Dear friends,

Another year has passed, and I’m proud to share that we’ve welcomed incredible teammates and forged dynamic partnerships ranging from The Carey Institute for Global Good to the University of Chicago. Our team earned its third Edward R. Murrow Award, was recognized by the Department of Veterans Affairs, and has exciting plans for 2023.

The War Horse is thriving in an industry characterized by decline—and the state of our media ecosystem is more concerning than ever.

Since 2005, more than 2,500 newspapers have closed, leaving local communities without sources of trustworthy news, and on average, at least two more newspapers close in America each week. During 2022 alone, newsrooms across the country were decimated by sweeping cuts to staff, making an already-struggling news ecosystem unable to serve the public during a critical time in American democracy.

And then there’s the crisis in legacy news. The New York Times—one of the most profitable newspapers in the world—not only cut its At War blog but is battling a series of worker strikes following years of stagnant wages. At The Washington Post, corporate leaders closed its magazine and announced deep cuts to its reporting staff.

Worse, all of this is happening while the military reporting space continues to be hollowed out. The staff at nearly all for-profit military newsrooms are shells of what they once were, and America is disconnected from its veterans and military families, posing a grave threat to national security. That means our work at The War Horse—and your continued support of our mission—is more vital than ever.

Thank you for your ongoing support of our team and for another wonderful year. It was all made possible because of readers like you and helps to fill a true void in our media ecosystem.

Semper Fidelis,

Thomas Brennan
Founder and Executive Director
War Horse Sues Marine Corps for ‘Black Book’ Tracking Officer Misconduct

THOMAS BRENnan | APRIL 7, 2022

In November, The War Horse News sued the Navy and Marine Corps, alleging that they broke the law by denying requests for a database of public information about officer misconduct.

The existence of the records, dubbed the Black Book, was first reported by The War Horse in April during a four-part series about officer misconduct in the Corps. The exposé relied on interviews with more than two dozen active and retired attorneys, judge advocates, former public affairs officers, junior and senior enlisted personnel, and legal experts from three separate branches and the private sector.

The reporting revealed that, inside the notebook, all investigations of and crimes committed by officers are kept meticulously tracked—and often omitted from the official record and congressional disclosures—throughout their careers. During the reporting, multiple Marine officers told The War Horse that the ongoing behavior highlights a mix of favoritism and “sugar daddy deals” that are overseen by military lawyers and the Corps’ most senior officers.

Following publication, the Marine Corps did not challenge the accuracy of any details included in the series.

"The Officer Disciplinary Notebook epitomizes the military's two-tiered justice system and contradicts many of the leadership traits that are taught to every Marine, like integrity, tact, and justice," said Thomas Brennan, a 10-year veteran of the Corps and the investigative reporter who reported the Black Book series.

"The lack of transparency about Marine officer misconduct is a slap in the face to the Congress that appointed them and the very citizens these officers swore an oath to defend."
Veterans and Reservists Make up More Than 28% of Candidates Who Question 2020 Election Results

SONNER KEHRT | OCTOBER 16, 2022

In the run-up to the 2022 election, The War Horse spent weeks analyzing every congressional candidate, as well as every candidate for governor, secretary of state, and state attorney general, who publicly denied or raised questions about the outcome of the 2020 election. Ultimately, The War Horse found that nearly 30% of these candidates had served or were serving in the military, and were using false claims about the 2020 election to bolster their own political careers while undermining faith in the democratic system they swore to defend.

These 96 veterans and current reservists included high-ranking flag officers and decorated special operators, including Navy SEALs, Army Green Berets, and a Marine Raider, as well as Purple Heart and Bronze Star recipients. The War Horse identified several candidates whose doubts about the 2020 election results had not been previously reported on. An interactive database published with the story allows readers to see each candidate, along with his or her military service and comments about the election.

Often, these veterans held up their military service as proof of their dedication to democracy, even as they questioned the legitimacy of the electoral process.

"I spent 30 years in the Army defending American freedoms, including the right to elect our representatives," said Doug Mastriano, who ultimately lost his candidacy for governor of Pennsylvania. "[E]lections in Afghanistan, in my experience, are more secure than elections in Pennsylvania."

