They embittered their lives
with harsh labor
EX. 1:14

FIGHT FOR 15 – PAID SICK DAYS
JUST HOURS AND SCHEDULING
– PAID FAMILY LEAVE –

Jews United for Justice
LABOR SEDER 2016

ADAS ISRAEL CONGREGATION ▲ WASHINGTON, DC
APRIL 10, 2016 ▲ 2 NISAN 5776
How good and pleasant it is for brothers and sisters to sit together!

**Why a Labor Seder?**

We have come together at this time for many reasons. 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. Over the centuries, thousands of different versions of the Passover haggadah, or “narrative,” have been written. This haggadah has been prepared to bring leaders and members of the Jewish, labor, and activist communities together to retell the story of the Exodus. As we recount the tale, we will examine its relationship to the struggles of working people to improve their lives and the lives of their families, co-workers, and communities. The story of Passover is steeped in imagery that resonates for those who care about worker’s rights: persecution, oppressive taskmasters, impossible work demands, work quotas, and finally a struggle for freedom.

*Adapted from the Jewish Labor Committee Passover Haggadah, Third Edition, Spring 2002*

**Why a Seder about Good Jobs?**

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 a central thread through our long history, and we are commanded to remember the Exodus every day.

The bitterness of slavery in Egypt, we learn from the Torah, was not just a general oppression but specifically an experience of “harsh labor” that became more onerous and painful as Pharaoh’s grip on the ancient Israelites tightened. This year, our Labor Seder connects that story to people today fighting for decent jobs.
Harsh labor is still with us. Most of the new jobs that have been created since the Great Recession are in low-wage industries and have few benefits. People who work for low pay rarely have any paid leave, whether they need it for the flu, cancer, or a new baby. Many struggle to get by on part-time, last-minute work when they want and need a full-time schedule. Today, the American dream we so want to believe in—the idea that if you work hard and play by the rules, you’ll be able to support yourself, contribute to your community, and give your children a better life—is no longer a reality. While struggling Americans are not slaves, no one should feel enslaved in a job that keeps them mired in the oppression of poverty. Yet too many people today are trapped in poverty by corporate and political systems that block opportunities.

Tonight’s seder focuses on four policies that have the potential to transform working conditions in America: fair scheduling* in retail, paid family leave*, an increased and universal minimum wage for all workers, and paid sick days*. Together we will learn, listen, and take action, adding our voices to this contemporary liberation story.

“So Moses told this to the Israelites [that God will bring them to freedom] but they did not listen to him, ‘because their spirit was broken and because the labor was harsh. (Ex. 6:9)’

In other words: if you want to improve people’s spiritual situation, first improve their physical situation. That is one of the most humanizing aspects of Judaism.”

WELCOME
Rabbi Elizabeth Richman
JUFJ Program Director and Rabbi-in-Residence
Rabbi Aaron Alexander
Associate Rabbi, Adas Israel

SHEHECHEYANU

The Shehecheyanu 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 that’s committed to fighting for economic justice. The power and potential in this room are enormous.

With gratitude for this moment, let us say together:

כִּי שָׁאוֹת הָעָם אֲנַחַּים וְשָׁמָּנוּ וְהִגִּינוּ לַזְּמַן הַזֶּה.

Baruch atah adonai, eloheinu melech ha-olam, shehecheyanu vekiyemanu vehigianu 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.

FOUR QUESTIONS:

We begin – as always – with our 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. In that spirit, tonight’s four questions are meant to spark our own questions about what’s happening right now, today and tonight, for struggling people in our country and our region. What are today’s challenges and possibilities?

1. What has happened to working conditions in America?

The Great Recession of 2007-2009 may have technically ended, but for millions of working Americans there’s been little to no recovery. Nationally, unemployment is down to 4.9%¹, but the majority of new jobs created in recent years are in industries like retail, food service, health care, and social assistance - minimum or tipped wage jobs with few to no benefits.

Meanwhile, minimum- and low-wage jobs are actually getting worse. In 2011 and 2012, dozens of states passed laws restricting the minimum wage, lifting restrictions on child labor, limiting unemployment benefits, or stripping overtime rights. Big business has lobbied the government to keep the minimum wage from growing in line with overall inflation, and the wage has fallen even further behind the costs of critical needs such as education and health care. Those at the top of the corporate ladder are making more money than ever, profiting from the hard work and increased productivity of their employees. Yet even as our economy grows and the cost of living rises, benefits and wages for most of us stay flat, making it hard for even middle-class workers to support themselves and their families on their earnings. We have all been affected by the increasingly widespread attitude that employees are disposable, or at least easily replaceable.

2. Who is winning and who is losing in the workplace?

The people most likely to work in low-pay jobs, with last-minute, unpredictable scheduling and poor benefits, are people of color – particularly women of color. Throughout American history, from the movement to abolish slavery to today’s movements for fair pay and benefits, struggles for economic justice have been intertwined with the fight against racism and for women’s and LGBTQ equality. Research shows that women and people of color are strikingly overrepresented in low-wage jobs.3

Income inequality in our country also continues to deepen. Disparities in benefits between low and high earners mean that inequality in total compensation (wages plus benefits) is even greater than inequality in wages alone.4 Even for those who are lucky enough to have better-paying jobs, access to crucial benefits is capricious. People should not have to rely on the good will of their boss or find a uniquely generous employer to access benefits that should be a right for all employees, no matter what job they work and who they are.

