

Union of American Hebrew Congregations איחוד ליהרות מתקדמת באמריקה

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SWEATSHOPS: RAISING
AWARENESS IN CONGREGATIONS

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Introduction

A sweatshop is a workplace where workers are subject to extreme exploitation, including the absence of a living wage or benefits, poor working conditions, and arbitrary discipline.

http://www.corpwatch.org/feature/sweatshops/factsheets.html

DID YOU KNOW:

- Sweatshops still exist?
- In some sweatshops, garment workers make as little as sixteen cents a day and work for twelve to four-teen hours?
- Some sweatshops force their employees to work in highly dangerous environments?
- The Torah provides specific rules regarding respect for the worker?
- We should respond to this issue because our own relatives suffered in sweatshops and we can save others from this reality?

Knowing all this, when we educate ourselves about the human rights violations in our world, we can then encourage others to be morally responsible in their actions as well.

To help you as a congregation respond to the issue of sweatshops, we have created a manual with educational, homiletic, and action components. We believe that this is a topic congregants should be made aware of. Although the news media does periodically provide information about sweatshops, this issue is one that must be brought to the forefront of people's consciences. The different components in this manual can be used together as a long-term theme for study and action, or they can be used individually to inform and educate in a more pointed way. There are programs and action elements for congregants of all ages, including options for adult education as well as family education, youth groups, and religious schools.

This manual includes the following:

- Basic educational material about sweatshops
- Program ideas: Educational, formal, and informal programs for adult education, family education, and youth groups
- Religious school curricula options
- Action elements in which synagogues and/or individuals can participate
- Talking points that can be utilized in a sermon or an introduction to programs
- Jewish texts that can be incorporated into sermons and programs
- Suggestions about how to integrate the sweatshop issue into synagogue life
- Additional background educational material about sweatshops, including both secular and Jewish perspectives
- Links to other resources for more information as well as programmatic and action ideas
- A flier template for programs

Encouraging news with regard to sweatshops has recently been reported, but until we realize that this is an issue Reform Jews should be aware of, our own strength and ability to effect change will be missing from this fight. We *can* make a difference in this effort.

BASIC EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL ABOUT SWEATSHOPS IN AMERICA AND ABROAD

This information should be read by programmers and distributed to the participants so that they have a fuller understanding of the secular and Jewish issues involved. The information is found in a more concise version in the talking points that appear on pages 21–22 of this manual.

SWEATSHOPS

Historically, as a community, the Reform Movement has focused on social justice. We have advocated for the rights of women, minorities, and the disabled, for the attainment of equal and fair rights for all people. With regard to many of these issues, we root our specifically religious involvement in our understanding of Torah and Jewish tradition. Deuteronomy 24:14–15 teaches, "You shall not abuse a needy and destitute laborer, whether a fellow countryman or a stranger in one of the communities of your land. You must pay him his wages on the same day, before the sun sets, for he is needy and he urgently depends on it; else he will cry out to *Adonai* against you and you will incur guilt."

This value should not be applied only to instances in which discrimination and inequality are visible. In fact, the cases that are hidden from the public eye and concealed from judgment by the nature of their oppression require us to seek them out and apply the same measuring stick of equality to them that we apply to all other instances of discrimination. The sweatshop phenomenon is such a hidden issue—one that exists not only in our own country but throughout the world. This issue must be addressed because when we buy clothes and goods made in sweatshops, we, too, propagate this injustice instead of helping to eradicate it.

Sweatshops are not a new phenomenon. Since the late 1800s, sweatshop labor has been employed by "middleman" sewing shops. Sweatshops persist because they employ workers who believe that they have no other options. Our own Jewish history attests to this fact. In America, waves of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe satisfied the need for sweatshop employees in the early 1900s.

The same types of sweatshops in which our grandparents worked still exist today. When we study the immigration of the Jewish community to America, we emphasize the strength and courage our ancestors must have possessed in order to endure the living and working conditions they encountered. We take pride in our ability to have overcome the poverty of those early years, but we must not forget how much earlier generations suffered. We, as successors of this reality, must fight for the rights of others currently enduring the same. It is specifically because we know about the conditions and have heard the stories firsthand from our own families that we must try to keep others from hearing the same tales years from now. We learn in Leviticus 25:53, "[You]shall not rule over [your worker] ruthlessly." The Reform Jewish community must help teach this lesson to others.

Sweatshops originated in England as early as 1850, when the term "sweater" was used to describe middlemen who employed workers to do repetitive work in terrible conditions. In the early 1900s, this phenomenon moved to the United States as waves of new immigrants arrived on these shores. Factory owners hired new Americans knowing that money was a necessity for large and growing families and that people needed to work regardless of how hard they toiled or the conditions under which they were employed.

The term "sweatshop" refers to two parts of the issue. The first is literal. Because workers in sweatshops are often subjected to cramped and close quarters for many long hours, the term is a description of the physical space. It is also a slang term that describes the process being enacted. When large companies hire sewing factories to produce garments, the two parties sign a contract. The middlemen, or sewing shop owners, accept their responsibility to deliver the products on time. Regardless of how much the workers are paid, the contract will be fulfilled by both parties. Therefore, sewing shop owners can "sweat" the profits from their workers. By paying less per item or for piecework, the middleman is still paid the contracted price but produces more garments while paying the workers less.

Major retail chains and big-name apparel companies control the clothing industry. They receive quality merchandise on time because they tell the factories that this is absolutely required. If they also stipulated that these factories be run in a decent fashion, pay their employees a living wage, and insure the health and safety of the workers, such requirements would have to be met. Perhaps this is what we must demand of the stores we frequent. The statistics are alarming: "The Department of Labor estimates that more than half of the country's 22,000 sewing shops violate minimum wage and overtime laws. Government surveys also reveal that 75 percent of U.S. garment shops violate safety and health laws" (www.corpwatch.org/feature/sweatshops/factsheets.html).

Most organizations devoted to fighting against sweatshops, like Unite! Students Against Sweatshops, and Sweatshop Watch, do not encourage individuals to boycott retail stores. They maintain that such actions will only make the lives of the workers more difficult. Instead, they encourage consumers to engage in discussion with stores and their parent companies. By writing letters, requesting policy statements, and talking to store owners about the conditions in the factories, consumers can send a clear message to those who create policy. Some of these organizations have, however, been involved in urging cities to pass public resolutions that will ban stores from purchasing goods made in sweatshops. These larger bans affect the workers less because they send an immediate message to factories and companies about required conditions. The latter respond more quickly when their goods cannot be sold to entire communities. If we are persistent, company and factory owners will have no option other than to respond to the suggested requirements.

Today the sweatshop belt is defined as the area from China and South Korea to Malaysia and Indonesia and encompasses Bangladesh and India. We now live in a "world without walls." The Internet and other technological advances have made it possible for American companies to do business with countries that sometimes exploit their citizens. Big retail companies know that other countries seek to create economic ties with the United States. This results in the fact that they can contract with sewing factories in those countries, demand that work be done on time in a specific fashion for a certain price, and never have to inquire about what occurs in those factories to insure that the bottom line is met. Our duty is to demand that these companies be held accountable for the products they sell and the way in which those products are manufactured.

Sweatshops also exist here in the United States. They can be found in many major cities throughout the U.S., but they hide in small towns and in the fields as well. In America specifically, sweatshop owners take advantage of new immigrants and low-income families. Sweatshops are prolific in the garment and poultry industries. Because Americans may assume that sweatshops are no longer a real threat, sweatshop owners persist in abusing people's basic human rights. They fail to pay overtime, even though they require a workday that exceeds eight hours, and some do not even pay minimum wage. American sweatshops also deny health and dental coverage to their workers. Some American sweatshops pay wages that are so low that their full-time employees qualify for food stamps (http://www.uniteunion.org). Unfortunately,

these violations force families to remain in the system, working extra hours to afford health care and requiring frequent health care because of their lack of adequate sleep and nutrition. The sweatshop issue has created a frightening cycle that is difficult to break.

The effort to stop sweatshop labor should not be directed only at companies that operate abroad. We should be diligent in our efforts to be aware of the existence of sweatshops in our own country and try to combat the violations that occur in them.

As a community, we have a strong voice. We can effect change, and when injustices are being enacted against adults and children, we must respond to them with a unified voice. As Jews, we know what it is to be deprived of rights. We who remember that "once we were slaves in Egypt" must not allow others to be enslaved. We whose grandparents were sweatshop workers and have risen to levels of prominence must not forget our roots. We must advocate for the same rights for workers today that we would have wished for our own ancestors.

ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

These programs can be modified for use by youth groups.

In order to engage adults in this issue, we should begin with both secular and Jewish facts. The case is compelling: The reality is bleak, and the conditions in sweatshops are difficult to grasp. Because they are so unpleasant, in some ways it is easy to become desensitized to this issue. It is, however, a reality that we cannot avoid. The secular and Jewish resources provide strong arguments for why this community must respond. The Torah makes it clear by stating in Deuteronomy 24:14–15: "You shall not abuse a needy and destitute laborer, whether a fellow countryman or a stranger in one of the communities of your land. You must pay him his wages on the same day, before the sun sets, for he is needy and he urgently depends on it; else he will cry out to *Adonai* against you and you will incur guilt."