Many of these candidates did win their races. Sixty-two of the veteran candidates we identified were elected and now serve in office.

MORE HIGHLIGHTS FROM 2022

During 2022, The War Horse grew our team, was recognized for excellence, and resumed our writing seminar series for the first time since the Covid-19 pandemic. Here are some incredible moments from our year:

- The War Horse welcomed our first full-time reporter, Sonner Kehrt, who has covered stories about toxic exposure, extremists campaigning for political office, abortion access for active-duty service members, and much more. We also welcomed Randee Howard as an operations manager, Kristin Davis as a reflections editor, Babee Garcia as the engagement manager, and Jasper Lo as a second fact checker.

- Our reporting project for the 20th anniversary of 9/11 earned our team our third Edward R. Murrow Award.

- Managing editor Kelly Kennedy was recognized by VA Secretary Denis McDonough for her dogged reporting on burn pits that led to one of the most significant reforms in the history of veterans’ health care.

- Our director of operations, Samantha Daniels, completed our first third-party financial audit as an independent nonprofit and earned the newsroom upgrades to our ratings at Charity Navigator and Guidestar.

- Founder Thomas Brennan was profiled by AARP and interviewed Congresswoman Sara Jacobs at Columbia University about military and veterans issues.
They Are the Good Guys With Guns. After Another Mass Shooting, Veterans Want Change.

When Kyle Bibby reported in to the Naval Academy, he had never fired a gun. But he learned to shoot a pistol. Then a rifle. He learned safety measures and effective training. Eventually, he taught pistol to other midshipmen. When he graduated and was commissioned as an infantry officer in the Marine Corps, he says, “Pistols, rifles, machine guns, rockets—that was my life.”

Then he became a civilian.

“I am a gun owner, myself,” Bibby says. “And I just remember constantly feeling like, Oh, that’s it? I just show up, and you just hand it to me. There’s no safety manual. There’s no, ‘Hey, I recommend you do this. Hey, do you got a safe place to lock it?’”

“Nope. Just, ‘Here’s this thing that can kill you or anyone else.’”

After yet another school shooting—one that, even as people grieved, caused the usual forays against politicizing tragedy or offering “thoughts and prayers” rather than solutions—veterans continue to speak up, on social media, in organizations they have formed, and in the media:

Some veterans are tired of being seen as homogenous, decked in T-shirts that feature big guns, voting based purely on the idea that you will take their weaponry only from cold, inflexible fingers.

Veterans have issues of their own with guns, violence, and suicide. They also know veterans are “just people”—often “just people” who haven’t trained on a weapon in decades—rather than heroes simply waiting for the Bat-Signal so they can instantly appear in schoolyards across the United States.

They want to help swing the argument back to a conversation about practical solutions, to a place where people can listen to each other and pay attention to the wants and needs of the majority rather than those who use service members and veterans to push a single-note story. They want to help a grieving nation understand that they, too, are diverse in their ideas, backgrounds, and opinions, but they take pride in their ability to work together.

They’re ready to be the good guys with guns, but maybe those guns are kept in a locked box in the garage. Or maybe the good guys with guns are required to train at the range every year to keep their weapons. Or maybe they have to go through a background check to buy them.

“The veteran space is a really interesting space to talk about gun control, because amongst veterans, just like most issues, there’s a lot of different opinions,” Bibby says. But, “we know what it’s like to hand an 18-year-old who has very little life experiences a very deadly weapon.”

There have been 27 school shootings so far this year, a number that seems to need daily updating. And there have been 119 since 2018, according to Education Weekly. Gun violence has risen in general: For the first time, children died more often from guns than in car accidents in 2020, The Washington Post reports. Kids have higher access to guns, too, and that increase has led to higher rates of suicide, according to the Society for Research in Child Development.

In May, a gunman shot into a crowd at a music festival in Oklahoma, killing one and injuring seven. Six people were shot in downtown Chattanooga, with the mayor calling them “kids”: teenagers with access to guns. In Buffalo, a man killed 10 people at a grocery store because they were Black.
The veterans say the conversations can’t keep ending in a stalemate, and the solutions—or the beginnings of them—might be right there for everybody to see.