3. What’s happening here at home?

The Washington, D.C. region is booming – and ranks as one of the most expensive areas in the country. Our region’s overall growth obscures the fact that development hasn’t automatically trickled down to everyone. Unemployment in DC is around 20% for people without a college degree, and 16% for Black residents.5 Even for those who have jobs, low wages do not begin to adequately cover the local cost of living: to afford a market-rate 2-bedroom apartment in the District, an individual needs to earn $28 an hour working full time - that’s more than two and a half times the minimum wage.6 Tens of thousands of working people in our region can’t provide a decent life for their families despite long hours at multiple jobs.

4 https://blog.dol.gov/2015/06/08/lack-of-paid-leave-compounds-challenges-for-low-wage-workers/
5 http://www.dcfpi.org/hearing-on-unemployment-worker-profiles-underlines-the-need-for-improved-services-for-job-seekers
6 http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/06/01/minimum-wage-apartment-hourly-salary-housing-costs_n_7472472.html
That’s the bad news.

The good news is that there is plenty we can do to turn this situation around. Tonight, we will focus on four policies with the power to transform working conditions in our region: **fair scheduling** in retail work, **paid family leave**, an **increased and universal minimum wage** for all employees, and **paid sick days**. There are strong campaigns for each of these issues here in the DC region, and strong momentum for them nationally. These campaigns alone will not end harsh labor or income inequality, but they are key stepping stones to a world in which all work has dignity and all of us have the resources we need to flourish. Tonight we will listen, learn, and act to make that world more possible.

4. **What’s Jewish about the fight for better jobs?**

The Torah teaches that our ancestors left Egypt not just to escape from under Pharaoh’s thumb, but for a higher purpose: to serve the Divine. Work can be holy or work can feel like a punishment: we work to earn a living, but also as a source of identity and meaning. When people must center their whole existence on scraping together a meager living or on efforts to balance family and work, it’s much harder to care for our families, contribute to our communities, or help build a better world for all of us.

True freedom means that **every one of us** can support ourselves and families with dignity, be there for our loved ones in times of need, and have predictable times for rest, renewal, and pleasure – in Jewish terms, a Shabbat.

Our Jewish history demands that we speak out in support of good jobs. Whether you connect with the ancient story of our liberation from Egypt or the more recent history of Jewish worker organizing and political mobilization, or both, we all remember what it meant to struggle for dignity under impossible conditions.

The Torah uses the same word, **avodah**, to describe those impossible conditions of harsh labor under Egyptian slavery and to describe the holy service of God. May we all find ways to be of service and to make dignified, decent jobs a reality for everyone.

*Keep these big questions in mind as we move into learning about specific policies we can advocate for today. Write down any other questions you’re asking yourself, and make sure you get all your questions answered, whether tonight or later on.*
Avadim Hayinu / We Were Slaves

The haggadah tells us that in every generation we must each see ourselves k’ilu hu yatzah mimitzrayim / as though we ourselves were freed from Egypt. By recalling our history — both ancient and more recent — we connect with today’s struggles for justice and freedom, and seek our role in today’s story.

All recite:
We were slaves to Pharaoh in the land of Egypt, and the Lord our God took us out of there with a strong hand and an outstretched arm. And if the Holy One had not taken our ancestors out of Egypt, we and our children and our children’s children might never have known what was possible.

Reader continues:
Many of us in this room are descended from Ashkenazi* Jewish immigrants. When our grandparents and great-grandparents arrived on these shores, many were factory workers or piece workers, pressured to work as fast as humanly possible. Like the slaves in Egypt forced to make our own bricks, we had to supply our own materials—needles, thread, and sewing machines. We were men and women, and children as young as six and eight, working in sweatshops. We were the garment workers in the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire who met their deaths one hundred and five years ago this spring.

But we were also organizers, strikers, and unionists. We were the Uprising of the 20,000.* We were beaten and arrested, but we stood strong. We fought for decent wages and decent working conditions. We joined forces with other immigrants and across lines of class and religion to win protective laws and jobs we could live with.

Others of us in this room have different stories. Some of our ancestors were brought to this country in chains. Others of us, our parents, or our grandparents immigrated here in hopes of a better life, or fearing persecution in the lands of our births. Still others of us may be descended from Native peoples. However we came to be here, we share a common ancestry of hope and perseverance.

Today we are bound together by the same struggles. Work provides not just the money we need to live but part of our identity and sense of dignity. Yet some of us are without work, some of us have despaired of finding a job that meets our needs, and some of us live in fear that our jobs will be taken away and our lives will be turned upside down. Some of us have good work but lack the critical benefits we and our families need. All of us are called to stand up once more for the dignity of all work and the right to fair and decent working conditions.

All recite:
And now, even if we are all wise, and even if we are all clever, even if we no longer work in sweatshops or live in tenements, we are still duty-bound to retell the stories of our past. The more we remember what we were able to achieve working together, the stronger we will be together today.
♫ Avadim Hayinu (We Were Slaves) ♫
(Traditional melody, new lyrics by Rabbi Gilah Langner)

Chorus:
Avadim hayinu, hayinu
Ata bnei horin, bnei horin (3x)
(Once we were slaves. Today we are free people!)

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 / and benefits, not just perks

We stand with those / who are still in misery
Good jobs are the cornerstone of liberty.
THE FIRST CUP OF WINE:  
FAIR SCHEDULING

Fill the first cup of wine or juice.

In a traditional seder, we drink four cups of wine. One explanation for this custom is that when promising to deliver the Jews from slavery, God used four action words to describe the redemption (Exodus 6:6-8): “I will take you out... I will rescue you... I will redeem you... I will bring you to the land...” We drink one glass to each of these four promises of action. So too, tonight, the four cups will provide the structure for our seder. We will raise a glass in honor of each of four critical issues as we listen to witnesses from the frontlines, celebrate the work being done, and learn how to take action.

