



# BAY AREA TROUBLEMAKERS SCHOOL

**SATURDAY, June 14, 2025**

**WHERE:** Oakland Technical High School, 4351 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94611. Sponsored by Labor Notes.

**8:30-9:30 a.m. Registration and Coffee** (Girls Gym)

**9:30-10:20 a.m. Opening Plenary: Standing Up to the Attacks** (Girls Gym)

Sultana Adams, AFSCME 3916  
Rebecca Gross & Ximena Gil, UAW 4811  
Claudia Garcia, UNITE HERE Local 2  
Hai Binh Nguyen, NTEU 335, Federal Unionists Network  
Kait Brooks, Starbucks Workers United  
Facilitator: Keith Brower Brown, Labor Notes

**10:30 a.m.- 12:15 p.m. Morning Workshops** (*See p. 3 for details*)

1. Just Transition: Refinery Workers & Frontline Communities, **Room 105**
2. Strike! **Room 134**
3. Salting: Get a Job to Organize! **Room 137**
4. Race and Labor, **Room 140**
5. Open Bargaining, From Organizing the Workplace to Sitting across the Table, **Room 218**
6. Worker Organizing on Supply Chains: Identifying Chokepoints & Power Linkages, **Room 226**
7. Fighting Workplace Repression: Palestine, Union Busting & Beyond, **Room 2**
8. Storytelling for Worker Power, **College and Career Center**
9. Secrets of a Successful Organizer: Beating Apathy, **Student Center**
10. Secrets of a Successful Organizer: Assembling Your Dream Team, **Room A5**
11. Sanctuary Workplaces: Organizing for Safe, Welcoming Workplaces for Immigrants and for All, **Room 3**

**Childcare is in Room 141.** At the end of the event, please pick up children by 4:15 p.m.

**Interpretation:** Spanish-English interpretation is available.

**Map of School:**



Like what you saw today? Missed a workshop? **Labor Notes does workshops online every month.** Check them out at:

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*Continued next page...*

**12:25–1:25 p.m. Lunch** (Student Cafeteria) *No food in classrooms, please!*

**Lunch time breakouts:**

1. Union Staff
2. Healthcare Workers
3. K-12 Teachers/ Educators
4. Higher Ed Workers
5. Newly Unionized & Not Union Yet!
6. Tech Workers & Gig Workers
7. Service, Retail & Hospitality Workers
8. Bay Area Labor for Palestine
9. Supply chain: Port, Rail, Trucking & Warehouse Workers
10. City, County, and Federal & Transit Workers

**Map of Lunch Breakouts:**



**1:35–3:20 p.m. Afternoon Workshops** (*See p. 4 for details*)

1. Organizing the Unorganized & Winning a First Contract, **Room 105**
2. Teaching Liberation: Popular Education in Labor and Community Organizations, **Room 134**
3. Climate Change Is a Workplace Safety Fight, **Room 137**
4. Strategies for Staying Strong in Tough Fights, **Room 140**
5. What to Do When Your Union Breaks Your Heart, **Room 218**
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9. Building a Caucus in Your Union, **Room A5**
10. New Laws, New Weapons: Labor Law Changes Under Trump and How to Win Without the NLRA, **College & Career Center**
11. Worker Power for Palestine, **Student Cafeteria**
12. Fighting Cuts & Layoffs: Federal & Public Sector Workers Under Attack, **Student Center**

**3:30–4:10 p.m. Closing Plenary: Our Collective Power** (Girls Gym)

Francisco Ortiz, UTR  
Vilma Serrano-Bautista, OEA  
Matt Stephen, UPTe  
Benno Giammarinaro, IWW 670, Urban Ore  
Bonnie Lockhart, AFM Local 1000

**'Solidarity Forever' lyrics:**



*Organizations listed for identification purposes only.*

**Thank you**

To the amazing organizing committee that came together to create this event; to the volunteers; and to the unions and organizations that, through their generous donations, made this all possible, including:

AFT 1474 Bay Area Chapter  
Alameda Labor Council  
Bay Area Labor for Palestine  
Black Rose Anarchist Federation  
Boilermakers Local 549  
Contra Costa Labor Council  
CWA 9404  
East Bay DSA  
Freedom Road Socialist Organization  
ILWU Local 10 Young Workers Committee  
ILWU Local 6  
ILWU-IBU  
Labor and Occupational Health Program  
at UC Berkeley  
NFFE Local 1  
NUHW  
Oakland Education Association  
Railroad Workers United  
SEIU 1021  
Stanford Graduate Workers Union  
Tech Workers Coalition  
UAW 4811  
UFCW Local 5  
Union Lawyers Union  
UPTe

