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For a Hearing on

How Mass Deportations Will Separate American Families, Harm Our Armed Forces, and Devastate Our Economy

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The Texas Civil Rights Project (TCRP) submits this testimony to the Senate Judiciary Committee on the topic of "How Mass Deportations Will Separate American Families, Harm Our Armed Forces, and Devastate Our Economy." As a legal advocacy organization dedicated to advancing the rights and dignity of all people in Texas, including undocumented people, TCRP has witnessed firsthand how Texas has deployed the Texas National Guard to enforce State border and immigration policies.

Texas's actions have resulted in serious harm to local communities and other individuals who have interacted with the National Guard, as well as decreased military readiness and grave morale problems. It is our imperative to warn the Committee of the dangers of expanding and replicating these disastrous policies elsewhere.

We are concerned that using military personnel to implement the incoming administration's mass deportation program will lead to the devastation we have seen in Texas spreading across the nation. We write now to inform you of those problems and urge policymakers to pursue a different course.

The problems we have seen in Texas flow from a foundational flaw in the policy: military units are designed and trained to fight external, martial threats, not to perform domestic policing of civilians. Deploying armed soldiers on our streets to enforce civil immigration law will change the fundamental relationship between our armed forces



and our civil society. We are concerned that this is a change that will cause irreparable harm and take decades to walk back.

I. Background

For nearly four years, Texas has been a test lab for the kind of border and immigration policies that the incoming administration has promised to implement. In March 2021, Governor Greg Abbott announced an initiative called Operation Lone Star (OLS) to "combat the smuggling of people and drugs into Texas" by "integrat[ing] the [Department of Public Safety] with the Texas National Guard and deploy[ing] air, ground, marine, and tactical border security assets to high threat areas." In May 2021, the Governor expanded OLS by issuing a disaster declaration claiming that "the ongoing surge of individuals unlawfully crossing the Texas-Mexico border poses an ongoing and imminent threat of widespread and severe damage, injury, and loss of life and property."1

A major component of OLS has been the deployment of National Guard soldiers along the border. Since 2021, the State has engaged roughly 13,500 of its roughly 24,000-member military under OLS, with 4,751 on active deployment in September 2024.² Eighteen other states have deployed state active duty National Guard soldiers to the effort as well.3 At one point in 2022, Texas and its state partners mobilized about 10.000 soldiers under OLS.4

II. Operation Lone Star demonstrates that it is inappropriate for military units to conduct civil immigration enforcement.

United States Military forces are trained specifically for overseas combat and support missions. The National Guard is also trained for short-term disaster response. They

¹ Gov. Greg Abbott, Proclamation by the Governor of the State of Texas, May 31, 2021, https://gov.texas.gov/uploads/files/press/DISASTER_border_security_IMAGE_05-31-2021.pdf.

² Hearings on Support for Border Sec. Pers. Before the Senate Comm. on Border Sec., 88th Interim Sess. 2:47:3-2:49:50 (Tex. 2024) (statement of Thomas Suelzer, Adjutant Gen. of the State of Tex.), https://www.senate.texas.gov/videoplayer.php?vid=20570&lang=en.

³ *Id.* at 3:09:40.

⁴ Will Martin, Southwest border mission spurs 'mixed feelings' among guardsmen, Reserve & National Guard Magazine (Feb. 1, 2023), https://reservenationalguard.com/reserve-guarddeployment/southwest-border-mission-spurs-mixed-feelings-among-guardsmen/.



are neither trained nor equipped to enforce civil or criminal law within the United States. Congress recognized this principle when it passed the Posse Comitatus Act, which punishes any actor who uses most branches of the armed forces from executing U.S. law.⁵ The National Guard is not included in the act so that it can be deployed to respond to emergencies, however, the principles underlying the act apply to the enforcement of civil immigration law.

The experience of Texas under OLS illustrates why military forces should not be used to enforce laws within the U.S. Texas National Guard units are not trained to enforce civil immigration law or police the movements of migrants seeking to turn themselves in to federal authorities. Absent training to the contrary, individual soldiers are left to decide for themselves how to implement their mission of deterring migrants. The result has been soldiers physically and verbally abusing migrants, routinely firing less-lethal weapons at people who posed no risk, and the National Guard conducting unlawful intelligence gathering on U.S. soil. Deploying military units to conduct mass deportations will only send military forces across the U.S. who are trained for purposes completely misaligned with the goal of safely applying civil law. The result will be the violation of the rights of people across the nation.

A. The misuse of the Texas National Guard has resulted in grave abuse of migrants at the border.

Part of the Texas National Guard's mission under Operation Lone Star is to deter migrants who have already crossed the physical U.S.-Mexico border from turning themselves over to federal immigration authorities. While the Texas Military Department has a clear use of force policy, soldiers have reported frustration with the policies, feeling like they were "vague and inconsistently applied" and allowed soldiers with animus against migrants to commit abuse.⁶ Further, an extraordinary number of violent incidents demonstrate that the soldiers are not equipped to safely interact with civilian migrants.

⁵ 18 U.S.C. § 1385.