Here is how adult education programs can be incorporated into existing synagogue programs:

- They can be introduced as an independent social action activity for the congregation.
- They can be utilized as the focus for programs during a synagogue's Mitzvah Day.
- During the weeks of the *parshiyot K'doshim*, *B'har Sinai*, and *Ki Teitze*, these programs can be integrated into weekly Torah study.
- They can be implemented around the time of Labor Day and focus the congregants on the intent of this secular holiday in a specifically Reform Jewish way.

With minor adjustments, these programs are also appropriate for youth groups. They encourage active, analytical involvement on the part of the participants and are certainly accessible for this age group as well.

Be sure to look at the section titled "Free-Standing Action Elements" on pages 17–20. Options 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, and 8 are specifically viable for adults. Options 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, and 8 are appropriate for youth groups.

PROGRAM 1

Hold a discussion using the Jewish and secular talking points included in this manual (see pages 21–22).

Goal: To engage congregants in intelligent conversation about an issue they might not otherwise consider "Jewish." This kind of discussion can be used as an introduction to a more involved program, or it can be a program on its own.

PROGRAM 2

Hold a mock debate among the three parties involved in the sweatshop issue—the big retail and apparel companies, the "middleman" sewing factories, and the sweatshop workers.

Goal: When dealing with social justice issues, congregants often sympathize with one party. With regard to this specific issue, it is important that congregants also realize that there is a reason why the retail companies and sewing factories feel compelled to enact the business practices that they do. Although these practices must be changed, congregants should at least obtain a better understanding of the difficulties involved in arriving at that position.

Materials

- Photocopies should be made of the educational material that appears on pages 5–7 and 27–31 of this manual.
- A separate handout that includes the Jewish texts should be photocopied. This material can be found on pages 23–24 of this manual.

Schedule

As they enter the room, divide the congregants into three groups, with one group representing the big retail and apparel companies, the second group representing the "middleman" sewing factories, and the third group representing the sweatshop workers.

- 00:00–00:10 Hand out the basic educational material. Participants should read it quietly or with their group to become familiar with the issue.
- 00:10–00:30 Instruct the groups to spend time discussing what their individual needs are. What are their goals? If they wish to receive certain benefits from the other two groups, what are they?
 - The retail companies may argue for better conditions for the workers, or they may believe that this is not their responsibility.
 - The sewing factory owners may argue that their job is difficult enough as it is since
 they have to meet the needs of both the retail companies and the workers. Perhaps
 they will demand help from the retail companies in dealing with the workers' complaints or with union issues.
 - The workers may want to fight for a union or for individual rights based on necessity.
- 00:30–00:50 Have the three groups reconvene as a whole. Facilitate discussion/argument among the groups until a compromise is reached. This will not be easy. Each group will feel that there are certain issues on which it is not willing to compromise. What they should all see, however, is that if an easy solution were available, the issue would no longer exist.
- 00:50–01:15 Frame the discussion based on the relevant Jewish texts included in this manual. Have the entire group discuss them within the framework of the opposing needs of the three parties involved.
- 01:15–01:30 Discuss what actions the congregation can take to involve itself in the sweatshop issue. Free-Standing Action Elements can be found on pages 17–20 of this manual.

PROGRAM 3

Create a *shtar*, a document that can be forwarded to companies.

Goal: To encourage the congregants to realize that although discussing and learning about the issue of sweatshops is important, they can also become involved in trying to help companies take responsibility in the way that Judaism necessitates. Their intelligence and strengths should be emphasized (e.g., lawyers, authors, and financial advisers can all contribute important information to the creation of this type of document).

Materials

- Photocopies should be made of the educational material that appears on pages 5–7 and 27–31 of this manual.
- Copies of the examples of Codes of Conduct included in Appendix II of this manual should also be made.
- A separate handout that includes the Jewish texts should be photocopied. This material can be found on pages 23–24 of this manual.
- Paper and pens for each group should be distributed.
- A blackboard for writing the group's comments should be provided.

Schedule

- 00:00–00:10 Hand out the basic educational material to discuss the troubling aspects.
- 00:10–00:20 Introduce the Jewish texts into the discussion.
- O0:20–00:50 Distribute the examples of Codes of Conduct so that the congregants can see models of them. The group can either work together or be divided into different sections that will ultimately join together to share ideas. This *shtar* (document) can be compiled as a Code of Conduct, Bill of Rights, or Agreement, as long as it ultimately requires the companies to take responsibility for the ethical treatment of their workers.
- 00:50–01:15 Wrap up. After they have compiled this *shtar*, the congregants should discuss their options: What would be the most effective use of such a document? Should they send it to companies, and would those companies consider it valuable? Elicit some other ideas for its use. The Web sites listed in this manual are excellent resources for selecting companies that may be receptive. Have the congregants decide which specific actions they want to pursue.

Free-Standing Action Elements can be found on pages 17–20 of this manual.

Be sure to utilize this document. Even if companies do not respond as quickly as desired, it is important that they be made aware that their consumers are well informed.

FAMILY EDUCATION PROGRAM

Family education provides a unique opportunity for families to learn about issues that they can be involved in together. Since many parents are trying to find quality time to spend with their children, it is important that synagogues provide families with viable options. The sweatshop issue does so in a number of ways: Families can learn about an issue that deals inherently with family life. They will not only respond to that issue through discussion with their family members but will also be encouraged to become active in the "anti-sweatshop" movement. They will leave with a greater understanding of the issue and with information about how they as a family can become actively involved.

Here are some ways in which the sweatshop issue can be integrated into family education:

- Programs and curricula can be utilized during family retreats.
- Programs can serve as an introduction to the synagogue's participating in a march against sweatshops.
- Programs can be offered during sixth/seventh grade programming to help students choose a mitzvah project for their *b'nei mitzvah*. Because many of the Free-Standing Action Elements can be family focused, this can be a powerful option. The sweatshop issue also applies to *b'nei mitzvah* because they are at a time in their lives when we are encouraging them to become actively involved Jewish adults. Providing them with programs and opportunities to effect change can encourage students to see issues in a Jewish framework and respond in kind.

Free-Standing Action Elements 1, 3, 5, and 6 on pages 17–20 are very accessible options for families.

PROGRAM

Re-create a sweatshop with the participating congregational families.

Goal: To help families realize the effects of sweatshops on family units. Sweatshops affect families as well as individuals. Families should see that sweatshop labor has a negative impact on schooling, health, family relations, and the financial aspects of family life.

Materials

- Photocopies should be made of the educational material that appears on pages 5–7 and 27–31 of this manual.
- A separate handout that includes the Jewish texts should be photocopied. This material can be found on pages 23–24 of this manual.
- Five to ten empty classrooms or spaces that are separate from one another.
- Blankets or tarps to be used as sweatshop walls.
- Rope to string across the rooms to help create "sweatshops."
- String, buttons, needles, thread, and material cut into pieces: Numbers will depend on the size of the group.
- Fake money to be paid to the workers.
- Paper plates for the market at the end of the program.
- Food for sale, e.g., potato chips, pickles, candy, soda, and fruit.

Schedule

- 00:00–00:20 Begin by dividing the families into three or four groups, depending on the number of participants and the facility. Be sure to keep each family together as a unit within the groups. Give each group a packet with the basic educational material about sweatshops that they should discuss for a few moments to become familiar with the issue at hand.
- 00:20–00:25 Take each group to a different room within the facility. Each room should be set up like a sweatshop: Create a "tent" with wool blankets thrown over a rope tied across the room or over a table.
- O0:25–O0:55 In each "sweatshop" a fairly menial and repetitive task should be quickly (confusingly, if possible) explained to the group. Tasks might include tying knots in small strings, sewing buttons onto small pieces of cloth, or even just cutting strips of cloth. A salary should be set for each piece that is done, e.g., two cents per button, etc. The families should stay in these "sweatshops," working for at least twenty minutes. No talking, no laughing, and no bathroom breaks should be allowed.
- 00:55–01:05 After the above part of the program has been completed, pay the people for all the work they have done.
- 01:05–01:20 Take the groups into another room, where they can buy food. This is a good time for a snack. Sell potato chips, pickles, candy, soda, and fruit. Depending on the price and how much they have earned, some people may not get as much as others. It's OK: That's part of the program.
- 01:20–01:45 Have the participants return to their original groups and discuss the above activity. Each group should be guided by a leader who is comfortable with the material.

Possible Questions

For parents: How did it feel to see your child so uncomfortable? Can you imagine the frustration that some parents must feel today when they see their children working thirteen to fifteen hours a day in sweatshops? These kids are not able to go to school, do not eat properly, and in some cases are injured in the workplace. Did you find it more helpful to work with your children, or would it have been easier for you to work in a separate place away from him or her?

For children: If this is what you did all day, what would you miss from your normal life? If you *couldn't* go to school, do you think that you would want to? What kinds of things are you learning in school that you think kids who work in sweatshops are missing in their education? Was it hard seeing your parents doing the same work that you were doing? Did you want to work hard to make money, or did you find that it was not worth the discomfort?

Group leaders should incorporate the Jewish texts that are included in this manual (see pages 23–24) into the discussion.