**Special History Walk Sunday,  
June 15 at noon:**

**Oakland's "Work Holiday": Lessons  
From the '46 General Strike**

In December 1946, in reaction to police protecting scabs breaking a monthlong strike by mostly women department store clerks, over 100,000 workers shut down nearly all commerce in the East Bay for three days. That year six general strikes exploded in cities across the country, an all-time record for strikes and work stoppages. The general strike in Oakland was the last citywide walkout to ever occur in the U.S.—it precipitated the Taft-Hartley Act 1947 that banned this type of mass action. This walk will attempt to keep alive the memory and tradition of community-wide working class solidarity. **Meet at Latham Square (where Telegraph & Broadway converge) in downtown Oakland.**

Gifford Hartman, Global Labour  
University/Railroad Workers United.

# Morning Workshops, 10:30-12:15

## **1. Just Transition: Refinery Workers & Frontline Communities, Room 105**

This workshop with the Labor Rise Climate Justice Action Group will explore how rank-and-file union members can organize for a just and equitable transition for workers and frontline communities as we move to end the dependence on fossil fuels that threatens the future of our living planet. It will focus on lessons from the Contra Costa Refinery Transition Partnership (CCRTP), a joint labor-community taskforce which recently released a report detailing the urgent need for proactive planning to prepare for future refinery closures in Northern California's Contra Costa County.

*Josh Anijar, Contra Costa Labor Council*

*Tracy Scott, United Steelworkers Local 5 (retired)*

*Emma Ishii, Asian Pacific Environmental Network*

## **2. Strike! Room 134**

What can we learn from recent strikes in the Bay Area? In this workshop, workers will discuss their experiences in recent strikes, their strategic and tactical approach, what worked and what didn't, and what we lessons we can carry forward.

*John Elrod, UNITE HERE Local 2*

*Jamie Gardner, UPTF*

*Evelyn Garcia, IWW 670, Urban Ore*

## **3. Salting: Get a Job to Organize! Room 137**

Ever want to unionized a non-union workplace? Do you want to join the labor movement but don't know how? Salting, or getting a job with the intention of organizing the union there, is one way to help build our movement. In this workshop you will hear from current and former salts and organizers working on recruiting salts for exciting union campaigns.

*Jeff Armstrong, SEIU 2015*

*Robert Ovetz, California Faculty Association*

*Anonymous, Teamsters*

## **4. Race and Labor, Room 140**

Our goal is to gain a better understanding of how we as union members, every day working people can make a difference at work, in our unions, schools and communities. Moving from divide and conquer to strategies of unity.

*Rosa Villarroel, CNA*

## **5. Open Bargaining, from Organizing the Workplace to Sitting across the Table, Room 218**

Opening up bargaining is a deeply democratizing process. Learn from these examples of unions opening bargaining and its implications for union democracy and power.

*Vilma Serrano-Bautista, OEA*

*Veena Channon, SEIU 1021 City of Berkeley*

*Sol Helm, Starbucks Workers United*

*Facilitator: Sultana Adams, AFSCME 3916*

## **6. Worker Organizing on Supply Chains: Identifying Chokepoints & Power Linkages, Room 226**

Workers who transport commodities exist at vital chokepoints in the world economy, but these supply chains are vulnerable to disruption. Capitalists fear the potential of the working class to exercise this paralyzing power. This interactive workshop will demonstrate how workers can find "seams," where the system is materially weak, to build strategic linkages to grow their power.

*Peter Olney, ILWU (retired)*

*Hugh Sawyer, Railroad Workers United/BLET*

*Sam Levens, ITF Inspector*

*Gifford Hartman, Global Labour University/RWU*

*ILWU Local 10 Young Workers Committee Representative*

## **7. Fighting Workplace Repression: Palestine, Union Busting & Beyond, Room 2**

This workshop will address various forms of repression against workers who speak out and organize, whether about workplace conditions or for international solidarity. At a time when student-worker visas are being revoked in response to Palestine protests on campuses, ICE is detaining farmworker leaders, and the pressure to stay silent is stronger than ever, we will discuss how to fight back and build unity rather than allowing division.