We begin with Fair Scheduling:

Many of our neighbors who prepare our city’s food, stock our city’s shelves, and sweep the city’s floors work for employers who grant their employees too few hours of work and assign their workers schedules that can change at a moment’s notice. Erratic schedules and insufficient hours make it extremely difficult to budget for monthly expenses, arrange childcare or eldercare, pursue education or training, or hold down a second job to make ends meet.

Spoken testimony by Kimberly Mitchell, local activist, Macy’s Associate, and member of UFCW Local 400

All across the country, big corporations like Gap and Starbucks have listened to people like us and ended abusive scheduling practices. States and cities are also working to raise standards on work hours and scheduling. To fight for sustainable jobs in the service industry here at home, the DC Jobs With Justice coalition created the Just Hours® campaign, which calls on DC’s employers to ensure full-time job opportunities with more predictable schedules. In 2016, we will bring Just Hours to the District by securing a landmark hours and scheduling law. You can help by taking action later tonight.

A Forever 21 employee who has worked at one of the clothing chain’s stores in Ward 2 for three and a half years

“Our schedule is supposed to be posted every Wednesday. In the last three months, it has never been posted on Wednesday.

“Just this last week, it was posted one and a half hours before my shift on Sunday. I didn’t know I had to work, but I was prepared to come in just in case. I check my schedule daily because I don’t know when and if there’s going to be a change. It is difficult for everyone because even when they post the schedule, sometimes they still make changes to it and have to repost a day or two later...

“We all have tried to complain and even attempted to mention [these issues] to the manager, but she said ‘If you don’t like it here, you can move on,’ and handed out resignation letters for anyone who may [have] had a problem. Most people just end up leaving.”
**Na’aseh v’nishma!**

When the Israelites received the Torah at Mt. Sinai after being freed from Egypt, they responded by saying “na’aseh v’nishma!” We will do and we will hear (Exodus 24:7). Both action and understanding are critical to making change. Tonight, we pledge to DO – to act on what we have just learned – and to HEAR – to keep our ears, eyes, and hearts open to those of us struggling with this issue. Before we recite the blessing over our first cup of wine, let us say together: Na’aseh v’nishma!

_all respond:_ Na’aseh v’nishma! We will do and we will hear!

We raise our glass to the stories and struggle for Fair Scheduling:

נַעֲשֶׂה וְנִשְמָּע

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָּ, אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָּעוֹלָּם, בוֹרֵא פְרִי 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.*

**TEN PLAGUES**

To convince Pharaoh to let the Hebrew slaves go free, God brought ten plagues on the people of Egypt. Just as ancient Egypt suffered from plagues, our city also suffers the effects of poor working conditions. We remove a drop of wine or juice from our glasses as we name each plague, symbolizing that even as we celebrate what is possible, our joy is reduced by the suffering that continues.

*We read the name of each plague aloud together and remove a drop of wine or juice with a finger or spoon*

- **Low pay**
- **Not enough hours**
- **Dead end jobs**
- **Wage theft**
- **Unpredictable schedules**
- **Forced overtime**
- **Racism on the job**
- **Sexism on the job**
- **No paid time to give care or heal**
- **Corporate greed**
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 fair schedules…
We need jobs that lift us all up…
We’ll win this fight together…
Our seder continues with a look at the fight for Paid Family Leave:

Judaism places our families at the center of our lives, beginning with the commandment to honor our fathers and mothers and continuing with the mitzvot ha’av al ha’ben and the mitzvot ha’ben al ha’av - the obligations of parents to their children and children to their parents. But in today’s world, it’s increasingly difficult to meet those obligations. When people face big life challenges, like having a new child or fighting a serious illness, they all too often struggle to make ends meet. Nearly everyone needs to take time away from the job at some point to care for a loved one, deal with a personal illness, or welcome a new child, but most often that leave is unpaid. More than 60% of employees in the US can’t take paid leave to recover from a personal health issue. And more than 87% have no paid family leave to care for a very sick relative or a new child. Most shocking is that only 5% of people working in low-pay jobs have any paid family leave at all. These realities profoundly undermine our ability to give all of our families the support, care, and central place in our lives that they deserve.

Voices from the DC Paid Family Leave Campaign

Sara Alcid’s Testimony before the DC Council

“Five years ago, my mom – a lifelong nanny and domestic worker – had cancer for the third time. As a low-income family, neither of my parents had any kind of paid time off. This meant that my mom delayed seeking treatment by several months on two different occasions. When her cancer became terminal, likely as a result of those delays, my father, a carpenter, couldn’t afford to take any time off of work to care for his wife of 32 years. I happened to be on summer break from college when my mom’s health deteriorated and she needed a full-time caretaker. This was a matter of “luck” in terms of timing and caregiving circumstances that other low-income families don’t usually experience. My dad was at work when she passed away, even though her fingertips were blue by the time he left that morning and we knew it was only a matter of time.”

Across our country there has been a groundswell of momentum for change on paid family leave. Here in DC, the city council is deliberating on the Universal Paid Leave Act of 2015, which aims to ensure that everyone living or working in the District will be able to take paid leave when they need to care for themselves or their family. The DC Paid Family Leave campaign has brought together a coalition of more than 150 local organizations and businesses to advocate for this legislation. We’re almost there- but we need everyone in this room to help turn a strong policy into a reality on the ground. By taking action later tonight and signing up to help get the word out and advocate with our elected officials, you can make it happen.