Religious School Curricula

- 1. The American Jewish World Service has a curriculum based on sweatshops and the Jewish response. It is strongly suggested for grades five to eight but can easily be adapted for younger or older children. Because of the American Jewish World Service's specific and intense involvement in countries where sweatshops are prolific, its programs are particularly well researched and filled with strong Jewish content. For more information, please contact Stephanie Fingeroth at 1.800.889.7146.
- 2. The Jewish Education Center of Cleveland has created a curriculum on sweatshops and child labor. It is most appropriate for sixth to ninth graders. This curriculum focuses on Jewish ethics and the moral decisions that kids and families make with regard to the clothes and products they buy. For more information, please contact the Jewish Education Center of Cleveland at 212.371.0446.
- 3. For younger students, there is a chapter in the Behrman House book *Let Freedom Ring* that focuses on child labor throughout history. The Jewish aspect of the issue can be incorporated by having the students study the Jewish texts that appear in this manual on pages 23–24. This material can be used as an introduction to the subject or to focus the discussion after the students have read the chapter.

Free-Standing Action Elements

At least one of the following action elements should be incorporated into each program. It is important that congregants learn about the issue of sweatshops and realize that it is not just a theoretical one. They can respond, and they should have the opportunity to do so. Here are some ways in which your congregation can respond to the issue of sweatshops.

1. Stay informed! Many Web sites focus on the sweatshop crisis. They feature continuous updates on specific issues, as well as general information. They are easy to access, and many of them are linked. They will also keep congregants informed of ways in which they can be involved in their own region. The best idea is to have congregants bookmark these Web sites on their home computers. If the synagogue has a public computer, these sites should be bookmarked there as well. That way it will be easy to access the sites. Each day when they check their e-mail, congregants can easily click and learn!

Here are some of the best!

- http://www.corpwatch.org/feature/sweatshops/factsheets.html
- http://www.sweatshopinfo.com
- http://www.uniteunion.org]
- The National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice's Web site at http://www.nicfwj.org provides varied opportunities for action and education regarding sweatshops in the United States.
- The Progressive Jewish Alliance's Web site at http://www.pjalliance.org has the report of the Los Angeles Jewish Commission on Sweatshops.
- The National Labor Committee's Web site at http://www.nlcnet.org/ has action elements incorporated into the site itself. It also sells a video that may be worth looking into if your synagogue is planning to use the sweatshop issue as a long-term study theme.
- The New York State Web site at http://www.labor.state.ny.us/html/workprot/sweatshp.html features a particularly fact-filled piece directed toward consumers, manufacturers, and retailers. It focuses on the basic characteristics of sweatshops and encourages business owners to be involved with and responsible about whom they hire.

2. Hand out the form below to your congregants. It is important that they be responsible and knowledgeable shoppers. Making store managers and retail companies aware of the fact that their customers are informed about sweatshops will encourage them to sell sweatshop-free garments. This activity can be part of a concerted campaign that poses challenging questions to companies.

Address these questions to store managers and owners.

Consumer Guide to Decent Clothes

Were these clothes made under decent conditions? The care tag tells you how to treat the garment but not how the worker who made it was treated. A union label is one way to know. If you don't find one, here are some questions to ask the store manager.

- * Sweatshops thrive when they are hidden. Does your store know how the workers who made this garment were treated?
- * Do you have a list of all the factories around the world that make your products? Does it include the wages and working conditions in each factory? Can I see it?
- * Does your store guarantee that the workers who made this garment were paid a living wage, enough to support their families?
- * Does your store have a Code of Conduct that protects human rights and forbids child labor and unsafe conditions in all the factories that make the clothes you sell? How do you enforce these rules?

If the store does not have good answers to these questions, it is not doing enough to stop sweatshops.

UNITE! 1710 Broadway, New York, NY 10019

3. Encourage socially responsible consumerism. Families can do this together. Before shopping for school and camp clothes, families can discuss which stores they will frequent. They can log on to some of the Web sites that provide lists of the greatest offenders and of the stores that are sweatshop-free. Not only does this result in parents' becoming more actively educated shoppers, it also enables kids to learn from their parents and become educated consumers early on.

4. Youth groups can become involved as well. Encourage the students to research the companies they are using for their own "giveaways." Urge the youth group members to find companies that are sweatshop-free instead of hiring the cheapest company to make the T-shirts and gifts distributed at retreats. Groups should be sure to contact companies that adhere to high labor standards. Unionwear is a company that creates custom-made union label hats and shirts and is willing to negotiate special deals specifically for youth groups (the contact is an old NFTYite!).

Unionwear Mitch Cahn 50 Dey Street Jersey City, NJ 07306 Tel: 877.932.7864

Since the price of the giveaways may consequently increase significantly, here are some ways for youth groups to respond:

- a. Petition the Social Action Committee or the Board of Trustees to donate the extra money that is needed. Go to them with representatives of the youth group who can explain the situation clearly. The youth group should be rewarded for taking the initiative and learning about this crisis and the Jewish issues involved. Youth group members may even want to lead a quick study session with Board or Committee members, using the Jewish texts included in this manual.
- b. Send a letter to the congregants asking that they donate money to the youth group that will be earmarked for the purchase of sweatshop-free clothes and gifts.
- c. Talk to the companies directly. A company that is aware of the issue may be sufficiently impressed with the youth group's dedication to offer a discount price.

Here are a few great Web sites for youth groupers to check out:

- http://www.jvibe.com/action/sweatshops.shtml
- http://home.sprintmail.com/~jeffnkari/USAS/
- http://www.columbia.edu/~gs228/sweatshops/index.html
- http://www.uniteunion.org/sweatshops/sas/sas.html
- 5. Encourage the congregants to support sweatshop workers in your area. There are organizations and branch offices throughout the country that are dedicated to eliminating sweatshops. These organizations sponsor rallies and marches. They also have the burden of running day-to-day operations, sending out mailings, and initiating political action on behalf of workers in sweatshops. Organize a trip to one of these offices. This can be an adult, family education, or youth group activity or just an individual trip. As a synagogue event, this trip can easily be coordinated with other educational programming.
- 6. Here are some organizations to contact about volunteering in your area. They will also help find volunteer opportunities for your specific community.

Corporate Watch P.O. Box 29344

San Francisco, CA 9412

Tel: 415.561.6568 Fax: 415.561.6493

E-mail: rpwatch@corpwatch.org

UNITE! 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019 Tel: 212.265.7000

http://www.uniteunion.org

- 7. Participate in or organize marches and protests at nearby federal facilities to let the government know that we do not support its actions regarding sweatshops (see Additional Background Education Material on pages 27–31). Letters and petitions are more effective than people may think. The National Labor Committee's Web site at http://www.nlcnet.org includes articles and action options to be used in response to this particular issue. By encouraging vigorous action directed at the American government's purchasing practices, we can significantly raise consciousness about this issue.
- 8. The letter below can be used for any program but should not be randomly handed out at all synagogue events. It will be most effective if it is used within the context of learning about issues specific to sweatshops.

SAMPLE LETTER TO A RETAILER OR MANUFACTURER
Dear,
I am a loyal customer of your store/brand, and I am very concerned about sweatshops. Has your company agreed to adopt the principles of the anti-sweatshop movement? In most countries, the minimum wage is not enough for a family to survive on. Does your company require that workers who make your products are paid a living wage?
Sweatshops proliferate when they are hidden. Does your company publicly disclose the locations of the factories that make its products? Does it disclose the wages and working conditions in those factories?
Workers must have the ability to organize their own unions to improve conditions. Does your company support the right to organize?
I hope that you value my opinion as a consumer. As a concerned individual, I wish to effect change. I know that if we work together to improve conditions for workers in sweatshops, such change can be realized. It is important for me to support companies that are willing to work together in a partnership. I am certainly more inclined to shop in stores that are aware of the needs of both its customers and employees.
Sincerely,
Some parts of this letter were written by UNITE! 1710 Broadway, New York, NY 10019.

TALKING POINTS TO BE USED FOR SERMONS OR DISCUSSION

- The Department of Labor estimates that more than half of the country's 22,000 sewing shops violate minimum wage and overtime laws. Government surveys also reveal that 75 percent of U.S. garment shops violate safety and health laws (www.corpwatch.org/feature/sweatshops/factsheets.html). These figures are inexcusable. They exist because the administration and legislators have not been encouraged to be more stringent with regard to these laws. We should insist that they enforce them more strongly.
- Some American sweatshops pay wages that are so low that their full-time employees qualify for food stamps (http://www.uniteunion.org).
- We know how long sweatshops have been in existence and that they are detrimental to any person's self-reliance. Our frustration should encourage us to demand changes in the workplace environment. Specifically because sweatshops are a part of our own history, ours should be a loud voice in battling them today.
- In the 1900s, many sweatshops employed a majority of Jews. One hundred years later, they tend to
 exploit Latino and Asian workers. What was not acceptable for our own ancestors should be unacceptable for others.
- Today the sweatshop belt is defined as the area from China and South Korea to Malaysia and Indonesia and encompasses Bangladesh and India. Even in countries whose workers have the right to organize, companies often fight back to prevent them from forming a union. By taking away the right to form unions, companies take away the workers' rights to receive fair treatment for all. The Talmud teaches, "The rights of the worker should always take precedence over the rights of the employer" (Bava M'tzia 77a). If the employees feel a need to organize a union, there should be nothing standing in their way, certainly not those who will gain the most by keeping their workers divided.
- There are no international laws that require corporations to respect workers' rights, to insure decent working conditions, or even to pay a living wage. If these kinds of laws existed, they would necessitate that the most basic human rights be honored. These are rights that we expect to be afforded to all human beings. By bringing this cause to the forefront of the minds of our politicians and the U.N. in particular, we can take a major step toward this goal.
- As slaves in Egypt, the Israelites felt the oppressive hand of a ruler who had no compassion. "With a
 mighty outstretched hand," we are taught, "God took us out of Egypt." This mighty hand must be felt
 again. By working with retail companies and encouraging them to institute Codes of Conduct for
 their factories, we can continue this tradition by freeing others from oppressive environments.
- In El Salvador, garment workers make \$1.38 an hour. However, a recent study by Columbia University showed that workers must earn at least \$1.73 an hour to pull themselves out of poverty. Both Jewish and secular values teach that the best type of *tzedakah* to give is to teach someone to be self-sufficient. These numbers and others like them actively keep people around the world and here in the United States from achieving self-sufficiency.

