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IN THESE TIMES *is committed to extending political and economic democracy in the United States and around the world, to reporting the news in accordance with the highest journalistic standards, to informing and analyzing popular movements for social, racial, environmental and economic justice, and to providing a forum for debate about the public policies that shape our future.*

Dear Reader,



In its 42nd year of publication, the magazine you help publish through your donations has continued to fulfill its mission to provide “a forum for debate about the public policies that shape our future.” We do this by introducing progressive policies and ideas into our country’s political conversation. As we see it, *In These Times* functions as an early and crucial part of a conveyor belt of ideas, helping the progressive movement put bold reforms on the nation’s agenda.

For almost as long as *In These Times* has been around, we have been a champion of a once fringe idea that used to be called “socialized medicine.” We regularly provided a forum for those working to build a more just and equitable health care system.

In May 1978, we reported on Stickney Township, a Chicago suburb, that provided “cradle to grave” primary care at three public health clinics.

We covered the proposals of Physicians for a National Health Program, the Chicago-based group established in 1987 to support a single payer national health program. (Quentin Young, the group’s founding director and a long-time supporter of the magazine, was the primary care physician of both our founding editor & publisher James Weinstein and Barack Obama.)

Now, more than 30 years later, those seeds have taken root, and Medicare for All is at the front and center of the debate among the leading contenders in the Democratic presidential primary.

In These Times has been a regular and constant critic of U.S. military interventionism, producing journalism that challenged the imperial adventures

of one administration after another, beginning with the invasion of Granada in 1983 and on to the CIA's covert wars in Central America, both Iraq wars, and the never-ending war in Afghanistan, beginning with support of the Mujahideen. Most recently we have helped draw attention to the devastating Saudi-led, U.S. supported war on Yemen, which *In These Times* has been reporting on since it began in March 2015.

In These Times has also been at the forefront of supporting democratic reforms of our political system.

In the 1980s, we gave early and regular coverage of groups like Public Campaign (now Every Voice) who are working to take corporate money out of elections by advocating for public financing of political campaigns.

Since 1988, *In These Times* has tirelessly helped publicize the work of FairVote (formerly known as the Center for Voting and Democracy) in its efforts to bring proportional representation voting systems to the fore. What started out as a fringe idea is now being used or has been enacted and waiting first use in 12 states.

From our founding in 1976, *In These Times* has also been the foremost champion of an inside/outside strategy for electoral politics that harnesses the power of social movements to elect and hold to account progressive elected officials. That strategy is now being embraced by the democratic Left, and is most evident in our home town of Chicago, where this year six members of the Democratic Socialists of America have been elected to the city council.

In the following pages, we provide some 2018 editorial highlights, we report on our circulation growth, we honor the 7,617 readers who contributed last year (including the 251 members of the Publishing Consortium), and we show how your donations were put to work.

We also pay tribute to the foundations that support us, and at the top of that list is the Puffin Foundation, whose institutional support has been critical in helping us grow our circulation and our reach.

We couldn't do this without you, and that's the truth. Thank you for making *In These Times* possible.

Onward,



Joel Bleifuss
Editor & Publisher

2018 EDITORIAL HIGHLIGHTS



(1)



(2)



(2)

INVESTIGATIVE REPORTING AT *IN THESE TIMES*

WITH SUPPORT FROM THE LEONARD C. Goodman Institute for Investigative Reporting and the Puffin Foundation, in 2018 *In These Times* continued to publish original investigations that exposed injustice, influenced public discourse and shaped legislative agendas. This year also marked the launch of our Investigative Fellows program, which provides three investigative reporters (Eli Day, David Dayen and Valerie Vande Panne) with the resources to devote a full year to deep-dive investigations into crucial topics. Some of the 2018 investigative highlights included:

➔ **THE RIGHT-WING BILLIONAIRES BEHIND THE ASSAULT ON PUBLIC UNIONS:** The biggest blow to public unions in 2018 was unquestionably the Supreme Court ruling in *Janus v. AFSCME*. While corporate media focused almost universally on the personal story of the worker who brought suit against his union, months before the ruling *In These Times* published an extensive investiga-

tion by Mary Bottari that exposed the network of right-wing billionaires, conservative think tanks and giant corporations that for years had conceived and shepherded this attack on public sector unions. Bottari's investigation was awarded the March Sidney prize from the Sidney Hillman Foundation. In addition, reporter Lisa Graves conducted an in-depth look at the Koch family's involvement in *Janus*, part of the billionaire family's 60-year campaign against unions. (1)