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Earl Pass, Ward 8 resident

“I recently had surgery for a collapsed hernia. Even though I needed more time off to fully recover, I couldn’t afford to stay out of work any longer. I missed two weeks and that was already a hardship. I am worried that by coming back early, I am risking getting hurt again and missing even more work - and then what do I do? If that happens, I don’t know how I would pay my bills. It doesn’t seem fair that I had to go back before I was really healed.

“Five months ago, my son got shot on the Metro bus. You may have seen it on the news. I am a concerned parent and a good father, but I could not afford to take any time off work to help care from him. I basically went between work and the hospital, not sleeping, so I could be by his side. I was just so worn out I didn’t know what to do, but I also couldn’t afford to lose my pay. How is it OK for a father to choose between caring for his son and working to keep a roof over our heads?

“I give my all to my job but then when something happens, it’s like everyone turns their backs. It just doesn’t make sense.”

Na’aseh v’nishma! נַעֲשֶׂה וְנִשְמָּע

As we raise this second glass to the fight for paid family and medical leave in DC, let us say together: na’aseh v’nishma!

All respond: Na’aseh v’nishma! We will do and we will hear!

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.

Dayeinu (It would be enough for us)

(Traditional melody with a few new lyrics)

If in our community we had paid leave for all employees
That would be enough for me—Dayeinu

Dai-dayeinu, dai-dayeinu, dai-dayeinu, dayenu dayeinu

If schedules had predictability, no more on-calls for employees
That would be enough for me—Dayeinu

If the Mayor raised the wage, but left tipped employees off the page
That wouldn’t be enough for me —Dayeinu

If paid sick days win in MD – Good for business and employees!
That would be enough for me—Dayeinu

If organizing with you and me, liberates the DMV
That will be enough for me—Dayeinu
Each food on the seder plate represents an aspect of the ancient Exodus story. Together, they retell our triumph over injustice and oppression, and represent our hope for the future.

**Matzah** is an iconic Passover symbol. This bread of affliction is also the bread of liberation, eaten by people entering freedom. The bread is unleavened, acknowledging the hastiness of the Israelites' departure from an unjust way of life. Tonight, the flat, unleavened matzah also symbolizes the way in which a life that only consists of work lacks the flavor and sweetness of rest, pleasure, and community.

The **maror**, or bitter herb, traditionally represents the bitterness of the enslaved Jewish people's lives. Tonight, it represents today's harsh labor practices and the bitterness of a life without time to heal and to care, without knowing your work schedule or how much you can expect to earn, without the dignity of being able to provide for yourself and your family.

The **karpas**, or green vegetable, symbolizes the arrival of spring. Tonight it symbolizes hope for change. When everyone who works is seen as a whole person rather than disposable labor, our world will be transformed.

The **charoset**, a sticky mixture of fruits and nuts, recalls the mortar the Jewish slaves used to make and hold together the bricks they used in their work. Tonight, the sweetness of the charoset reminds us that all work can be sweet when it is valued.

A **roasted shank bone** or **beet** symbolizes the Passover sacrifice, a lamb whose blood served as a sign to spare the Israelites during the final plague. The Hebrew word for this bone, **zeroa**, is the same word the haggadah uses to describe God's outstretched arm (**zeroa netuya**) that delivered us from slavery in Egypt. Tonight we vow to extend our own arms and commit ourselves to ending injustices.

The hard-boiled **egg** is mysterious, mentioned in the Talmud as a possible item to be served at the seder but not given any particular significance. Over time, the egg has come to symbolize springtime—the continuous cycle of life and fertility.

The **orange** is a modern addition to the seder plate. 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. The orange reminds us that our Passover traditions are not only about remembering the past but that they can and should speak to today's struggles.
What would it look like to create the world we want to see for our children and ourselves?

For most of us, we want our choices to create a world in which there are ever-increasing opportunities for all people to live fuller, more productive, and more dignified lives. One of the ways we come closer to this world is by making choices as a community to support all people within that community.

Medieval philosopher and poet Yehudah HaLevi explained this connection between individual and communal welfare using the metaphor of a city under threat of attack from outside forces. It’s an apt comparison: like the marauders who threaten HaLevi’s city, the decreasing availability of good jobs in our society threatens our entire community.

Please find a partner (preferably someone you know less well!), introduce yourselves, read this text out loud to each other, and then discuss it using the guiding questions that follow.

The Kuzari (Kitab al Khazari, written in 12th century Spain) 3:19

Someone who only prays for themselves is like someone who, at a time of danger to the land, is only concerned with shoring up their own house and doesn’t want assist their fellow citizens in the repair of the city walls. Such a person expends great effort on trying to stay safe personally while their risk actually remains the same. However, the person who joins with the community in repairing the city walls expends little effort while their security actually increases: that repair which one person alone is unable to do, someone else will come along and complete it. Thus the city will be in the best possible condition, and all its inhabitants will benefit from the city’s prosperity with only a little expenditure.

1. How does HaLevi’s metaphor relate to the issues we’re talking about tonight?
2. Have any of the harsh labor policies we’re talking about tonight affected your life personally? (In HaLevi’s words, what are you praying for?) See if you can tell your partner a story about one of those times.
3. How does your story connect to the other issues of harsh labor we’re focusing on tonight? What might a communal effort to “repair the walls” of our society look like?
THE THIRD CUP OF WINE:
FIGHT FOR $15 AND ONE FAIR WAGE

Fill the third cup of wine or juice.

A full-time minimum wage worker used to earn enough for a decent standard of living, but over the past three decades, lawmakers and some employers have worked together to block raises and drive down wages, producing massive income inequality and an imbalanced economy. While productivity and corporate profits have increased significantly, low-paid workers still don’t earn enough to cover their basic needs. Too many are forced to rely on public assistance to scrape by.