- Workers commonly face verbal and physical abuse and are intimidated from speaking out, fearing job loss or deportation. This is perhaps the most frightening of all the rights that are denied to sweatshop workers. When people do not even feel safe to report real issues in their workplace, their voices have been taken from them, along with their potential health and safety.
- Megamerchants whose house labels conceal the conditions in which the manufacturing of their
 clothes and products take place should be encouraged to be more honest with consumers. They should
 be strongly urged to look into the practices of the sewing shops with which they work. If human rights
 are being violated, we, as educated consumers, should help these companies realize the importance of
 the demand that conditions be changed.
- The United States government employs sweatshop labor. The Army and Airforce Exchange Service was importing products made in Myanmar (formerly Burma). Although it has stopped those imports, it is still involved with the Chentex Company in Nicaragua. The government should be held to rigorous ethical business standards in order to serve as a model for other American companies.

JEWISH TEXTS ON WORKERS' RIGHTS

The Torah and Jewish commentators provide us with standards on how to live ethical Jewish lives. Although this issue can be understood from a human rights perspective, it is a distinctly Jewish one as well. The Jewish texts below can easily be incorporated into the programs and action elements. Because they are so specific to this issue, they should be heavily emphasized. Along with their use in discussions, they can be featured on fliers and posters throughout the synagogue.

Deuteronomy 24:14-15

You shall not abuse a needy and destitute laborer, whether a fellow countryman or a stranger in one of the communities of your land. You must pay him his wages on the same day, before the sun sets, for he is needy and he urgently depends on it; else he will cry out to *Adonai* against you and you will incur guilt.

יד לא־תַּצְשׁקׁ שָּׂכִיר עָנִי וְאֶבְיוֹן מֵאַחָיךּ אוֹ מִגַּרְךּ אֲשֶׁר בְּאַרְצְּדְּ בִּשְּׁעָרְיְדְּ. מו בְּיוֹמוֹ תִּתֵּן שְּׁכָרוֹ וְלֹא־תָבוֹא עָלָיו הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ כִּי עָנִי הוּא וְאֵלָיו הוּא נשֵׁא אֶת־נַפְשׁוֹ וְלֹא־יִקְרָא עָלֶיךּ אֶל־יִהוָֹה וְהָיָה בְּךְ חֵמָא. ס

Leviticus 19:13

You shall not defraud your neighbor. You shall not commit robbery. The wages of a laborer shall not remain with you until morning.p

ּרָבָ לא־תַצְשׁק אֶת־רֵצְךְ וְלֹא תִגְזֹל לֹא־תָלִין פְּעָלַת שָּׂכִיר אִהְךְ עַד־בּקֶּר.

Leviticus 25:53

[You] shall not rule over [your worker] ruthlessly.

נג פַשְּׂכִיר שָנָה בִּשַנָה יִהְיֵה עְמוֹ לֹאִ־יַרְדָּנוּ בְּפֶּרֶךְ לְעִינֶיךְּ.

Ramban (Nachmanides) on Deuteronomy 24:14-15

Like most day laborers, "he is needy and he urgently depends" on this wage so he can buy food and stay alive. The intention here is that we should pay him at the end of the day, for if we do not pay him immediately when he leaves from his work, he will go home and he will die of hunger at night.

Rashi's commentary on the phrase "and he urgently depends on it"

For this wage, he exposes his life to potentially deadly situations: He mounts a steep staircase or hangs off a [high] tree to do his work.

Babylonian Talmud, Bava M'tzia 3a

Whoever withholds an employee's wages, it is as though he has taken the person's life from him.

Babylonian Talmud, Shabbat 31a

Rava said, At the time a person enters into final judgment, they will ask him: In your business dealings, were you truthful?

How to Integrate the Sweatshop Issue into Synagogue Life

One way to introduce the issue to congregants is to connect it to Torah parshiyot. During the weeks of the parshiyot K'doshim, B'har Sinai, and Ki Teitze, the programs and talking points included in this manual can be integrated into weekly Torah study, synagogue schedules, and sermons.

The sweatshop issue can be addressed in relation to specific holidays in the Jewish year. During Passover, it is most relevant to compare sweatshop labor to the enslavement of the Israelites in Egypt. It took a strong and powerful voice to change Pharaoh's mind. Moses' persistence, with God's mandate, can be a model for our day and age. We as a Jewish community can act as Moses did. Companies might not be persuaded to change their practices after one letter or one visit, but if we are persistent, success is achievable.

This issue can also be connected to Labor Day. The Jewish Fund for Justice has an entire liturgy focused on teachings about labor from the bimah. Go to its Web site at http://www.jfjustice.org for details.

As slaves in Egypt, the Israelites felt the oppressive hand of a ruler who had no compassion. "With a mighty outstretched hand," we are taught, "God took us out of Egypt." This mighty hand must be felt again. By working with retail companies and in concert with other activist groups and encouraging them to institute Codes of Conduct for their factories, we can continue this tradition by freeing others from oppressive environments.

The sweatshop issue can be incorporated into synagogue programming as a recurring study theme connected to the Shalosh R'galim: Pesach, Shavuot, and Sukkot are holidays that stress the importance of taking time to celebrate the products of labor. The Torah teaches that the Jews were to visit the Temple three times a year, bringing gifts specific to their agricultural society.

> Three times a year you shall hold a festival for Me: You shall observe the Feast of Unleavened Bread—eating unleavened bread for seven days as I have commanded you—at the set time in the month of Aviv, for in it you went forth from Egypt; and none shall appear before me empty-handed; and the Feast of the Harvest, of the first fruits of your work, of what you sow in the field; and the Feast of the Ingathering at the end of the year, when you gather in the results of your work from the field.

Exodus 23:14-16

These holidays demanded the Israelite community to realize the importance not only of the products but also of the labor that was required. Their labor was celebrated. Their labor resulted in products that were holy enough to be brought to the Temple. They worked throughout the year, knowing that their work would be beneficial to them and worthy of being offered to God.

All laborers deserve to feel that their work is appreciated. The product cannot be valued more than the person who made it. We can use the biblical example as an ethical standard to emulate. Through education, congregants can be encouraged to send a message to retail companies, namely, that people's work should be rewarded and their time and effort should be honored as much as that which they are creating.

Just as the Israelites were commanded to recognize their own labor, so, too, we need to encourage retail companies to recognize the time and effort expended by their employees and treat them accordingly.

Synagogues can also create a weekend of events that focus on the sweatshop issue. Shabbat is a holy time of rest. In the same way that we honor the holiness of Shabbat, we must recognize the holiness of the six days of labor. The sanctity of creation should not be diluted. By understanding labor in this sense, we must then go on to say that the holiness of the work must be safeguarded. When work demeans human beings, it is no longer holy. Our responsibility is to recognize these injustices and work to eradicate them. By studying this issue and responding to it on Shabbat, we help make it an even more sanctified endeavor.

ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL ABOUT SWEATSHOPS

This material should be read by program leaders and can be photocopied and distributed to participants if it applies to their specific program.

THE TRIANGLE SHIRTWAIST FACTORY FIRE

It would be impossible to discuss sweatshops in a Jewish context without mentioning the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire. Known historically as one of the greatest tragedies in the history of sweatshops, it is an example of the extreme danger and suffering to which this work environment can lead. It was also one of the major incentives that accelerated the movement for the formation of garment workers unions in the early part of the twentieth century.

Over 500 women worked for the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory, a sweatshop located on the top three floors of the Asch Building on the corner of Greene and Washington in New York City. Many of these women were Jewish and between the ages of thirteen and twenty-three. On March 25, 1911, a fire broke out in the building. Because the bosses had locked the doors to prevent the women from leaving their work space, they were trapped. The clothes they were sewing quickly caught fire, and the women realized the danger of the situation. Those on the eighth and tenth floors were able to escape, but many on the ninth floor could not. Some jumped to their death, and others were badly burned trying to escape from the building, even after the fire escape had broken. In total, 146 women died in less than fifteen minutes. Families that brought lawsuits against the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory were ultimately awarded seventy-five dollars each, three years later.