“As an individual soldier, I’ve gone through robust training, and as a company commander, when I oversaw soldiers, we have a training program for them to ensure range safety and firearm safety, as well,” says Anthony Joyce-Rivera, who serves as a major in the U.S. Army but spoke on his own behalf and not for the U.S. government. “And on military installations, there is no—I do not carry a firearm, I’m not allowed to carry a firearm. If I owned a weapon—full disclosure, I do not own a personal firearm—but if I did, the post requires you to have it registered with the provost marshal, and it has to be under two-lock security at all times in the home.”

He has never heard anyone complain about the policy, he says. But as a father of three young boys, and as the spouse of a woman who earned a degree because she plans to be a school teacher, he’s troubled by the lack of action around the issue.

He thought a lot about the shooting in Texas.

“All the things that were in place,” he says. “The police were, theoretically, at the scene at the time of the shooter showing up, so this ‘good guys with guns’—they were there. Did they do anything in time? The gap to respond was frustrating; seeing the parents in the videos pleading for people to go in and do something, to respond was frustrating; seeing the parents in the front of every school building. ...”

**WE HAVE VERY STRICT REGULATIONS**

“Gun control” isn’t a foreign concept for service members.

“In the military, we have very strict regulations over safe weapons handling and storage of weapons,” says former Marine Joe Plenzler, an avid shooter since childhood who competes and likes to shoot at ranges. “For instance, on base, all weapons are stored in the armory. They are prohibited from being stored in on-base residential areas.”

Plenzler also serves on the Veterans Advisory Council for Everytown for Gun Safety, a group that advocates for gun safety reforms.

The military requires extensive weapons training before anyone’s even allowed on the range: They talk about how to handle weapons. They use weapons simulators. They talk about range procedures.

“When I go in the military, they don’t just hand me a gun, right?” says Fred Wellman, a retired Army officer and political strategist. “You don’t just sign in and go, ‘All right there, Wellman, here’s your M4. And here’s the ammo. Here’s six magazines of ammo. Look, just keep it under your bed.’ No.”

Sherman Gillums Jr., a Marine Corps veteran and long-time veterans advocate, pushes further, saying it’s a misperception that military training is all about guns: It’s about safety and training.

“We don’t hand them a weapon, the day they—a weapon with bullets, I should say—the day they arrive at boot camp,” he told The War Horse. “It takes some time. They’re there for about a month before they ever see ammunition.”

Before service members get to that point, they face a background check—mental, physical, and criminal—before they join the military, Wellman says. And the rules that follow the checks and the training are strict.

“The weapon is kept in a locked and secured facility where you don’t have access to it,” he says. “Ammo is kept separately from that facility. For me to get my weapon, I have to sign it out. There’s rules that apply. I’m trained on the weapon in every way. If I break those rules, there’s punishment. ... We don’t just have guys walk around posts with guns—because it’s stupid.”

Even with those rules in place, the military mandated further precautionary steps to keep service members safe after officials in Iraq reported 126 negligent discharges among American troops in Afghanistan over an eight-month period and at least 90 troops died in Iraq. After years of rising suicide rates as national access to guns increased, Veterans Affairs began a campaign to encourage veterans to lock up their weapons. (Veterans suicide rates decreased in 2019.) And the services insist on continual training because leaders know inexperienced shooters get hurt or hurt others.

But that care is not what civilians see in the fight for gun-access rights. People in military-type gear armed to the hilt with magazines at the ready appear at state capitols, coffee shops, and grocery stores in their push for more access. In fact, it’s hard to know how many of those protestors are truly veterans. Veterans are, after all, known for losing their minds if a service member points a weapon at a pal in a movie, so the idea of a magazine in a rifle at a coffee shop seems out of character.

On most military bases, service members aren’t allowed to carry weapons.

“We require extensive training for service members to handle weapons,” Plenzler says. “We only issue live ammunition under strict supervision and on designated training ranges. This is with the exception of people standing security duty or in combat. I would say the military takes weapons safety and storage very seriously, while the civilian community in America does not.”