➔ **IMMIGRANT DETAINEES FORCED TO WORK FOR GIANT CORPORATIONS FOR \$1 A DAY:** As the Trump administration ramped up detention of immigrants to record highs, Victoria Law shined a light on private prisons where detainees were forced to work under appalling conditions for wages as low as \$1/day. Law's reporting also revealed that two companies, CoreCivic and GEO Group, which together donated half a million dollars to Donald Trump's inaugura-

tion, reaped nearly \$1 billion from U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) contracts in 2017 alone, while ICE arrests under the Trump administration have soared by 43%. The *New York Times* invited Law to write an op-ed about the story.

➔ **PUBLIC PENSION FUNDS' ROLE IN THE PUERTO RICO DEBT CRISIS:** Following-up on our 2017 coverage of Puerto Rico's dire debt crisis, which was exacerbated by Hurricane Maria and the

Trump administration's subsequent lack of response, *In These Times* revealed a hidden conflict: State and local pension funds across the United States were complicit in a bid to drain money from Puerto Rico's pension funds. In 2018, investigative reporter Ethan Corey brought to light the conflict, providing an essential resource for the organizations, unions and activists working to pressure public pension funds to divest from the hedge funds at the heart of the crisis. (2)

LABOR JOURNALISM

FOR NEARLY A DECADE, THANKS TO A grant from the Public Welfare Foundation, *Working In These Times* has been recognized as an essential part of the progressive journalism ecosystem, and a singularly unique source for labor reporting. In 2018, nowhere was that more apparent than in our sustained coverage of the landmark *Janus v. AFSCME* Supreme Court case. *In These Times* coverage provided crucial context by situating the case within the ongoing assault on public sector unions, while also helping chart a path forward for the labor movement.

➔ **REBUILDING LABOR AFTER JANUS:** Shortly after the *Janus* ruling, *In These Times* published a series of proposals from labor experts on how to tilt the balance of power back to workers. Bill

Fletcher Jr. described how "Just Cause" laws could be used to protect all workers. Shaun Richman explained how a federal "dues check-off" law could help workers voluntarily donate to unions. And James Gray Pope, Ed Bruno, Peter Kellman made the radical case for doing away with exclusive representation. (4)

➔ **PLACING LABOR AT THE CENTER OF THE 2020 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE:** Miles Kampf-Lassin's interview with Bernie Sanders in the August 2018 issue of *In These Times* was the first time a prospective 2020 presidential candidate was interviewed exclusively and at length on labor issues. (5)

➔ **REPORTING FROM THE FRONT LINES OF THE TEACHERS STRIKES:** Last year saw an explosion of rank-and-file-led teachers' strikes in Re-



publican-dominated states across the country. *In These Times* provided vital coverage of these strikes, with on-the-ground reports and analysis on the uprisings in West Virginia, Oklahoma, Colorado, Kentucky, California and Arizo-

na. In all, we published more than 20 stories on this surge of teachers' strikes, featuring the voices of educators, labor activists and movement experts, which provide an unparalleled look into this historic wave of worker militancy. (6)

ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

IN THESE TIMES CONTINUED TO PRODUCE some of the best original reporting on the ongoing political revolution within the Democratic Party, during both the run-up to the 2018 midterms and in its aftermath, as the battle for the White House in 2020 began to take shape.

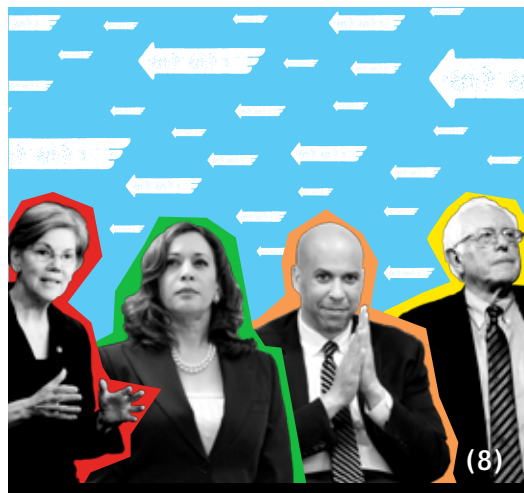
- ➔ **THE RISE OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA:** Kate Aronoff took an in-depth, inside look at the explosive growth of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) as well as the country's rapidly changing views on capitalism and socialism, both of which are being driven by an influx of young activists and young lawmakers. *In These Times* was also one of the first publications to profile a little-known insurgent candidate from the Bronx, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who has become one of the leading voices for progressive politics in the country. (7)
- ➔ **CHALLENGING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FROM WITHIN:** In the January 2018 issue, Theo Anderson provided one of the first looks at the wave

of left challengers in the 2018 Democratic primaries, propelled by groups like Justice Democrats, Our Revolution and Brand New Congress. Anderson highlighted this long-overdue challenge to corporate control of the Democratic Party that set the stage for progressive victories in November. (9)