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⁶ Matt Shuham, *Accounts Of Abuse Emerge At The Texas Border*, HuffPost (Oct. 11, 2024), https://www.huffpost.com/entry/operation-lone-star-abuse-migrants-asylum-seekers-border_n_6708831be4b0c34b3eba6b5f.



The violent and abusive incidents committed under OLS demonstrate why a military force like the Texas National Guard should not conduct civil immigration enforcement.

Stories of Military Abuse at the Texas Border.

For example, TCRP interviewed a man who fled Venezuela after the government threatened him. He took his wife and young children and headed north. In April 2024, they ended up in Juarez, Mexico, where they hoped to cross the border and turn themselves over to Border Patrol in El Paso to request asylum. Instead, after they crossed the river, they were confronted by Texas National Guard soldiers who subjected them to a horrifying course of verbal and physical abuse over roughly six hours.

The abuse started just minutes after they crossed the river when a guard member drove up, cursed at them, and called them "fucking rats." The family then walked for a while toward Gate 36 in the border wall, hoping to find a Border Patrol agent. Instead, they saw Texas soldiers forcing other migrants back through the razor wire.

The family feared they would also be forced back across the river and into the hands of cartels, so they ran to the border wall. A soldier came towards the group trying to get them away from the wall. Afraid, the father held his son close to his chest. The soldier smashed the butt of his rifle into the father's chin.

The family continued to cling to the border wall for safety. A female guard member told the family not to grab the wall because the soldiers had orders to break their arms. She also said they would shoot them if they ran. Another soldier pointed his rifle at them, loaded it with bullets, and told them "if you run, we have the right to shoot." The father asked if the soldier planned to shoot him and his son. The soldier said, "that is the order."

Eventually, the soldiers told the family that they could go to Gate 36, but they had only 15 seconds to run the remaining 400-500 meters. The family took off running and the soldiers drove alongside them, blasting music, taking pictures, and laughing. After this final humiliation, the family made it to a federal officer who processed and detained them.



This is not an isolated incident. Other advocates and reporters have documented many other instances of serious abuse by the Texas National Guard. The Washington Office on Latin America has collected a number of the document incidents, such as:

- On August 5, 2024 in Eagle Pass, local news outlets and video footage indicated that members of the Texas National Guard used tear gas against a group of Venezuelan migrants, including three children, after they crossed the Rio Grande. The video shows guardsmen firing projectiles at the family from behind the coils of concertina wire that separated them. "After the attack, the children began to cry and vomit," local news reported.⁷
- In August 2024, a representative of an El Paso migrant shelter reported having received guests who told of verbal and physical abuse of adults and minors committed by Texas forces along the borderline, including being cursed at, kicked, choked, hit with the butt of a rifle, and being recorded while forced to run as a humiliation tactic. They also reported the case of a Texas officer throwing a person's phone into the river after [the person] attempted to record abusive behavior. Some officers remove or cover their name badges and hide their faces, making it difficult to identify perpetrators.8
- In February 2024, journalists reported Texas National Guard soldiers pushing migrants, including a woman with a baby, back across the Mexican border near El Paso while shouting profanities. When journalists recorded the incidents, guards changed their behavior but pointed lasers at journalists and their equipment.9
- In a video published on October 3, 2023 by Al Jazeera, a Texas National Guard member in El Paso was seen standing over a prone man struggling to pass under concertina wire. The guard member taunted and abused the man, saying, "I have no mercy, animals" and stomping on the man's hands.¹⁰

It is important to note that the Texas National Guard never arrested these migrants because the National Guard does not have the authority to arrest people for crossing

⁷ Adam Isacson & Ana Lucia Verduzco, *Soldiers Confronting Migrants: Texas's Dangerous Precedent*, Washington Office on Latin America (Sept. 12, 2024), https://www.wola.org/analysis/soldiers-confronting-migrants-texas-dangerous-precedent/.

⁸ *Id.*

⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰Id.



the border on federal property when on state active duty. Instead, with orders only to deter migrants, these soldiers took matters into their own hands.

Most soldiers deployed under OLS do not abuse migrants. Many have acted heroically and rescued people who were at risk of drowning or having medical emergencies. Specialist Bishop Evans gave his own life when he drowned in the Rio Grande while trying to rescue two migrants.¹¹

Still, any military force rapidly deployed to conduct mass deportations in towns and cities across the U.S. will, like the Texas National Guard, not have proper training on how to interact with civilians or how to identify if a person may be legally subject to deportation. Americans will wake up to find thousands of armed soldiers fanning out across the country hunting for undocumented people. While not every soldier abuses migrants, any abuse of migrants is unacceptable, and continued misapplication of military force on communities will certainly result in a percentage of soldiers acting aggressively. Others will make mistakes. Everyday Americans will pay the price for our failure to implement reasonable administrative processes for migration.