SAIPAN

One current concern in the sweatshop discussion is the situation in Saipan. Located in the Pacific Ocean, it is one of fourteen islands known as the U.S. Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. The United States gained control of this region from Japan after World War II. It quickly instituted laws but allowed the government of the Marianas to control the minimum wage and immigration laws. The U.S. also permitted duty-free imports of products into this country with no quota restrictions. During the last year, over \$1 billion worth of garments were shipped from Saipan into the United States.

Since the 1980s, Saipan has been a literal "sweatshop haven." Employing young women from China, the Philippines, Bangladesh, and Thailand, Saipan compels these workers to sign "shadow contracts," thus waiving basic human rights, including the freedom to join unions, attend religious services, quit, or marry. In the last five years, contractors in Saipan have received more than 1,000 citations for violating U.S. Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) standards, many of which were characterized as capable of causing death or serious injury, including blocked exits, fire hazards, unsanitary restrooms, and exposed electrical wiring" (http://www.sweatshopwatch.org/swatch/mariana). There are no international laws that require corporations to respect workers' rights, insure decent working conditions, or even pay a living wage. If this kind of law existed, it would require that the most basic human rights be honored. For places like Saipan, this type of law would be effective in a way that other laws have not been.

The conditions that the Saipanese workers endure are horrifying, but they have been fighting back. Three federal court cases have been initiated in California, two of them on behalf of the Saipanese workers. One case brought charges against major retail companies that deceptively sell clothes made in Saipan using the label "Sweatshop-Free." This is significant news on two fronts. First, it indicates that the United States government is willing to help workers obtain their rights. Second, it serves to publicize this reality as well as model the options that people have to combat it.

A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE

There is another side to this discussion. Some people argue that the sweatshops are in fact helping Third World countries. Their economies have improved in the last twenty years, and this is a direct result of sweatshops. The people, primarily women, who work in these factories are happy in their jobs. In some cases, they want to work more hours. The owners even complain because this means that they have to pay their employees more and hire security guards into the night, thus costing them more money. Because these women have never known freedom, the argument goes, they do not feel oppressed.

Countries like India, which initially opposed involvement in the foreign retail market, have not developed in the way that other nations have. "Taiwan and South Korea are modern countries with low rates of infant mortality and high levels of education; in contrast, every year 3.1 million Indian children die before the age of 5, mostly from diseases of poverty like diarrhea" (*The New York Times Magazine*, September 24, 2000, "Two Sides of Sweatshops"). There is a pervasive feeling in the United States that we must aid Third World countries by helping them stabilize their political and economic systems. If this is indeed what we should be doing, then by closing down sewing factories, we would not be helping to achieve that goal. But there is a compromise that can be reached. All factories do not need to be closed down, and Americans must be realistic about our own ethnocentrism. The living standards we expect are not the same for all other cultures. It is reasonable to require factories to treat their employees fairly by paying them a living wage and not using physical discipline, but we must also allow other cultures to follow their own norms, especially if doing so allows for further development on their part.

Ultimately, those on both sides of the discussion about sweatshops hope for the same outcome: Workers should be employed by factories that treat them with dignity and allow them to live above the poverty line in their own communities. Our responsibility is to learn about the realities of the situations and encourage companies to do the same. When faced with the evidence that is available, the Reform Jewish community should respond to the injustices being perpetrated. This is not a phenomenon that can be easily resolved. Since sweatshops have endured for the last century, sewing shop owners do not have much impetus to change their standards. However, if we equip ourselves with knowledge and options, we can create partnerships with retail companies that will help give workers dignity and will end a cycle of which our own Jewish ancestors were unfortunately a part.

SPECIFICS ABOUT AMERICAN MERCHANTS AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

While there are many companies in the United States that benefit from sweatshop labor, certain companies are the most serious offenders. Again, it is important to remember that although individual boycotts of such companies are not considered effective, being aware of the issue and contacting the CEOs and presidents of those companies can effect change. Megamerchants whose house labels conceal the conditions in which the manufacturing of their clothes and products takes place should be encouraged to be more honest with consumers. They should be strongly urged to look into the practices of the sewing shops

with which they work. If human rights are being violated, we, as educated consumers, should help these companies realize the importance of the demand that conditions be changed.

One disturbing detail regarding sweatshops is the United States military's involvement with the Chentex Company. The Army and Airforce Exchange Service (AAFES) is an agency that operates over 1,400 stores worldwide. It has contracted with the Chentex Comany to manufacture jeans for which workers are paid twenty cents per pair. Even after the factories' workers were fired for joining a union, the AAFES continued to import the company's products (http://www.nlcnet.org). Our synagogues must send a clear, concise message to the U.S. government: It should not support the Chentex Company because of its brutal treatment of its workers. The U.S. government should demand that Chentex allow its workers to join a union, perhaps the only vehicle that would support them and their rights.

Another important development specific to the American government's direct involvement in sweat-shops pertains to Myanmar (formerly Burma). Although President Clinton barred all new investment in Myanmar in 1997, U.S. imports from that country have increased. Not only have American clothing companies been involved in supporting the Myanmar government, but the United States Army and Airforce Exchange Service has also done business with that country's sewing factories. There has, however, been one victory in this regard. Because of negative public opinion, the government has stated that the AAFES will stop importing clothing from Myanmar. This is a testimony to the strength of the public's voice. There is an opportunity to effect change. Let us raise our voices.

We must communicate our distress regarding this situation to the government. Sweatshop labor flies in the face of the democratic values of our country. The American government must be encouraged to act as a model for companies in our country. If the government itself adapts its own policies even at the expense of financial benefit, retail companies might be encouraged to do the same.

The following charts can be used during the discussion sections of the programs included in the manual.

AVERAGE HOURLY WAGES FOR GARMENT WORKERS

NAME OF COUNTRY	U.S. DOLLARS	NAME OF COUNTRY	U.S. DOLLARS
Bangladesh	\$0.10-0.16 * **	India	\$0.26*
Burma (Myanmar)	\$0.10-0.18 * **	Indonesia	\$0.34 *
Canada	\$9.98	Italy	\$14.00
China	\$0.20-0.68 * **	Jamaica	\$1.80
Colombia	\$1.05	Macau	\$2.41*
Costa Rica	\$2.38	Mexico	\$1.08
Dominican Republic	\$1.62	Nicaragua	\$0.76
Eastern Europe	\$1.11	Pakistan	\$0.21*
El Salvador	\$1.38	Philippines	\$0.94*
France	\$7.81	Sri Lanka	\$0.31*
Germany	\$23.19	Thailand	\$1.02*
Guatemala	\$1.25	United Kingdom	\$7.38
Haiti	\$0.49	United States	\$9.56
Honduras	\$1.31	Vietnam	\$0.26*
Hong Kong	\$4.55*		

^{*} Not including bonuses

SOURCE: Womens Wear Daily, December 31, 1996

^{**} Low end for state factories, high end for township or foreign-invested, joint-venture factories

This chart is a shortened version of one prepared by the Child Labor Coalition. The Coalition used materials and reports issued by the United States Department of Labor.

COUNTRY	INDUSTRY
Bangladesh	Garment industry
Brazil	Footwear, garment, and textile industries; oranges; orange juice; tin mining
China	Garments/textiles; games, toys; sports equipment; fireworks * Note: Because of China's political system, it is not possible to obtain any information directly from China. There are no Chinese nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) active in this area, and foreign NGOs have no access. The industries identified above are primarily based on newspaper and journal reports.
Colombia	Flower agribusiness (carnations, roses, pompoms, etc.)
Côte d'Ivoire	Mining (gold and diamonds)
Egypt	Hand-knotted carpet industry
Guatemala	Garment industry
India	Hand-knotted carpet industry; textiles; silk; footwear industry; gemstone polishing (mostly diamonds, emeralds, and other semiprecious stones); brass and base metal industry (vases, figurines, plates, planters, dinner service, and tea sets); glass and glassware industry (beads, chandeliers, wine glasses, crockery, bulbs, and cut-glass items; also lab glass products); fireworks
Indonesia	Garment and embroidery industries; wood and rattan furniture industries
Lesotho	Garment industry
Mexico	Underage workers in maquiladoras (American-owned companies that assemble goods for export to U.S.), producing electrical and electronic products; sporting goods; toys; furniture; textiles; transportation equipment
Morocco	Hand-knotted carpet industry; garment industry
Nepal	Hand-knotted carpet industry
Pakistan	Hand-knotted carpet industry; surgical instruments; sporting goods (such as soccer balls)
The Philippines	Garment industry
Portugal	Garment industry; footwear industry; ceramics (brick-red table and oven pottery, fine china, pottery ornaments); granite paving-stone industry (exported for use in pavements)
Tanzania	Sisal processing (a fiber used for making rope, sacking, and insulation)
Thailand	Garment industry; leather industry; wood and rattan furniture; gem polishing; shrimp and seafood processing
Zimbabwe	Mining (chromium and gold)

LINKS AND RESOURCES

All of these links are well stocked with information and program ideas. They are certainly worth exploring with a group if computers are available.