**A PARTICULAR TYPE OF PATRIOTISM**

Gun culture in the United States has long been intertwined with the military. Union veterans, concerned about a lack of marksmanship among their troops during the Civil War, founded the National Rifle Association, which met in Houston this Memorial Day weekend. For decades after its formation, the NRA’s rhetoric focused on military readiness—making sure civilians who might be called on to fight for their country knew how to shoot, says Matthew Lacombe, an assistant professor of political science at Barnard College and the author of Firepower: How the NRA Turned Gun Owners into a Political Force. But starting in the 1960s, the focus has shifted away from explicit military preparedness and more toward an ideology of “a particular type of patriotism.”

“It think what has remained is this notion that gun owners are sort of similar to soldiers,” Lacombe says. “They’re the patriotic defenders of our way of life.”

But many veterans say valorizing the military through gun ownership mischaracterizes the military experience.

“I’m a combat veteran four times over, and most of the time I was in Iraq, I spent sitting in rooms, drinking tea, eating sheep, and trying to keep people from killing each other,” Wellman says. “You’re really seeing the use of our veteran experience and the military experience as part of this conversation in ways that are troubling. But what’s troubling is that the majority of veterans who commit suicide do so by weapon.”

To continue the politicization of the military community, in the immediate aftermath of the Texas school shooting, the memes appeared: Just place an armed veteran in front of every school building.

“It’s frustrating because it’s not realistic,” Joyce-Rivera says.

The average veteran served from the ages of 18 to 21, got an honorable discharge, and then went on with their life, he says. Now, at age 48 or so, they haven’t had weapons training in decades. Depending on what their jobs were in the military, they may not have had much to begin with.

“There’s this idea that veterans are somehow mythical humans that make less faulty decisions than other people,” he says.

He reiterated Wellman’s concerns about suicide: “The VA is looking at how to address gun violence for suicides for veterans,” he says. “So is the solution the demographic that already is struggling with suicide through firearms ... having [them] equipped with firearms at schools?”

As a national conversation about veterans and mental health grows, Republican lawmakers have repeatedly introduced legislation attempting to protect gun access for veterans, often framing the issue in patriotic terms.

“There are struggles that the veteran community is dealing with of their own through gun violence,” Joyce-Rivera says. “And the mental health crisis? How do we look at that and thoughtfully address it without...
For Gillums Jr., the veterans advocate, the question of veterans and gun access is a complicated one. Any discussion of restricting guns should be part of a broader conversation about mental health care, he says.

But, he says, what he finds intolerable is lawmakers who haven’t served posing with guns as a way of declaring their support for the military.

“You see the fingers on a trigger, all the things that show you clearly know nothing about the military culture,” he says, referring to constant training to touch the trigger only when it’s time to shoot. “The point of joining the military is not to have a weapon.”

Joyce-Rivera has a suggestion: The military employs weapons systems for a specific purpose, Joyce-Rivera says: To kill enemy combatants. But in the United States, people argue for the right to defend their homes. For that purpose, there should be a different weapons system, he says—one that doesn’t necessarily need to be accurate at 300 meters.

“If the argument is to defend your home, I think we can design weapons systems that fulfill that need, but also help deflect against the use of those weapons systems to commit mass shootings and killings,” he says. “As a military guy, that’s kind of where my head’s at is we got to talk about these things as weapons systems.”

He starts by asking people what would make them feel safer. He often hears support for universal background checks for all gun sales. Many polls, including a survey by Morning Consult and Politico conducted one day after the Texas elementary school shooting, back up his assertion. The poll found 73% of respondents “strongly support” universal background checks and another 15% “somewhat support” the idea.

The House passed the Bipartisan Background Checks Act of 2021 for all gun sales more than a year ago, but the measure has languished in the Senate.

“I think people are getting tired of having a Congress that is flying in the face of public sentiment,” Plenzler says.

The Morning Consult poll also found that 4% “somewhat” oppose universal background checks and another 4% “strongly” oppose them.