- ➔ **DEFINING THE 2020 PRIMARY:** On the heels of the November elections, *In These Times* was one of the first publications to highlight the emerging field of 2020 candidates vying for progressive support, making clear that the early battle for the Democratic nomination would be fought on the Left. Our coverage has continued to focus not on the day-to-day minutiae of the horse race between candidates, but instead has brought to the forefront the big issues at stake: Medicare for All, free public college, expansion of worker rights, comprehensive immigration reform and aggressive action on climate change. (8)



(7)



(8)



(9)



INFLUENCING THE DEBATE

CORPORATE-OWNED, FOR-PROFIT MEDIA outlets have a notoriously narrow range of topics that they're willing to consider, which creates an environment that stifles out-of-the-box thinking and reinforces the status quo. As a reader-supported, nonprofit publication, *In These Times* provides a platform for progressive proposals and progressive thinkers that wouldn't exist otherwise. Today that's more important than ever, as people increasingly look for new ideas and new ways to grapple with pressing problems that the defenders of that status quo have failed to address for decades.

➔ **SHAPING PROGRESSIVE FOREIGN POLICY:** In August, *In These Times* published "A Bold Foreign Policy Platform for the New Wave of Left Lawmakers" by Phyllis Bennis, a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies. Bennis argued that progressives running for office on strong domestic platforms should include progressive foreign policy proposals just as strong. She outlined in detail what that might look like across multiple fronts, from the Middle East to Russia and beyond. She called for a progressive foreign policy that rejects U.S.

military and economic domination, and instead is grounded in global cooperation, human rights, respect for international law and privileging diplomacy over war. (10)

➔ **FIGHTING FOR FELON VOTING RIGHTS:** The past few years have seen big setbacks for voting rights, but also key victories. In September, *In These Times* investigative fellow Eli Day profiled the efforts of activists to restore voting rights to the estimated 6.1 million Americans who are currently barred from voting due to a felony conviction. Two months later, Florida voters approved an amendment to the state constitution that would restore voting rights to 1.4 million former felons. (11)

➔ **REFORMING DEMOCRACY:** Our April cover story, "Breaking the Two-Party System" highlighted a number of state-level experiments in electoral reform, in order to create a more inclusive, more representative and more responsive democracy. Featured ideas included proportional representation and multi-member districts, as well as an in-depth look at ranked choice voting, which was implemented in a Congressional race for the first time in Maine's November election. (12)

MAKING AN IMPACT

THE MISSION OF *IN THESE TIMES* IS TO DO more than inform—the goal of our journalism is effect real-world changes that help move us

closer, step by step, to the world we want to see. Over the past year, *In These Times* reporting has been a key part in numerous victories, there-



(13)



(14)



(15)

by helping rein in systemic abuse on the part of corporations, the Trump administration and the Democratic Party:

- ➔ **THWARTING TRUMP'S COAL BAILOUT:** On Dec. 6, 2017, *InTheseTimes.com* published leaked photographs that showed Bob Murray, a coal industry executive whose company stood to benefit greatly from a Department of Energy (DOE) draft rule on grid reliability, privately lobbying Energy Secretary Rick Perry for such a rule. Within 24 hours of publication, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission decided to postpone its decision pending further review, and on January 8, 2018, the plan was voted down, 5-0. This was a huge victory for clean energy, and for anyone who cares about climate change. It was also a reminder of the power and importance of investigative reporting. Both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* cited *In These Times'* work. (13)
- ➔ **TURNING UP THE HEAT ON ICE:** Due to U.S. immigration enforcement's extensive use of outsourcing, activists are increasingly targeting the corporations that make immigrant detention possible. David Dayen's October 2018 cover story looked "Below the Surface of ICE" to expose the companies that are profiting from immigrant detention, naming more than two dozen private companies that are complicit in the Trump administration's crackdown on immigrants. In March of 2019, J.P. Morgan Chase, which has provided at least \$254 million in debt financing to two private prison giants mentioned in Dayen's investigation, CoreCivic and GEO Group,

cut off that money spigot, stating "we will no longer bank the private prison industry." (14)