Even with recent local minimum wage increases, a high cost of living and crushing inequality make it very difficult to raise a family in our region. Even the essentials, like affordable quality housing, are out of reach for many. To afford a fair market rent apartment in DC, a minimum wage worker would have to work an impossible 107 hours per week, 52 weeks a year.

The situation is even worse for people who earn a significant portion of their income through tips, like bartenders and restaurant servers. Employers only pay these workers a subminimum “tipped wage” of $2.13 an hour nationally, or $2.77 an hour in DC, and $3.63 in MD. Tipped employees use food stamps and experience poverty at a rate that’s 50% higher than the general workforce. Although employers are legally required to “top off” their employees’ pay when tips don’t add up to the regular minimum wage, enforcement is lax and wage theft has reached epidemic levels. Overwhelmingly women of color age thirty years and up, these employees are dependent on their customers to get paid and can endure shocking levels of harassment in the process. Why should some employers pay so much less?

Spoken testimony from the Restaurant Opportunities Center-DC.

Led by DC Working Families and the Restaurant Opportunities Center-DC, thousands of people across dozens of industries from home health care to fast food to big-box retail have come together to raise the minimum wage to $15 per hour and eliminate the tipped minimum wage. Look for your chance to turn these policies into law at the ballot box – this coalition is working hard to get a ballot initiative on the ballot so DC residents can vote these policies in for themselves. No one who works should live in poverty. No one who serves food should ever struggle to put food on their own table. No one should have to endure harassment to earn their pay. Raising the minimum wage to $15 an hour for all employees, including tipped workers, and indexing it to the cost of living is one of the most effective policies there is to combat poverty, reduce inequality, and rebalance the economy. It’s time we reward hard work with fair pay.

8 http://nlihc.org/oor/2014/DC
9 http://rocunited.org/one-fair-wage/
WHO’S HELPED BY RAISING THE MINIMUM WAGE?

**WHAT PEOPLE THINK**
- Teenager
- Works part time after school
- Lives with parents
- Earning extra spending money

**THE REALITY**
- Average age: 35 years old
- 88% are not teens. They’re 20 or older
- 36% are 40 or older
- 56% are women
- 28% have children
- 55% work full time
- On average, they earn half of their family’s total income

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*Note: Statistics describe minimum-wage workers, ages 16 to 24, that would be affected by an increase in the federal minimum wage to $15 over three years, as explained in “Raising the Federal Minimum Wage to $15: What Would Working Families, and the Overall Economy, Really Need?” The median age of affected workers is 25 years old. Visit epi.org/issues/minimum-wage for more details.*

ECOMIC POLICY INSTITUTE

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**Na’aseh v’nishma!**

As we raise this third glass to the fight for a $15 minimum wage with no tipped wage, let us say together: Na’aseh v’nishma!

**All respond:** Na’aseh v’nishma! We will do and we will hear!

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**_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.

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Drink the third cup.
♫ 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
That belief that all employees must be treated with respect
And let us agree that we will not accept
Unlivable minimum wages
So listen up DC 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

So Mayor and Council, please understand
That we will not rest ‘til we raise up our land
And one fair wage we will demand
‘Til a law winds up on the ballot
Or is signed into law by your own hand
For the wages, they need a-raising
**The Fourth Cup of Wine: Paid Sick Days**

*Fill the fourth cup of wine or juice.*

One morning, you wake up expecting to go to work, but quickly realize you're sick. If you don’t go to work, you won’t be able to pay your rent. Even worse, imagine your young child is sick. Can you afford to take the day off to care for her? Or will you send her to school and just hope she gets better?

Jewish tradition teaches that we are obligated to care for our bodies and that *pikuach nefesh* – the value of saving a life – takes precedence over almost anything else. Even seemingly minor illnesses must be taken seriously, because they can grow into dangerous problems if left untreated. No one should have to choose between their job and their health. Yet for a typical family without paid sick days, just a few days of lost pay is equivalent to losing an entire month’s grocery budget. Disturbingly, nearly one in four adults nationwide has reported losing a job or being threatened with job loss for needing to take time off to deal with a personal or family illness.

Testimony by Dr. Gabriela Miller, owner of Montgomery Village Eye Center and Ethan Miller, JUFJ Paid Sick Days campaign leader and Communication Assistant at Jobs with Justice

In Maryland, more than 700,000 people are forced to make impossible choices: go to work sick or send an ill child to school or daycare, or stay home and sacrifice needed income or risk job loss. Since 2012, Maryland’s Working Matters coalition has been organizing to pass the Healthy Working Families Act, a law to provide paid sick days to Maryland employees. JUFJ and our allies won a similar law in DC in 2008 (and expanded it in 2013), and in Montgomery County in 2015, and have been fighting with Working Matters – just this week! – to pass this statewide bill.

**Randolph Ford's Testimony before the Maryland General Assembly**

My name is Randy Ford and I'm a leader with United Workers – we're a human rights organization led by the poor to end poverty. In the United Workers we're called to recognize human rights values and that life is worthy of dignity.

I've been working for so hard for so long trying to keep my head above water. I worked as a security guard for many years. I worked under I83 at Madison Hills Avenue. I worked in the hot summer and I worked when it was snowing in the winter – I never wanted to slow down. I neglected my health because I wanted to support my family. I worked hard when I was healthy – I even worked when I was sick, when I had a cough that wouldn’t quit, when I had chronic fatigue, I was always tired, I worked through chronic nose bleeds, through vomiting in the bathroom just to go back to work. I knew that if I took off work I wouldn’t get paid.