“It’s not like we need to be all for no restrictions on guns whatsoever or we’re for complete abolition,” Plenzler says. “I mean neither of those extremes are tenable positions. What I’m really interested in is finding the work in the middle.”

A bipartisan group of Senators is working on a bill that would address background checks for online or gun-show purchases, laws that would keep guns away from people a doctor has said could hurt themselves or others, and programs to increase security at schools. Hunter would like to sit down with those who oppose any limits on gun ownership, she says—especially those who are against any regulations on assault rifles—to ask them if it is “worth it”:

“Is their AR-15 worth the fact that the generation of school kids that are there right now have worse educational outcomes than their parents because they’re afraid of being at school?”

The silence on bipartisan solutions has been the most frustrating point, Joyce-Rivera says.

“We need to address the problem,” he says. “And the problem is children are being killed with firearms.”
Our Writing Seminar for Military Spouses

During October, The War Horse resumed its writing seminar series by welcoming 12 military spouses to The Carey Institute for Global Good in Upstate New York for our fifth expenses-paid writing workshop alongside award-winning journalists and authors.

The community-building and mentorship event brought together nine women and three men who represented all U.S. military branches. Following our week together, all 12 fellows felt confident they had gained mentors they could approach for help, had a stronger ability to tell their stories, and believed their stories were important and wanted to tell them.

“I am 64 years old, a retired general and vice president for General Dynamics and a presidentially appointed commissioner. This was one of the top few professional development experiences in my lifetime. Totally transformational.”

“I have had several discovery moments as a brand-new stay-at-home dad. There are things that I learned that I didn’t know existed, and my view about myself and my wife changed over that transition.”

“I firmly stand by ‘you can’t be what you can’t see.’ My entire life, I’ve had to be what I can’t see and I’m tired of it. But [mentor Nina Rodriguez-Marty] was more than just representation. She was genuinely interested in hearing from us, she gave helpful feedback, and she seemed to enjoy being there with all of us. Please bring more Ninas to these seminars. It changed my perspective and it matters so much.”

“Spending time with the cohort was the most impactful part of the seminar. As a writer it was helpful to hear so many different, yet effective voices. I have a better grasp on my own voice.”

“I now feel that I have a group of understanding, supportive people who can be a sounding board and a source of positive feedback and possibly constructive criticism. I also feel that I could reach out to the staff of The War Horse as friends.”
WHAT OUR SUPPORTERS SAY

During 2022, The War Horse saw our membership level giving grow to nearly $50,000. Here’s what some of those supporters had to say about our work:

“Never seen, but my dad and brother did. I like that you guys really care about covering real stories.”

— [Supporter Name]

“The War Horse features great stories, well-told and well-written. I also had no idea (in a good way) your staff was so small; it’s impressive what you’ve built so far.”

— [Supporter Name]

“Many first-person narratives helped me to understand my son’s challenging transition from combat in Iraq/Afghanistan and helped him understand he is not alone.”

— [Supporter Name]

“Kelly (Kennedy) told the human stories of soldiers, sailors, airmen, Marines, and families who were suffering, so we as a nation would not, and could not, forget.”

— VA Secretary Denis McDonough

“You and your team have created and developed a beautiful and important thing. Thank you for publishing my stuff; it gives me such pleasure to communicate in writing. And your stuff is so excellent! Wish you all continued success.”

— [Supporter Name]

“I really love your website. People are so used to conflict and violence that they become numb to the mainstream media. Your articles are a great smack upside the head that the military is not comprised of numbers but of people with families.”

— [Supporter Name]
A Message for 2023

We expect a big year for our team, with 2023 representing the next phase of The War Horse. We will continue to grow our team and impact, both through fearless reporting and engaging events that help to bridge the military and civilian divide.

To maximize these efforts, we will launch The War Horse Symposium, which will be a game-changer in perception from the public, the military, and funders on the future work of The War Horse and our place in American democracy.

We know there is far too little news coverage of the military and its impact on those who serve, which has myriad harmful implications on the relationship between civilians and members of the military community.

The War Horse will be part of the solution.

We hope you’ll join us on our journey.

Invest in our success for the years ahead. Support our storytelling today. thewarhorse.org/donate
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