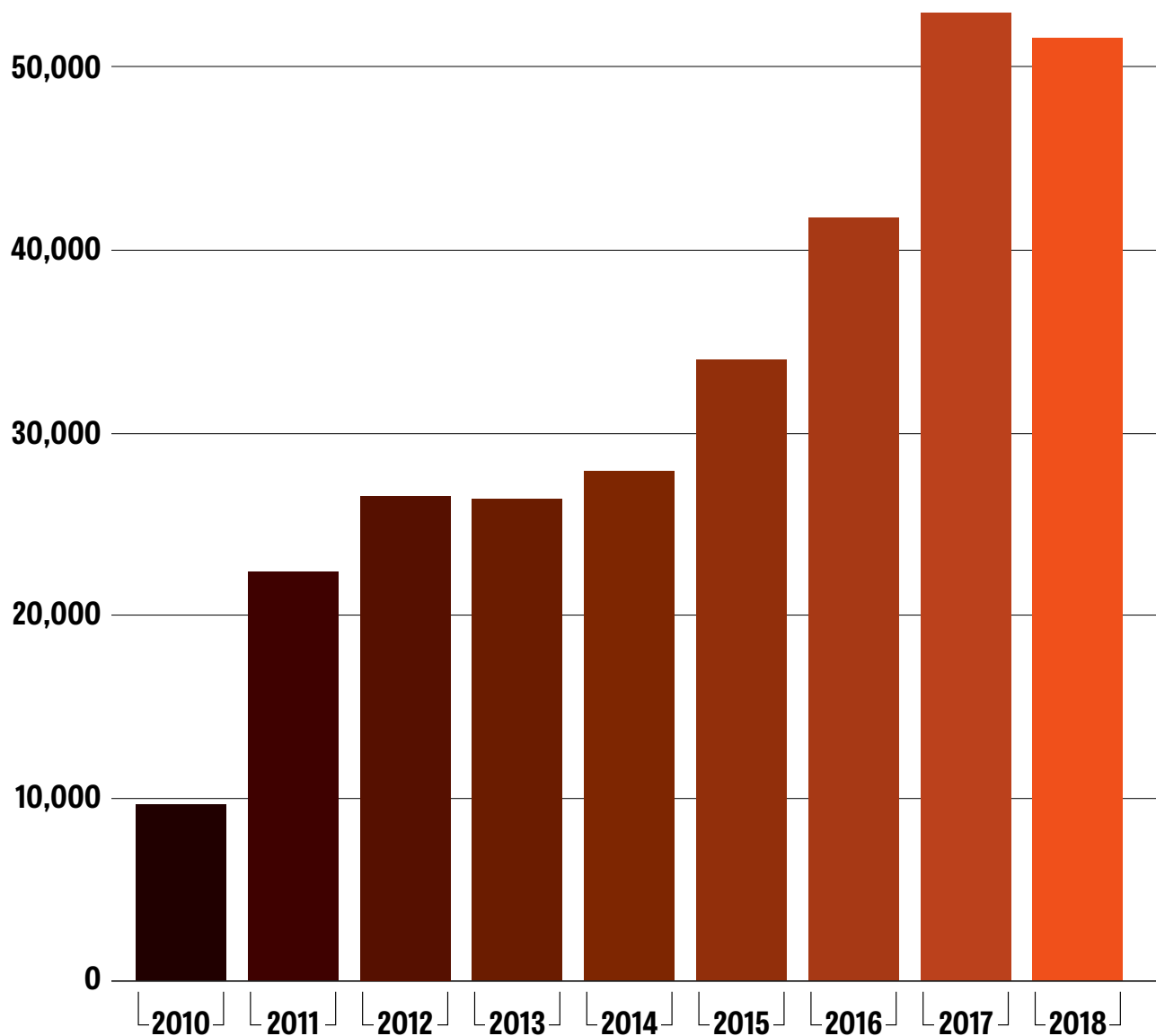
- ➔ **SHINING A LIGHT ON ONE OF AMERICA'S HIDDEN WARS:** Throughout 2018, *InTheseTimes.com* published more than a dozen original pieces on the U.S. involvement in Saudi Arabia's devastating war on Yemen, including reporting by Yemeni journalists on the ground. This relentless reporting helped bring attention to a previously overlooked war that has created the largest humanitarian crisis in the world. In November, *The New York Times Magazine* featured the war in Yemen on its cover for the first time, as part of a dramatic shift in the media's coverage. In April of 2019, Congress invoked the War Powers Resolution for the first time in history to end U.S. support for the war. Trump vetoed the bill, but the effort to end U.S. involvement has not let up. (15)
- ➔ **REFORMING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY:** In June 2016, *In These Times* published a special investigation by Branko Marcetic into the secret history of "superdelegates"—712 party officials who had the power to do decide the party nomination for president, regardless of who voters chose. Marcetic's research revealed not just that this system was deeply undemocratic, but that it was intentionally so, in order to prevent insurgent candidates (like Bernie Sanders) from becoming the nominee. This investigation helped fuel criticism of the superdelegate system, and in August 2018 the Democratic Party agreed to dramatically reduce the power and influence of "superdelegates" in selecting the party's presidential nominee in 2020 and beyond.