*Mark Smith, No Tech for Apartheid*

*Ximena Gil, UAW 4811 UC Davis*

*Ansel, SEIU 1021 at Highland Hospital*

*Benny Zank, IFPTE Local 21*

*Bridget Rochios, CNA*

*Davin Cardenas, North Bay Jobs with Justice*

## **8. Storytelling for Worker Power, College and Career Center**

In this interactive workshop, we will explore different ways of communicating our experiences as workers. We will discuss the different kinds of worker's theater, then bring our ideas to life through guided writing and theater exercises. Bring a pen and wear comfortable clothes + shoes!

*Bahaar Tadjbakhsh, UAW 4811*

*Bill Shields, AFT 2121*

## **9. Secrets of a Successful Organizer: Beating Apathy, Student Center**

Are you beating your head against the wall trying to get other workers involved? This workshop is for you. Hear success stories from those who've turned their workplaces around and turned apathy into action. Learn practical organizing tools for engaging your co-workers, taking action, and getting results.

*Tenaya Lafore, Labor and Occupational Health Program*

*Jessica Beard, CTA*

## **10. Secrets of a Successful Organizer: Assembling Your Dream Team, Room A5**

Your workplace may feel like an unorganized mess, but the truth is you're not starting from zero. There's organization there already—though it might have nothing to do with the union. Learn how to map out the existing networks in your workplace, identify the leaders in those networks, and then knit them together into an organizing committee.

*Keith Brower Brown, Labor Notes*

*Tyler Kissinger, NUHW*

## **11. Sanctuary Workplaces: Organizing for Safe, Welcoming Workplaces for Immigrants and for All, Room 3**

This workshop will provide "know your rights" training on the rights of immigrants and other targeted communities (like the LGBTQ community) in the workplace. Trainers will review laws that apply to workers and members of the general public when in workplaces (such as patients, students, and guests) as well as real-life examples of how workers can organize to win "sanctuary" workplaces that welcome and protect the rights of all people.

*Hilda Poulson, NUHW*

*Xitlali Sanchez, UNITE HERE Local 2*

*Michael Rodriguez, Oakland Education Association*

# Afternoon Workshops, 1:35-3:20 p.m.

## **1. Organizing the Unorganized & Winning a First Contract, Room 105**

In recent years, we have seen an uptick in workers organizing and winning elections across industries, but winning first contracts remains a major challenge. This workshop features workers at different stages of their first contract fight, from healthcare to retail. It will focus on the strategies they have utilized to fight for their first contract, what lessons we can carry forward into future fights, as well as the choice of some to form independent unions, rather than affiliate.

*Hanna Slater, SEIU 1021, Planned Parenthood*

*Benno Giammarinaro, IWW 670, Urban Ore*

*Sam Writ, UFCW-REI*

*Jodie Banks, IBU-ILWU, Alcatraz City Cruises*

*Sara Wilder, UFCW, Good Vibrations*

## **2. Teaching Liberation: Popular Education in Labor and Community Organizations, Room 134**

Popular education is a tool for truly democratic movement building. Starting with students' experiences, the process aims to build a shared analysis to support collective action for change. In this fast-paced interactive workshop, participants will create a roadmap for a popular education workshop of their own.

*James Tracy, CCSF Labor Studies/Alameda Labor Council*

*Tina Bartolome, SFSU*

## **3. Climate Change Is a Workplace Safety Fight, Room 137**

This workshop will focus on the intersection of climate change, union organizing, and workplace health and safety. We will identify climate change hazards and the most effective solutions, learn about employer responsibilities and workers' rights to health and safety amidst emergency conditions, and reflect on how unions can take action both for immediate protection and root-cause solutions to the climate crisis.

*Tenaya Lafore, Labor and Occupational Health Program*

*Keith Brower Brown, Labor Notes*

## **4. Strategies for Staying Strong in Tough Fights, Room 140**

When you're up against situations like take backs, shut downs, layoffs, or closures—we need strategies to thrive just as much as we need our strategies to fight. In this workshop, members who have been through long strike fights, bankrupted facilities, threatened with layoffs and cutbacks talk about we've maintained hope in long, brutal fights and won.