That means bills wouldn’t get paid, gas and electric would be short the next month, and basically I couldn’t afford it. Or we would have to go short on the food budget. There would be times I would go to work hungry just so that my mom and my two kids would have a meal. But then came the time when this juggling act with my health and my economic stability came crashing down. I was doing my security rounds, walking through a state highway building and my sinus got very dry, my chest got tight, and I had trouble breathing.

I stopped my rounds for about five minutes, got some water, and felt better then continued my rounds. I worked the rest of the shift and at the end I was still lightheaded, my chest pains were worse, I didn't even think that I would be able to make it home. I went to the emergency room at Johns Hopkins Hospital. After a few hours the doctor told me it was a good thing I came in because he then diagnosed me with pneumonia and that I'd had pneumonia for at least three weeks. And he said that it was a miracle that I didn’t drop dead on the job. I took some time off and got better. When I got back to the job the employer had punished me by taking a full-day’s pay from me. Later when I complained about not having paid sick leave I was fired.

I'm not here as a victim – I’m here because I believe we're all in this together. Look around the room and we can see this to be true. This issue touches everybody. Let make sure every worker earns paid sick leave. Thank you.

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**Na'aseh v’nishma!**

As we raise our fourth cup of wine in honor of Maryland’s campaign for Paid Sick Days, let us say together: Na'aseh v’nishma!

**All respond:** Na'aseh v’nishma! We will do and we will hear!

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**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 fourth cup.
🎵 Adir Hu (Mighty One) 🎵
(Traditional melody, new words by Joelle Novey)

Cough achoo, have the flu
Can’t take leave to get better
Tonight we say: Enough! No way
We all deserve better
No matter our pay, we need sick days
Maryland can do better

Our kids too, get the flu
But rent’s due, must make do
Can’t take leave to get better
Tonight we say: Enough! No way
We all deserve better
No matter our pay, we need sick days
Our great state can do better

Not fair too: we servers served you
While we had flu- what COULD we do? (Gross but true.)
Can’t take leave to get better
Tonight we say: Enough! No way
We all deserve better
No matter our pay, we need sick days
Maryland can do better

TAKEING ACTION

Next year in Jerusalem

We end with a statement of longing and hope: “L'shanah haba’ah birushalayim! Next year in a redeemed Jerusalem!”

This ancient phrase expresses our longing for redemption, for return to a restored world. We long to live in a place where each of us is able to find a job with a living wage®, benefits, and safe and dignified conditions. We long for a world in which people can make not only a living, but a life. We long to live in a community that cares for the most vulnerable among us, where everyone can flourish and share what’s best of themselves. We long to be part of a society that enables us to put our families first – where they belong.

Let us make our region an or la’goym—a shining light of justice and equality. Let us join together to make our dream a reality.
Ashkenazi: Jews of Central or Eastern European descent.

B’rachah: Hebrew word for “blessing”.

Beet: The beet replaces the zeroa (roasted shank bone) that symbolizes the Pesach sacrifice: a lamb that was offered in the Temple, then roasted and eaten as part of the seder meal. Since the destruction of the Temple, the zeroa serves as a reminder of the sacrifice; it is not eaten or handled during the seder. Vegetarians often replace the shank bone with a beet, as mentioned in the Talmud (Pesachim 114b).

Fair Scheduling: Unpredictable, volatile work schedules in low-wage jobs can make it impossible for working people to make ends meet and care for their families. When an employer assigns shifts only a day or two ahead of time, or cancels them at the last minute, or when the hours an employee is scheduled to work fluctuate wildly from week to week, working people struggle to maintain stable child care, pursue education to advance their careers, get needed medical care — or simply get enough hours at their jobs to get by.

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.

Just Hours: Just Hours is the name of the campaign working to establish fair scheduling and create fair and stable hours for retail workers. One in Nine Americans work in retail – yet corporate retailers’ abusive part-time scheduling practices are causing a crisis of underemployment for retail workers. Workers struggle not just with shrinking hours but also unpredictable schedules that change with little notice. Scheduling practices affect how much retail workers take home in pay, whether or not they receive health benefits, and workers’ ability to balance life and work.

Living Wage: A wage that allows families to meet their basic needs without public assistance and that provides them some ability to deal with emergencies and plan ahead. Living wages are calculated on the basis of family budgets for several household types. Family budgets include basic necessities such as food, housing, utilities, transportation, healthcare, childcare, clothing, and other personal items, savings, and state and federal taxes. This assumes full-time work on a year-round basis.

Paid Family Leave: Paid Family Leave income is money you receive from your employer, an insurer, or the government while you are away from work for an extended period of time so you can recover from a serious health issue, take care of a seriously ill family member, or bond with your newborn or newly adopted child. In the United States, employers who offer paid family leave are the exception rather than the rule. Over 60% of American workers are denied their income when facing a serious personal health issue, and 87% have no income when they need to take leave to care for family.

Paid Sick Days: Sick leave (or paid sick days or sick pay or earned sick leave) is paid time away from work that employees can use to address their health and safety needs. It is designed to meet immediate, short-term health needs for an employee and their family (dealing with the flu, a child’s ear infection, etc.). In DC, paid sick days also cover leave to access social services taken by someone who has experienced domestic violence or sexual assault. Paid sick leave is a statutory requirement in many
nations around the world, though not in the United States where only 53 percent of workers report being able to take some type of paid leave for their own illness.\textsuperscript{13}

**Passover:** The name of this holiday comes from the Hebrew word *pesach*, whose root meeting 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 tenth plague). Pesach is also the word for the sacrificial offering of a lamb that was made in the Temple in ancient Jerusalem on this day.