THE GROWING REACH OF *IN THESE TIMES*



SINCE 2010, OUR CIRCULATION growth program has been supported by a generous grant from the Puffin Foundation. *In These Times* is now the third largest print magazine in the independent media universe—on the heels of *The Nation* and *Mother Jones*, and surpassing *The American Prospect*, *The Pro-*

gressive and *The New Republic*. Similarly, each month hundreds of thousands of people turn to *InTheseTimes.com* for news and analysis they can't find anywhere else. Your donations allow us keep our subscription prices low and our online content free and accessible to all, ensuring that *In These Times* has the greatest reach and impact possible.



***IN THESE TIMES*' CIRCULATION GROWTH FROM 2010 TO 2018**

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

INCOME	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Individual	\$456,432	\$483,012	\$222,920	\$388,461	\$393,407
Publishing Consortium			\$327,348	\$352,244	\$399,915
Foundation and Grant Support	\$532,047	\$276,750	\$361,500	\$367,816	\$310,600
TOTAL GENERAL OPERATIONS SUPPORT	\$988,479	\$759,762	\$911,768	\$1,108,521	\$1,103,922
Investigative Institute	\$60,000	\$150,000	\$150,000	\$286,000	\$462,000
Working In These Times	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$80,000
Rural America In These Times	\$5,550	\$25,000	\$22,000	\$57,000	\$11,200
Circulation Growth Programs	\$0	\$0	\$138,180	\$120,000	\$103,867
TOTAL PROGRAM SUPPORT	\$145,550	\$255,000	\$390,180	\$543,000	\$657,067
Subscription Revenue	\$303,885	\$351,192	\$451,140	\$502,760	\$326,493
Advertising Revenue	\$47,089	\$38,718	\$43,169	\$23,305	\$19,143
Bequests	\$0	\$7,401	\$1,563	\$61,000	\$8,300
Other Income	25,283	\$25,283	\$26,751	\$2,643	\$10,439
TOTAL	\$1,510,286	\$1,437,356	\$1,824,571	\$2,241,229	\$2,125,364
EXPENSES	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Salaries, Taxes, Benefits, Contractors	\$767,412	\$588,289	\$736,365	\$874,271	\$903,798
Administration	\$102,315	\$70,861	\$58,498	\$186,532	\$73,803
Fundraising Expenses	\$50,424	\$81,004	\$90,601	\$118,156	\$149,136
Production, Distribution and Circulation	\$444,002	\$505,956	\$592,745	\$771,267	\$639,802
Editorial Expenses	\$138,807	\$213,284	\$246,940	\$239,866	\$295,772
TOTAL	\$1,502,960	\$1,459,394	\$1,725,149	\$2,190,092	\$2,062,311
NET INCOME*:	\$7,326	(\$22,038)	\$99,422	\$51,137	\$63,053

*For the purposes of this statement, grant funds are counted as income in the year in which they were received, which may not always correspond in full to the year in which they are designated to be spent.