*John Elrod, UNITE HERE Local 2*

*Christina Caridis, NUHW, Seton Health*

*Lealani Manuta, NUHW*

## **5. What to Do When Your Union Breaks Your Heart, Room 218**

Hear from a panel of different workers' experiences and discuss how to organize with your fellow union members to recommit and transform your union. When your union is slow to respond to problems or confront management, it's time to take matters into your own hands. A panel of rank-and-file transit, healthcare, childcare, maritime and education workers stopped waiting for 'someone to do something' and organized with coworkers to push for better conditions and bigger wins at work.

*Drew Sage, ATU 1555*

*Carolyn Carpenter, SEIU 521/CCPU*

*Mat Cusick, formerly ALU*

*Hillary Chen, OEA*

*Facilitator: Hasana, SEIU 1021*

## **6. Hit 'Em Where it Hurts: Analyzing Chokepoints and Building a Credible Strike Threat, Room 226**

This workshop is based on a "workers' inquiry," a method for understanding how the boss controls work, how workers are currently organized, and how to use this information to develop new organizing tactics, strategies, and objectives. Participants will practice doing a workers' inquiry to assess the credibility of a strike threat. The session will conclude with a "thought experiment" to practice identifying choke points in a hypothetical strike.

*Gifford Hartman, Global Labour University/RWU*

*Robert Ovetz, California Faculty Association*

## **7. Assertive Grievance Handling, Room 2**

Fighting grievances isn't only about how well you argue your case. It's also about organizing members to build pressure on management. This workshop for stewards and union reps will focus on how to win creatively without going to arbitration—or sometimes without even filing a grievance.

*Felix Thompson, SEIU 1021, Highland Hospital*

## **8. Secrets of a Successful Organizer: Turning an Issue Into a Campaign, Room 3**

Everybody has complaints and frustrations, but an organizer has the power to turn problems into opportunities. Learn how to sort through the issues you hear from co-workers, bring people together, and make a plan to solve them.

*Tim Tia and Lucy Boltz, Emergency Workplace Org. Committee*

## **9. Building a Caucus in Your Union, Room A5**

Caucuses can be created for a single issue or goal, or as a basis to run for office in your union. Are you involved in a caucus or aiming to launch one or a campaign for union office? This workshop will take up some Dos and Don'ts and share experiences.

*Dan Russell, UPTC-CWA Local 9119*

*Whitney Russell, Caucus of Rank and File Education Workers, CFA*

*Facilitator: Ken Paff, Teamsters for a Democratic Union*

## **10. New Laws, New Weapons: Labor Law Changes Under Trump and How to Win Without the NLRA, College & Career Center**

How can we arm workers/organizers with new strategies and tactics to build power and win recognition, rights, and protections without relying on the slow, uncertain, or employer biased processes of the NLRB/NLRA. This workshop will highlight real-world examples of voluntary recognition, private agreements, direct action wins, and community leverage to show how we can organize and win on our own terms, especially right now to meet the moment with this anti-worker administration or in situations where traditional legal pathways fall short.

*Tahlia Kirk, AWU-CWA Local 9009*

*Carmen Estefani, PNWSU*

*Jeff Armstrong, PNSWU & SEIU 2015*

*Robbie Donohoe, IBEW 6*

*Spencer Jordan, IWW 670, Urban Ore*

*Hylah Reyes and Scott Schulman, UFCW 5, Highwire Coffee*

*Hugh Schlesinger, Union Lawyers Union*

## **11. Worker Power for Palestine, Student Cafeteria**

The old labor slogan says "an injury to one is an injury to all," and trade unionists across the world have taken up that principle in solidarity with Palestine. Hear from local workers in universities, ports, city government, and healthcare about how they have used their specific power as workers to fight for an end to the genocide and a free Palestine.

*Jocelyn Goldsmith De Sena, SEIU 1021*

*Rebecca Gross, UAW 4811*

*Kaleb Berry, ILWU 10*

*Will Gross, CFA*

*Mohamed Sheikh, Arab Resource & Organizing Center*

*Moderator: Rosa Villarroel, CNA*

## **12. Fighting Cuts & Layoffs: Federal & Public Sector Workers Under Attack, Student Center**

Trump and Musk have opened a brazen attack on federal workers and their unions. The funding, services and protections they provide are critical to the whole working class. Come hear and discuss how public sector workers are fighting in solidarity with the community to defend the civil service, and defend public services from billionaire-led cuts.

*Mark Smith, NFFE 1 & FUN*

*Nathaniel Arnold, ATU 192, AC Transit*

*Atreya Dey, UAW 4811, UCSF*

*Tawanda Gilbert, SEIU 1021, AHS*