**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.

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

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

**Tipped Workers:** A tipped worker earns the majority of their salary in tips, and is paid a different, lower hourly minimum wage than non-tipped workers. Employees who receive tips from patrons earn a federal minimum wage of $2.13 an hour. In DC, the tipped minimum wage is $2.77 an hour; in Maryland it is $3.63 per hour, and in Virginia, it is $2.13 per hour. These workers are also least likely to receive benefits such as paid sick leave or health insurance.

**Uprising of the 20,000:** An 11-week general strike by shirtwaist factory works in New York, inspired by a young Jewish factory worker and union organizer named Clara Lemlich. The strikers, who were mostly young immigrant women, won only some of their demands, but their uprising sparked several more years of organizing that transformed the garment industry into one of the best-organized industries in America.

\textsuperscript{13} The Economics of Paid and Unpaid Leave. The Council of Economic Advisors. June, 2014.
2016 LABOR SEDER COSPONSORS

WITH SIGNS & WONDERS / OTOT U-MOFETIM

For 17 years, IMPACT Silver Spring has brought people together to build diverse, place-based social networks in targeted neighborhoods in Montgomery County that bridge differences and foster interconnectedness. Our vision is for a thriving, multicultural community where people of all backgrounds are engaged, connected, and equipped to exercise individual and collective power to bring about the changes needed for a full and quality life. Toward this end, our organizational mission is to build local networks that ignite inclusive local economies and vibrant communities. impactsilverspring.org

WITH AN OUTSTRETCHED ARM / U-VIZROA NETUYAH

James & Hoffman is a D.C. based law firm with a nationwide litigation practice and a focus on creative resolution of labor and employment disputes. Rooted in an abiding commitment to workers’ rights, we fight to protect the legal rights of all workers to fair wages, freedom from discrimination, safe and healthful working conditions, and justice in the workplace. jamhoff.com

Metropolitan Washington Council, AFL-CIO is the local affiliate of the national AFL-CIO, working with nearly 200 affiliated union locals and our community, religious, student, and political allies to improve the lives of workers and their families throughout greater Washington. dclabor.org

LiUNA, the Laborers’ International Union of North America, is the fastest-growing union of construction workers, and one of the most diverse and effective unions representing public service employees. A half-million strong, LiUNA members are on the forefront of the construction industry, and stand united through collective bargaining agreements which help us earn family-supporting pay, good benefits and the opportunity for advancement and better lives. liuna.org

32BJ SEIU is the largest union of property service workers in the U.S. We are united to raise standards at work and improve conditions in our communities so that one day “working poor” will be a contradiction in terms. seiu32bj.org

WITH A MIGHTY HAND / B’YAD CHAZakah

Originally a turn-of-the-century family farm, Am Kolel’s Sanctuary Retreat Center property has been in the hands of religious orders since the 1950’s, first as a convent and then a monastery. Today, Sanctuary continues to be a place for people of all ages to experience peace and joy amidst the bounty of nature. Under the auspices of Am Kolel (Hebrew for "an inclusive people"), Sanctuary is a 501(c)3 community directed by Rabbi David Shneyer and devoted to spiritual renewal, deep ecumenism, and tikkun olam, which means "repairing/healing the world." am-kolel.org
AVODAH: The Jewish Service Corps strengthens the Jewish community’s fight against the causes and effects of poverty in the United States by engaging corps members in service and community building that inspires them to become lifelong agents for social change. Participants in our Service Corps program live out and deepen their commitments to social change and Jewish life through a year of work at anti-poverty organizations in Chicago, New Orleans, New York, and Washington, D.C. avodah.net

Bet Mishpachah is a congregation for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender Jews, and their friends and allies including all who wish to participate in an inclusive, egalitarian, and mutually supportive community. Our membership is comprised of singles, couples, and families, and is open to everyone, regardless of religious affiliation, sexual orientation, or gender identity. We gather for weekly Shabbat services, educational and social events, social action/social justice community service, and holidays. betmish.org

Cavanaugh Hagan Pierson & Mintz (CHP&M) is a management and strategy consulting firm that has been building and strengthening organizations for over 25 years. Located in Washington, D.C., CHP&M serves both a local and national clientele, with a focus on nonprofit organizations and entrepreneur-led companies. consultchpm.com

Compost Cab makes urban composting easy. A production of Agricity LLC, a Washington, DC-based company committed to building healthier, more sustainable, more productive cities, Compost Cab fights food waste and supports urban agriculture. We’ll deliver our customized composting kit to your door; you fill the bin with your organic material; and once a week, on a reliable, fuel-efficient schedule, Compost Cab picks up the bag. Composting locally keeps tons of organics out of landfills, and produces hundreds of pounds of new nutrient-rich, fertile, natural soil. compostcab.com

DC Jobs with Justice is a dynamic coalition of labor organizations, community groups, faith-based organizations, and student groups dedicated to protecting the rights of working people and supporting community struggles to build a more just society. We are committed to the creation of living wage jobs, support of economic and social justice here and abroad, and maintaining pressure to demand corporate accountability in our communities. In its work, DC J&w gives priority to the struggles impacting the most vulnerable workers in our community: low-wage workers, immigrants, people of color, women, youth and seniors. dcjwj.org

Fabrangen (from farbrangen, "bringing together in joy") is an egalitarian and participatory Havurah founded in 1971. Fabrangen welcomes everyone to its services and activities, whatever their age, race, religious upbringing, sexual orientation, family situation, or physical or mental ability or disability. Fabrangen holds weekly Shabbat services and annual holiday services. fabrangen.org