IN THESE TIMES GREW ITS DONOR BASE AND INCREASED CONTRIBUTOR ENGAGEMENT



1 OUT OF EVERY **2**

Donors in 2018 were new.



x2

The number of active Susters doubled from 2017 to 2018

PUBLISHING CONSORTIUM

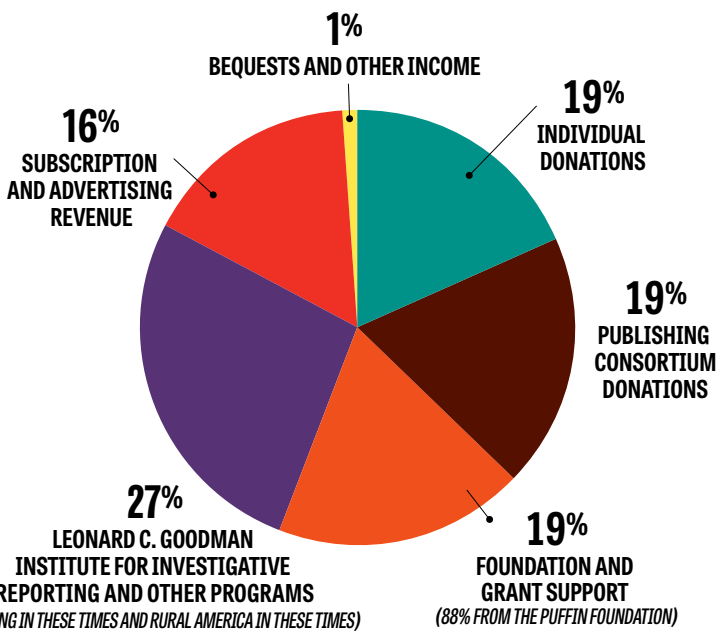
The Publishing Consortium honors supporters who give \$500 or more each year to In These Times (see page 13).

\$399,915

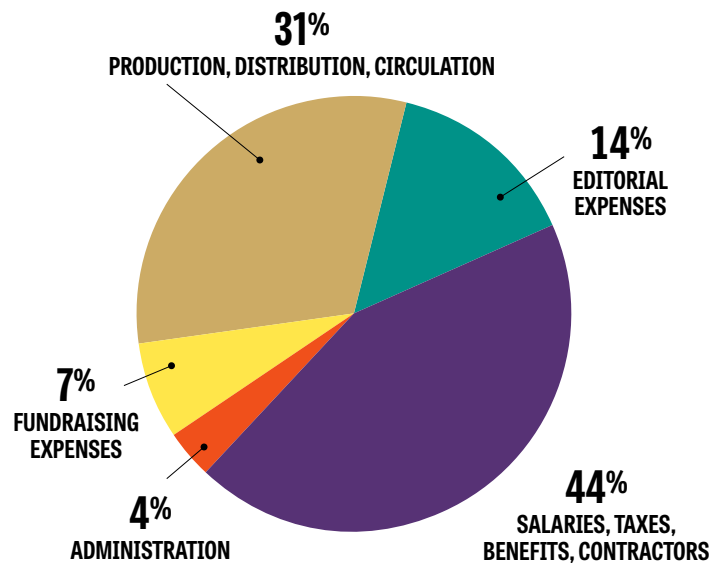
Total donations from the 251 members of the Publishing Consortium in 2018

36%

of General Operations Support is from the Publishing Consortium



2018 INCOME



2018 EXPENSES

OUR PLANS FOR 2019

NOW MORE THAN EVER, WE NEED PUBLICATIONS that can help orient the progressive movement as it grapples with structural inequality, endemic racism, global warming and an economic system that attempts to squeeze the last dollar out of a downwardly mobile populace in thrall to the whims of a market economy. This development has particularly affected our youth, who face a precarious future in a world of diminishing opportunity.

AMERICA NEEDS A NEW NEW DEAL, AND HERE at *In These Times* we are committed to being part of the movement that makes that possible.

IN 2019, WE ARE FOCUSING ON HOW *In These Times* can grow its audience and amplify our collective voice in America's national discourse.

OUR BOARD OF DIRECTORS, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP of Margie Rung, the director of the Center for New Deal Studies at Roosevelt University, has established a committee to create a strategic business plan that will guide our growth as *In These Times* confronts the challenges of the 21st century.



IF YOU HAVE EXPERIENCE IN business operations, non-profit management, real estate (our largest capital asset is our building, which was purchased with a grant from our key institutional supporter, the Puffin Foundation), public relations, finance, fundraising, strategic planning, publishing and marketing, and if you think you have expertise to contribute, we want to hear from you. **Email jbleifuss@inthesetimes.com.**

2018 PUBLISHING CONSORTIUM

In 2018, the *In These Times* Publishing Consortium stepped up like never before to help keep the magazine on track, and we are grateful for their support.

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- Revolution Brewing
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- Second City
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