough for me—Dayeinu

Chorus

If Montgomery and PG
Along with Washington DC
Raised the wage to $11.50—Dayeinu

Chorus

If we see a victory
For Maryland’s hardworking families
That would be enough for me—Dayeinu

Chorus
Fill the last cup with wine or juice.

We close our seder with a cup of wine. As we raise our glasses and recite the blessing, we strengthen our commitment to taking action for a higher minimum wage, and for a more just world that treats all human beings, and all workers, with dignity and fairness.

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָּ, א-לֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָּעוֹלָּם, בוֹרֵא פְּרי הַגָּפֶן.

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 last cup.

Next Year in Jerusalem

The Passover seder ends with a statement of hope: “Lashanah haba’ah birushalayim / Next year in a redeemed Jerusalem!” This ancient phrase expresses our longing for redemption. Tonight, we long for a world where all workers can earn a decent and fair wage. Let us join together to make that dream a reality.

Glossary

**Seder:** A Hebrew word meaning “order,” this is what we call the ritual festive meal celebrated the first one or two nights of Passover. The meal is called a seder because there is specific information and rituals that must be included, and tradition has come to specify a particular order for the rituals.

**Haggadah:** The Hebrew word for “telling” or “narrative,” it is the name of the text that sets out the order of the Passover seder. Reading the Haggadah fills the commandment that we must tell our children about our liberation from slavery in Egypt as described in the Book of Exodus.

**Passover:** The name of this holiday comes from the Hebrew word, pesach, whose root meaning is to pass through, to pass over, to exempt, or to spare (referring to the story that the Angel of Death passed over the homes of the Israelites when slaying the first-born sons in Egypt, the 10th plague). Pesach is also the term for the sacrificial offering of a lamb that was made in the Temple on this holiday.

**Rambam:** Moses Maimonides, or RaMBaM (the Hebrew acronym for Rabbeinu Moshe Ben Maimon), was a preeminent medieval Arab, Spanish, Sephardic Jewish philosopher, physician, and astronomer, and one of the most prolific and influential Torah scholars of the Middle Ages. He was born in Córdoba in 1138, and died in Egypt in 1204.

**Talmud:** Derived from the Hebrew word for study, the Talmud is a collection of texts that record oral law and commentary.

**Torah:** the Hebrew name for the part of the Bible that consists of the Five Books of Moses.

**Tzedakah:** commonly understood as "charity," tzedakah refers to donations of money designed to help the poor. It shares a root with the word tzedek, which means justice or righteousness. Giving tzedakah is seen in Jewish tradition as a central mitzvah/commandment incumbent on everyone, not merely an act of generosity.
Thank You

To everyone who helped create our 2014 Haggadah and make the Labor Seder a success. In particular, Rabbi Mark Novak, for songleading and music, Eli Koppel and Jack Gordon, for photography, Gail Mattison and the rest of the staff at Adas Israel Congregation for hosting us, Nirma Medrano, Debra Linick, and Rabbi Batya Steinlauf at the JCRC, for printing our haggadah, Reyna Levine, who created our postcard, poster, and cover art, and Carla Hashley, our capable eleventh-hour logistics sidekick.

Special thanks to the brilliant Haggadah Team

Ethan Miller co-chair  Nathaniel Berman  Dave Gochman  Elina Bravve
Jane Yamaykin  Jennifer Diamond  Jeremy Mendelson  Barbara Cornell  Nick Marritz

About Us

Jews United for Justice leads Washington-area Jews to act on our shared values by pursuing justice and equality in our local community. We work on issues like affordable housing, fair taxation and budgets, worker and immigrant rights, and safety net funding. Through campaigns, programs, and public education, JUFJ builds relationships and mobilizes the Jewish community to demand and win systematic progressive change. Our work is grounded in Jewish text as well as the Jewish experience of both prejudice and privilege. We envision a healthy, fair, and safe D.C. region, where the rights and dignity of all residents are respected and their voices are heard, where working hard guarantees a decent living and everyone has access to quality health care and education. We believe that the only way to build such a community is for Jews to join with our neighbors to demand social change.

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