- http://www.corpwatch.org/feature/sweatshops/factsheets.html
- http://www.sweatshopinfo.com
- http://www.uniteunion.org
- http://www.dol.gov/(United States Department of Labor)
- http://www.nlcnet.org/(National Labor Committee)
- http://www.umich.edu/~sole/usas/(United Students Against Sweatshops)
- http://www.nicwj.org (National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice)
- http://www.jfjustice.org (Jewish Fund for Justice)

FLIER TEMPLATE

Kabbalat Shabbat Service Sermon—Avodah: How Can We Worship While Others Only Work? 5:45 P.M. Youth Group Program
Educate and Act: How to Make
Our Schools and Synagogues
"Sweatshop-Free"
Saturday, Sept. 1, 2001
6:00–10:30 P.M.
Havdalah and dinner included

Shabbat Family Education Program Inside a Sweatshop: The Family Experience Saturday, Sept. 1, 2001 10:30 A.M.–12:30 P.M.

You shall not abuse a needy and destitute laborer, whether a fellow countryman or a stranger in one of the communities of your land. You must pay him his wages on the same day, before the sun sets, for he is needy and he urgently depends on it; else he will cry out to *Adonai* against you and you will incur guilt.

Deuteronomy 24: 14–15

SPEND THE WEEKEND LEARNING AND WORKING TO HELP THOSE WHO ARE MADE TO WORK TOO HARD.

Where Did You Get That Dress?

August 31–September 2, 2001

SWEATSHOPS CONTINUE TO PROLIFERATE IN THE UNITED STATES AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

We as a community whose own ancestors suffered as sweatshop laborers must respond.

We must respond by educating ourselves, our children, and our community.

We must respond by becoming actively involved in the fight against sweatshops.

Sunday school classes will have special educational components geared toward teaching about sweatshops and the lewish response.

WHERE TO GO FROM HERE?

Listed in upcoming bulletins will be programs and action opportunities in which you and your family are encouraged to participate together.

Adult Education Program
How to See the Issue
from All Sides
Sunday, Sept. 2, 2001
9:00–11:00 A.M
Breakfast included

Appendix I

The following resolutions have been passed regarding sweatshops and labor issues by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and the Women of Reform Judaism. They should be made available to the congregants during the programs. They can also be used for background information for group leaders and to discuss the Reform response to this issue.

Appendix II

The following Codes of Conduct are to be used specifically in conjunction with program 3 in the Adult Education Programs section, which appears on pages 9–11 of this manual. They can, however, also be used in other program discussions and/or distributed to program participants. Although the names of the companies have been changed, these examples were taken from *By the Sweat and Toil of Children*, *Volume IV: Consumer Labels and Child Labor*, published by the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs, 1996.

Appendix i

WOMEN OF REFORM JUDAISM THE FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS 41ST ASSEMBLY, OCTOBER 29–NOVEMBER 2, 1997

THE COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN

ISSUE

Child labor and commercial sexual exploitation of children occur both internationally and domestically.

BACKGROUND

Exploitative child labor is an international scandal. Children under the age of fourteen are forced to work in abusive and hazardous conditions adversely affecting their mental and physical development. Worldwide the most egregious labor abuses of children have included being shackled to or having to sleep by the work station, workdays of up to 12 hours or more, physical or sexual abuse, exposure to hazardous chemicals, poor sanitation conditions, lack of ventilation, inadequate nutrition and extremely low or no wages. Examples of such abuses have been observed in factories in India, Pakistan, Nepal and Morocco where children make carpets, in Honduras and Pakistan where children sew softballs and soccer balls, in Portugal where children are faced with the heavy labor and dangers of the construction industry, in Peru and Columbia where children make bricks and work in the mines, in Brazil where children are cane cutters and in many other countries (UNICEF, *The State of the World's Children*, 1997).

In the United States, exploitative child labor and dangerous working conditions are found in agriculture, which in 1989 was classified as the country's most dangerous occupation. That same year, *The Wall Street Journal* reported that 23,000 children under fifteen are injured and that 300 die from farm-related accidents each year. Teen-aged workers in other jobs, such as those in the fast-food industry and in garages, are subject to accidents as well. Child advocates express concern that children in the United States are invisibly exploited in sweatshop labor and through subcontractors who are involved in illegal industrial homework operations (Bernstein, Richard B., *From Forge to Fast Food*, 1995). Moreover, large clothing manufacturers based in the United States are transferring their assembly functions to sweatshop operations, i.e., *maquiladoras* in Mexico and Central America, that hire girls of thirteen and under.

Child sexual abuse is also pandemic. Commercial sexual exploitation of children, which victimizes both boys and girls, is a particularly brutal form of abuse. This includes childhood pornography, sexual tourism and prostitution. The demand for younger and younger children in order to avoid sexually transmitted diseases has led to sexual tourism and world travel to satisfy sexual appetites.

The Child Labor Deterrence Act has been introduced in the United States Congress, which would ban the importation of products for which child labor is used. In addition the Child Labor Coalition, an advocacy group, has drafted a Model State Child Labor Law. The international community has adopted principles to protect children from abusive labor conditions and from prostitution. The U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which became part of international law on September 2, 1990, and the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 138 have established minimum standards for working conditions and an age minimum at which young people can work. The CRC has been ratified by 188 nations. Countries that have still not ratified the convention include Somalia, United Arab

Republic, Cook Islands, Switzerland, Oman and the United States. Attempts to ratify the CRC in the United States have been unsuccessful due to Senate concerns regarding states' rights arguments and opposition from the Christian Coalition's platform on "family values" (*Root Causes: A Gender Approach to Child Sexual Exploitation*, Women's Environment & Development Organization, Stockholm, 8/96).

UNICEF, the ILO and various Non-Governmental Organizations have been working with governments and local officials in parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America to develop programs to protect children from exploitative labor and to foster education. In addition, programs, such as the RUGMARK campaign, developed by a foundation in India, have brought the issue of child labor to consumers. Carpets carrying the RUGMARK label are manufactured by companies that have voluntarily met stringent requirements, such as regular independent inspections, to assure that child labor is not used.

Reaffirming prior Women of Reform Judaism resolutions on labor abuses, including child (1979) and forced labor (1967), the Board of Directors, in 1996, adopted a statement against abuses in the garment industry. Women of Reform Judaism has also adopted resolutions against child pornography (1977, 1983).

RESOLUTION

In recognition of a continuing concern by Women of Reform Judaism for the welfare of children and the need to provide children with opportunities for healthy growth and development, WRJ calls on its affiliates to:

- 1. Educate their members and their communities about the problems of child labor and child commercial sexual exploitation in North America and worldwide.
- 2. Encourage their members and others to support those countries and companies that have made a strong effort to curb child labor in their manufacturing practices.
- 3. Call for and support federal, state and provincial legislation to protect children from child labor, forced labor and abusive conditions in North America and worldwide.
- 4. Urge the proper governmental and nongovernmental agencies to establish the necessary immigration and other procedures to alert communities around the world to the sexual tourist.

Moreover, Women of Reform Judaism calls on the U.S. government to ratify the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child and the International Labor Organization Convention No.138.

ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS DALLAS, OCTOBER 29–NOVEMBER 2, 1997

SWEATSHOPS AND CHILD LABOR

BACKGROUND

Issues of workers' rights have been of concern to our people since the days of the patriarchs and matriarchs. Jacob complains that his employer and father-in-law, Laban, has mocked him and changed his wages ten times. To Laban himself Jacob says, "Had not the God of my father... been with me, you would have sent me away empty-handed. But God took notice of my plight and the toil of my hands, and God gave judgment...." (Gen. 31:42) Similarly, the Torah states unequivocally, "You shall not abuse a needy and destitute worker, whether a fellow countryman or a stranger in one of the communities of your land." (Deut. 24:10)

In Sefer Chasidim, the Book of the Pious, written in the thirteenth century, Rabbi Judah ben Samuel of Ratisbon expanded on this commandment. Seven hundred years ago, it was clear to him that an employer is not permitted to embarrass, insult, belittle, or degrade an employee. "To vex people who are coping with difficulties is an iniquity and a cause for punishment. Those people [workers] are sufficiently burdened already, as a matter of course, without that added affliction, as it is written in Lev. 25:53, you shall not rule over him [your worker] ruthlessly."

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) and the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR) have long called for the elimination of abusive labor conditions and practices. In 1909, the UAHC spoke out strongly against the deplorable exploitation of children in the workplace. In 1961, the UAHC denounced discrimination against migrant farmers, calling on the federal government to help end these abuses and raise the status of these farm workers to a position of dignity and equality. And in 1969, the UAHC joined, and continues to support, the grape boycott intended to help secure better wages and working conditions for grape pickers.

Unfortunately, the conditions that have prompted these actions in the past persist today. Labor abuses, such as the continued prevalence of sweatshops and child labor, are as repugnant to us now as they were before. In North America, some workers are still forced to work in unsafe conditions, for upwards of twelve hours a day, at times for as little as seventy cents an hour. Abroad, children are frequently forced to labor in dangerous conditions, especially hazardous to those of a young age. In many countries, children work in near slavery, for no pay and as prisoners in factories.

Some industries and individual business organizations have adopted programs to monitor the use of child labor and sweatshops in the manufacture of the products they sell, but not all of them provide for the use of independent third-party monitors who may conduct unannounced inspections of manufacturing facilities. Without independence and the right to conduct unannounced inspections, there is no assurance that monitoring succeeds in exposing child labor and sweatshop abuses.

The international community has attempted to deal with the issue of child labor. Both the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 138 seek to set international standards for child labor by establishing minimum standards

for admission to work and requiring signatory nations to set a minimum age for work (which, under ILO Convention No. 138, can be no lower than 15).