Family Values @ Work is a national network of 21 state and local coalitions helping spur the growing movement for family-friendly workplace policies such as paid sick days and family leave insurance. familyvaluesatwork.org

Gather the Jews facilitates Jewish life in Washington, DC by providing up-to-date and accurate information about all of the city’s Jewish social, religious, and learning opportunities. At Gather the
Jews, we bring Jews to organizations, organizations to Jews, and Jews to Jews. We bridge the gap between young adults (22 to 39) and the DC Jewish community. gatherthejews.com

Keshet is a national grassroots organization that works for the full equality and inclusion of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender Jews in Jewish life. Led and supported by LGBT Jews and straight allies, Keshet strives to cultivate the spirit and practice of inclusion in all parts of the Jewish community. Our work is guided by a vision of a world where all Jewish organizations and communities are strengthened by LGBTQ-inclusive policy, programming, culture and leadership, and where Jews of all sexual orientations and gender identities can live fully integrated Jewish lives. keshetonline.org

The Jewish Labor Committee, and its Washington, DC chapter, provides a vital bridge between the Jewish community and the American labor movement on issues of social justice and a just peace in the Middle East. It has a long history of active programs and educational projects around the country to carry out these objectives. jewishlaborcommittee.org

Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor, based at Georgetown University, develops creative strategies and innovative public policy to improve workers’ lives in a changing economy. lwp.georgetown.edu

Many Languages One Voice (MLOV) fosters leadership and facilitates community-led initiatives to increase the meaningful inclusion of immigrants in the District of Columbia who do not speak English as their primary language. Our work consists of advocacy and community organizing. We envision a District of Columbia in which community-led solutions bring positive change to the lives of its people. mlovdc.org

Minyan Oneg Shabbat is Washington DC’s Jewish Renewal Community, serving as a collective laboratory for the articulation of Jewish soul yearning. Join leader Rabbi Mark Novak on the 1st and 3rd Shabbat morning of every month to weave together Torah, meditation, chant, poetry, song, laughter, liturgy, and embodied prayer. minyanonegshabbat.org

MomsRising takes on the most critical issues facing women, mothers, and families by educating the public and mobilizing a grassroots base of more than a million members. An on-the-ground and online multicultural organization, MomsRising works to increase family economic security, to end discrimination against women and mothers, and to build a nation where both businesses and families can thrive. Current campaigns include paid family leave; criminal sentencing reform; paycheck fairness; and paid sick days. momsrising.org

The National LGBTQ Task Force advances full freedom, justice and equality for LGBTQ people. We’re building a future where everyone is free to be themselves in every aspect of their lives. By training and mobilizing millions of activists across the nation, the Task Force aims to dismantle barriers to housing, employment, healthcare, retirement, and basic human rights for millions of LGBTQ people. thetaskforce.org
The United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 400 represents 35,000 members working in the retail food, health care, retail department store, food processing, service and other industries in Maryland, Virginia, Washington, D.C., West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee. Through the support, unity, and involvement of members, and through community and political involvement, Local 400 helps workers obtain and hold onto better paychecks, job security, decent fringe benefits and justice on the job. ufcw400.org

UNITE HERE Local 23 is the Union of airport, cafeteria, and parking workers in DC and 11 states in the South and Southwest. More than 10,000 workers stand united to improve their lives, their communities, and their workplaces. Learn more at unitehere23.org.

The Washington Peace Center is an anti-racist, grassroots, multi-issue organization working for peace, justice, and non-violent social change in the metropolitan Washington D.C. area since 1963. We envision a world based on respect for people and the planet that is achieved through nonviolence, peace and social justice, and provide education, resources and action for those working for positive social change and a world free from oppression. washingtonpeacecenter.org

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Our Gratitude

Rabbi Batya Steinlauf and the JCRC for supporting the printing of this haggadah

Rabbi Mark Novak, for songleading

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The Working Matters Coalition, a coalition of over 150 organizations across the state that has advocated tirelessly for paid sick days and will continue the fight. Special thanks to Melissa Broome of Job Opportunity Task Force for her leadership of the state coalition.

Shahar Colt, Rabbi Gilah Langner, Joelle Novey, and other past Labor Seder volunteers for their work that is included in this haggadah too.

The table captains:

Aaron Litz
Becca AbuRakia-Einhorn
CJ Penso
Elana Orbuch
Ethan Miller
Julia Clemons
Meredith Nicholson
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Sarah Beth Alcabes
Alexis Wojtowicz
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Linda Benesch
Pat Hodgens
Thank you to our creative contributors

Adam Glazer (http://www.adamglazer.work/) and Hilary Shure captured this evening in photo and video.

Hillel Smith, a graphic designer, marketing consultant, illustrator, and artist, created the beautiful poster and cover art: hillelsmith.info

The Sanctuaries accompanied our Seder with soulful music. They are a diverse arts community with soul whose mission is to use the creative arts to transform two of the most divisive issues of our time – race and religion – into forces for personal growth and social transformation. The performers this evening are members of their brand new program called the Collective, which empowers ten artists of diverse racial and religious backgrounds to connect their spiritual lives with their artistic practice in direct service of social change. To learn more about the Collective and download a free song, visit: thesanctuaries.org

Who we are

Jews United for Justice leads Washington- and Baltimore-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, racial justice, and safety net funding. Through campaigns, programs, and public education, JUFJ builds relationships and mobilizes the Jewish community to demand and win meaningful 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 DC-Baltimore 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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