As Jews, it is our responsibility to strive to ensure that all workers, regardless of industry, regardless of rank, are treated with dignity and fairness.

THEREFORE, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations resolves to

- 1. Encourage independent third-party monitoring programs, by groups such as human rights organizations and religious organizations, that bring trained investigators to conduct independent and unannounced audits of factories and provide information on their findings to consumers. To be effective, such programs must be conducted in cooperation with those engaged in foreign manufacture;
- 2. Support legislation to make manufacturers, including retailers who act as manufacturers, responsible for their contractors' violations (while retaining any right of indemnity they have against the contractors);
- 3. Urge congregations to combat the exploitation of children in the workplace and the prevalence of sweatshop labor through such activities as: generating congregational-awareness campaigns around the issues of sweatshop labor and child labor; sensitizing congregants to the history of sweatshops and child labor in North America, specifically in the Jewish community; and participating in coalitions and activities that seek to put an end to these workplace abuses;
- 4. Commend industry programs that monitor production where independent monitors confirm that no sweatshop or child labor is being used;
- 5. Encourage congregants to buy products of companies whose self-monitoring has been shown to be effective by independent monitors; and
- 6. Call upon the U.S. and Canadian governments and state and provincial governments, where appropriate, to:
 - a. Provide for adequate staffing and funding to enforce existing workers' protection statutes;
 - Enact legislation and take appropriate administrative measures to ban the import into the United States and Canada of products found to be made with child labor or sweatshop labor;
 - c. Enact legislation that will end the egregious violations of workers' rights, both child and adult, that occur in the agricultural industry in North America; and
 - d. Ratify the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 138.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CCAR

DIGESTS OF RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS BETWEEN 1889 AND 1974

CHILD LABOR

- 1. We urge the abolition of child labor and the raising of the standard age wherever the legal age limit is lower than is consistent with moral and physical health. (1918, p. 102)
- 2. We appeal to members of State Legislatures to introduce adequate bills on Child Labor at the earliest possible moment, since the Supreme Court declared the Federal Act unconstitutional. (1922, p. 67)
- 3. Reaffirms resolution of 1922 calling upon State Legislatures for action. (1928, p. 85, creed)
- 4. We urge that legislation be passed raising the working age of children to 16 years in order that they may be removed from the labor market. (1930, p. 135)
- 5. We seek a law that will make it possible for Congress to legislate upon child labor, hours of work and wages and other economic problems that are national in scope. (1935, p. 81)
- 6. We oppose any relaxation of state and national standards regarding child labor, in spite of war needs. (1942, p. 98)
- 7. Reaffirmed. (1943, p. 125)
- 8. We note with disquiet that 250,000 children 14 years of age are employed full-time; while between the ages of 14 and 17, over one million children are employed. (1945, p. 122)
- 9. See Individual Rights, Sec. 1. (1953)

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CCAR

ADOPTED BY THE 108TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS JUNE 1997

SWEATSHOPS AND CHILD LABOR

BACKGROUND

Issues of workers' rights are spoken to specifically in the Torah. We are ever mindful of the biblical commandment that "You shall not abuse a needy and destitute laborer, whether a fellow countryman or a stranger in one of the communities of your land." (Deuteronomy 24:10) Adhering to these fundamental Jewish values and recognizing that the hardships faced by our grandparents in the sweatshops of New York City are reflected in the experiences of today's immigrants who labor in fields and factories to guarantee a better future for themselves and their children, our community has long sought to secure safe and equitable conditions for our nation's workers. Our tradition and our experience teach us that we betray the cause of justice unless we work to end the oppression of workers throughout the world. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) and the CCAR (CCAR) have long called for the elimination of abusive labor conditions and practices. In 1909, the UAHC spoke out strongly against the deplorable exploitation of children in the workplace. In 1961, the UAHC denounced discrimination against migrant farmers, calling on the federal government to help end these abuses and raise the status of these farm workers to a position of dignity and equality. And in 1969, the UAHC joined, and continues to support, the grape boycott intended to help secure better wages and working conditions for grape pickers. Unfortunately, the conditions that have prompted these actions in the past persist today. Labor abuses, such as the continued prevalence of sweatshops and child labor, are as repugnant to us now as they were before. In this country, workers are often forced to work in unsafe conditions, for upwards of twelve hours a day, at times for as little as seventy cents an hour. Abroad, children are frequently forced to labor in dangerous conditions, made even more hazardous by their young age. In many countries, children work in near slavery, for no pay and as prisoners in factories. As people of faith, it is our responsibility to act on our principles and ensure that all workers, regardless of industry, regardless of rank, are treated with dignity and fairness.

THEREFORE, the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism resolves to

- 1. Encourage independent third-party monitoring programs, by groups such as human rights organizations, labor unions, and religious organizations, that conduct independent and unannounced audits of factories and provide information on their findings to consumers;
- 2. Support legislation to make manufacturers, including retailers who act as manufacturers, responsible for their contractors' violations (while retaining any right of indemnity they have against the contractors);
- 3. Urge UAHC member congregations to combat the exploitation of children in the workplace and the prevalence of sweatshop labor through such activities as: generating congregational awareness campaigns around the issues of sweatshop labor and child labor; sensitizing congregants to the history of sweatshops and child labor in the United States, specifically in the Jewish community; and participating in coalitions and other activities that seek to put an end to these workplace abuses;

- 4. Commend industry programs that monitor production in their industry to ensure that no sweatshop or child labor is being used; and
- 5. Encourage UAHC congregants to take part in preferential purchasing from companies that monitor manufacturing in their industry. And calls upon the U.S. federal government and state governments to
 - a. Enact legislation that will allow for adequate staffing and funding to enforce existing workers' protection statutes;
 - b. Enact legislation and take appropriate administrative measures to ban the import into the United States of products found to be made with child labor or sweatshop labor;
 - c. Enact legislation that will correct the egregious violations of workers' rights, both child and adult, that occur in the agricultural industry; and
 - d. Ratify the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 138, which seek to set international standards for child labor.

Appendix II

The Karton* Department Stores Company Vendor Responsibility Program

POLICY STATEMENT

The Karton Department Stores Company has developed a Vendor Responsibility Program that requires all vendors, including each vendor of Karton's private label merchandise and each vendor of brand name merchandise, to meet certain standards with respect to the manner in which they conduct their business. Karton's standards require all vendors to (1) comply with all applicable labor laws, codes, rules, regulations and ordinances, including those relating to child labor, (2) refrain from using prison, convict, forced or indentured labor and (3) comply with all applicable safety and health laws, codes, rules, regulations and ordinances. The Program applies to all vendors supplying goods to Karton for retail sale in its stores, including those of its divisions and subsidiaries.

Karton will incorporate the Program on a company-wide basis by taking the following measures:

- A) Notifications: Annually, Karton will send each vendor with whom it is then doing business a letter setting forth Karton's policies and standards regarding (1) compliance with applicable labor, safety and health laws, codes, rules, regulations and ordinances and (2) prohibitions on the use of prison, convict, forced or indentured labor. In addition, each new vendor will receive a similar letter at the time Karton's business relationship with the vendor is established.
- B) Purchase Orders: By specific language on the face of each purchase order, Karton will require that each vendor certify and warrant that it and all of its third-party contractors comply with all labor laws, codes, rules, regulations and ordinances, as applicable, including those relating to children, and are not using, prison, convict, forced or indentured labor.
- C) Inspections: Karton will inspect the production facilities of each private label vendor before merchandise is initially ordered and at least once during each following calendar year that orders are placed with the private label vendor. During the inspections, inspectors will look for any suspected labor law violations, including the illegal use of child labor, or the use of prison, convict, forced or indentured labor. The inspector's vendor evaluation report will indicate whether the inspector observed any violation of applicable labor laws, codes, rules, regulations or of Karton's policies and standards. If it is determined that any vendor has violated labor laws or has used prison, convict, forced or indentured labor, Karton will demand that the vendor immediately and permanently cease such activity, and Karton will retain the right to cancel any and all orders and will not do further business with such vendor until such time as Karton has assurance that the vendor is complying with Karton requirements.
- D) Other Measures: Karton will also participate from time to time in educational efforts by state and national retail associations on labor, safety and health laws to increase awareness of Karton's policies and standards.
- E) Consequences of Failure to Comply: Karton will take appropriate action with respect to any vendor who fails to comply with Karton's policies and standards.

^{*}The name of this company has been changed.

The Karton Department Stores Company (DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE LABEL VENDORS) (Name and Address of Vendor)

Re: The Karton Department Stores Company Vendor Responsibility Program

Dear Sir or Madam,

The Karton Department Stores Company, Karton Merchandising Company and Karton Department Stores International, Inc. (hereinafter together referred to as "Karton") are very concerned with any violation of labor laws, including the use of child labor and the use of prison, convict, forced or indentured labor. Karton takes such violations very seriously and will not do business with any vendor who violates applicable labor laws.

It is Karton's policy to do business only with those vendors who comply with all applicable labor, safety and health laws, codes, rules, and regulations, including laws relating to the employment of children. It is also Karton's policy to do business only with vendors who refrain from using prison, convict, forced or indentured labor. All of our orders are subject to our policies, and to insure adherence to our policies, our purchase orders contain the following statement on their face:

By providing merchandise pursuant to this purchase order, Vendor certifies to The Karton Department Stores Company and warrants that: (1) the employment practices of Vendor and Vendor's third-party contractor(s) conform with all applicable labor, safety and health laws, codes, rules, and regulations, including laws relating to the employment of children, and (2) Vendor and Vendor's third-party contractor(s) are not using prison, convict, forced or indentured labor.

Karton's policies also require that we inspect the production facilities of private label vendors before we place our initial order and at least once during each following calendar year that orders are placed with the private label vendors. Therefore, we will be contacting you to request the location(s)/address(es) of each of the facilities in which you (and any third-party contractor(s) hired by you) produce private label goods for Karton or any of our divisions or subsidiaries. Any failure to provide this information may prevent us from doing business with you.

This letter is being sent to all private label vendors and is not meant to imply that you are or may be involved in any violations of applicable labor laws, including child labor laws. However, you should be aware that failure to operate your business in a manner that accords with Karton's policies and standards as set forth above and on the face of our purchase orders will prohibit us from continuing to do business.

Very truly yours,

Billy O. Karsco, President/CEO
The Karton Department Stores Company

MGR Enterprise* CODE OF BUSINESS CONDUCT

Compliance with Law and Regulations

Vendor/Supplier must, at a minimum, comply with all applicable laws and regulations including but not limited to age, hours of work, minimum wage, overtime provisions for vacation and holidays, pregnancy and menstrual leave, and required retirement benefits. If an industry standard is higher than the legal minimum, Vendor/Supplier shall follow the industry standard.

Vendor/Supplier must comply with all applicable laws and regulations relating to the exportation and importation of merchandise including country of origin, labeling, customs classifications and valuation and all laws prohibiting transshipment of merchandise.

Forced Labor

Vendor/Supplier may not utilize imprisoned, indentured, bonded or any other form of compulsory labor in the manufacture of MGR Enterprise products.

Child Labor

No person shall be employed at an age younger than 15 (or 14 where the law of the country of manufacture allows) or younger than the age for completing compulsory education in the country of manufacture where such age is higher than 15.

Safety and Health

Vendor/Supplier must ensure a safe and healthy working environment free of any hazardous conditions. Vendors/Suppliers who provide residential accommodations for workers must insure safe, healthy and hazard-free facilities.

Worker's Insurance

Vendor/Supplier must comply with all appropriate local laws and regulations requiring health insurance, life insurance and worker's compensation.

Environment

Vendor/Supplier must comply with all applicable local environment laws and regulations and abide by MGR Enterprise's own environmental regulations.

*The name of this company has been changed.

Equal Opportunity

Vendor/Supplier must not discriminate in hiring, salary, benefits, advancement, discipline, termination or retirement on the basis of race, color, nationality, gender, disability, sexual orientation, religion, social or ethical origin, political or other beliefs. Employees should be hired and promoted on the basis of ability, not on the basis of personal characteristics or beliefs.

Freedom of Association

Vendor/Supplier must ensure that each of their respective employees has the right to establish and join organizations of the employee's choosing.

Vendor/Supplier shall not discipline any person in their employment due to that person's nonviolent exercise of such right. Vendor/Supplier must respect and recognize the rights of all employees to organize and bargain collectively.

Disciplinary Practices

Vendor/Supplier must not inflict or threaten to inflict corporal punishment or any other forms of physical, sexual, psychological or verbal abuse or harassment on any of their respective employees.

Documentation and Inspection

Vendor/Supplier must maintain on file such documentation as may be needed to illustrate compliance with this Code of Business Conduct and agrees to make these documents available for the MGR Enterprise's review upon request.

MGR Enterprise's Code of Business Conduct applies to any and all Vendors/Suppliers. Vendors/Suppliers must ensure that any parties supplying them with materials and/or labor in the manufacture of MGR Enterprise products also abide by the provisions of MGR Enterprise's Code of Business Conduct.

In the event of any willful, noncompliance with these regulations, MGR Enterprise may terminate or refuse to renew supply agreements with a Vendor/Supplier.

AMERICAN VISION, INC.* SUBLICENSE AGREEMENT

ARTICLE 5—FURTHER DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS

- 5.1 (Name of company) shall cooperate fully with American Vision, Inc.'s Sales and Customer Service personnel.
- 5.2 (Name of company) will protect and promote American Vision, Inc.'s goodwill and reputation and will avoid any activity that is knowingly detrimental to American Vision, Inc.'s interest, reputation, MARKS and goodwill, including strict adherence to American Vision, Inc.'s distribution and close-out policies.
- 5.3 (Name of company) will comply with all applicable laws, rules, regulations and requirements regarding the manufacture, distribution, sale or promotion of PRODUCTS, including, but not limited to, applicable laws, rules and regulations regarding minimum wage; overtime; child labor; and occupational health and safety. (Name of company) shall not use any form of forced labor in the manufacture of PRODUCTS, whether prison labor or otherwise. (Name of company) will cooperate in any compliance or monitoring program implemented by American Vision, Inc., to ensure that all PRODUCTS are manufactured and distributed in compliance with applicable laws, rules, regulations or requirements and shall require that all its subcontractors do so as well. (Name of company) shall, at American Vision, Inc.'s request, certify in writing that it is in compliance with all applicable laws. Breach of this provision shall be grounds for immediate termination of this Agreement.
- 5.4 (Name of company) shall undertake to secure from the appropriate authorities in the TERRITORY, at its own cost and expense, without any cost to American Vision, Inc., all permits, concessions or other documents required by law in connection with the manufacture and/or distribution of PROD-UCTS in the TERRITORY.
- 5.5 (Name of company)'s right to distribute and sell PRODUCTS under the MARKS pursuant to this Agreement is limited to the TERRITORY and approved channels of distribution. (Name of company) shall submit to American Vision, Inc., a list of its proposed channels of distribution, which channels must be approved in writing by American Vision, Inc., prior to the effective date of this AGREEMENT. Any failure to obtain approval of channels of distribution or any deviation from approved channels without the prior written approval of American Vision, Inc., will be deemed a material breach of the Agreement, giving American Vision, Inc., the right to terminate this Agreement. (Name of company) will not directly or indirectly knowingly make sales of PROD-UCTS to third parties who intend to sell PRODUCTS outside the TERRITORY or outside approved channels of distribution and will promptly terminate sales to such third parties.

^{*}The name of this company has been changed.



Dear Rabbis, Educators, and Social Action Chairpeople:

This year we commemorated the ninetieth anniversary of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire, an important part of American Jewish history. This anniversary reminds us that sweatshops still exist in America and throughout the world. We can help you educate our congregants about this reality in a comprehensive way. Please take a moment to look at the manual we have created to help you do that.

This packet is a little different from others you have received in the past. In order to facilitate easier and more applicable Social Action programming within synagogues, we are experimenting with a Social Action rabbinic packet system. Each packet you receive will be organized by specific sections. Some packets may have high programmatic content, others may focus more directly on awareness and information, but they will all be accessible and easily distributed, dependent on which sections will be most helpful to the different programmers in your synagogues. Please drop me a line and let me know how this system works for you.

The best way to make all the packets available is to place one binder in a central location, allowing individuals to access the sections specific to their programming needs. We not only encourage you to use the included programs, we also hope that you will "meet at the binder" and discuss what other programs you can create!

Each packet will be organized according to the following colorcoded system:

Introduction: Ivory

Basic Educational Material Programs: Goldenrod

Adult Education Programs: Green Family Education Programs: Blue Religious School Curricula: Gray

Youth Groups Programs: Pink (sometimes included with Adult Education Programs)

Free-Standing Action Elements: Yellow

Talking Points for Sermons or Discussions: Orange

Jewish Texts and Context: Purple

Extras (Web-based links, resources, flier templates, appendixes): White

I would like to pay special tribute to Leora Kaye, who worked throughout the year as the rabbinic intern for the Commission, for creating this packet. It is our hope that Jewish education and encouragement from our synagogues will help our congregants become more aware of the sweat-shop issue and involved in bringing the practice to an end.

With warmest good wishes.

Cordially,

Daniel Polish

Cornmission on Social Action

of Reform Judaism

SWEATSHOP PROGRAM RESPONSE FORM

Name
Congregation
Address
CityState Zip
Yes, our congregation incorporated the sweatshop material into a service or temple activity.
Size of Congregation
Please indicate which of the following apply to your congregation's program:
The rabbi delivered a sermon on the topic. (Please attach.)
We placed an article on the topic in our bulletin. (Please attach.)
We circulated the "responsible consumer" guide and sample letter to members of our congregation.
We implemented one or more of the programs and/or action elements from the packet. Please describe
We had great ideas of our own to incorporate along with the material that we received. Please describe.
No, we did not incorporate the sweatshop material into a service or temple activity. Please explain why not
Other comments or suggestions
Disconference il dei ferme te Pallei Den Paliele

Please fax or mail this form to Rabbi Dan Polish

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

633 Third Avenue

New York, NY 10017-6778

Fax: 212.650.4229

THANK YOU.

Your membership in a UAHC congregation has made the Reform Movement the largest and most vibrant branch of Judaism.

REFORM JUDAISM: WE ARE THE FUTURE.



UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS איחוד ליהדות מתקדמת באמריקה

Commission on Social Action
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