B. Texas National Guard soldiers have repeatedly fired less-lethal weapons at civilians who posed no risk.

Numerous documented reports of Texas National Guard soldiers shooting migrants with less-lethal weapons in apparent violation of Texas Military Department policy further show why it is inappropriate to deploy military forces for civilian immigration enforcement. National Guard soldiers deployed under Operation Lone Star are issued pepper ball guns that fire balls that release a pepper spray-like chemical on impact. The Adjutant General of the Texas Military Department, Major General Thomas M. Suelzer, has explained that soldiers are trained to fire at an inanimate object near people, rather than target people directly. "We specifically train them: Do not shoot directly at an individual because if hit in the wrong place, it can cause serious bodily injury." 12

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¹¹ Shuham, *supra* note 6.

¹² *Id*.



Stories of military abuse of "less lethal" weapons at the Texas Border.

Despite this directive, advocates and media have documented numerous instances of soldiers firing indiscriminately towards groups of migrants that included children. In some cases, the soldiers shot directly at and hit people. Here are a few examples compiled by Human Rights Watch and the Washington Office on Latin America:

- On September 7, three witnesses interviewed by Human Rights Watch said they saw a Texas National Guard member in a boat fire four or five times at a migrant who had crossed onto the United States side of the Rio Grande river, near Shelby Park in Eagle Pass, Texas. The witnesses said the migrant was in or near the razor wire on the US side of the river and did not do anything threatening. The witnesses said the projectiles directly struck the migrant, who fell, did not get up, and did not receive aid from the soldiers nearby.¹³
- In late May 2024, a group of migrants encamped on the Ciudad Juárez side of the border, across from El Paso, told EFE that Texas personnel fired rubber bullets and pepper balls across the river at them, even while they slept. The migrants stated that nighttime attacks were the most common and aggressive. They displayed bruises and unruptured projectiles.¹⁴
- "An unidentified Venezuelan man said two pepper balls struck him in the neck and side after he crossed the Rio Grande to plead with the soldiers to let families come across the razor wire." ¹⁵
- In early May 2024, Noticias Telemundo shared a video, taken from the Mexican side, of national guardsmen firing rubber bullets at migrants through the concertina-wire fencing. Some migrants yelled to the soldiers that children were present.¹⁶

These incidents show that the Texas National Guard—like other military forces—is not trained to interact with unarmed civilians. Domestic deployment of combat-trained soldiers at scale is inappropriate and likely to result in severe violations of civil and human rights.

¹³ Texas National Guard Firing Pepper Spray Projectiles at Migrants, Human Rights Watch (Sept. 25, 2024), https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/09/25/texas-national-guard-firing-pepper-spray-projectiles-migrants.

¹⁴ Isacson & Verduzco *supra* note 7.

¹⁵ Id.

¹⁶ *Id.*



C. The misapplication of the Texas National Guard for domestic operations resulted in illegal intelligence operations.

The Texas National Guard has also collected intelligence in direct contravention of federal secrecy laws. The National Guard created an OLS intelligence unit to help keep deployment informed about potential migrant surges.¹⁷ The activities included infiltrating WhatsApp groups and interacting with foreign nationals—an activity prohibited by federal secrecy laws.¹⁸ Under National Guard regulations, National Guard members on state deployment are not allowed to do foreign intelligence work or utilize Department of Defense tools or methods to collect intelligence.¹⁹

One soldier pointed to the danger of unleashing trained intelligence soldiers on U.S. soil: "You give intel soldiers enough tools—we're violating many constitutional rights very quickly."²⁰

If the administration deploys military units within the U.S. to participate in mass deportations, there is a dire risk that these military units will do what they are trained to do: behave like soldiers. The results would be grave constitutional violations throughout the U.S., for both immigrants and citizens. Such a grave threat to every American's rights demonstrates why the federal government should not deploy troops trained for foreign combat to conduct domestic civil police missions.

III. Operation Lone Star has turned Texas communities into military zones.

The large-scale deployment of soldiers to the Texas border has made Texas border communities feel like occupied territory rather than American towns. Using military units to conduct mass deportations risks turning the entire country into a military zone.

The City of Eagle Pass is the best-known example of OLS's militarization of an entire community. National Guard soldiers have deployed en masse to the city of 30,000

¹⁷ Davis Winkie and James Barragán *Texas Guardsmen spied on migrants via WhatsApp, mishandled secret docs*, Army Times & Tex. Tribune (Aug. 29, 2023), https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2023/08/29/texas-guardsmen-spied-on-migrants-via-whatsapp-mishandled-secret-docs/.

¹⁸ Id.

¹⁹ Id.

²⁰ Id.



people, installing razor wire and a border wall of shipping containers along the river.²¹ Soldiers now patrol on foot, humvee, helicopter, and boats.²² In January 2024, Governor Abbott used a disaster declaration to seize control of Shelby Park, the city's main public outdoor space, over the protests of city leaders.²³ National Guard soldiers and other State security officers quickly moved in and closed access off to the public and even federal Border Patrol.²⁴ In effect, the Texas military shut the residents of Eagle Pass off from their own park, treating Eagle Pass like foreign occupied territory.

Perhaps nothing illustrates this better than Governor Abbott's decision to call a new facility to house soldiers in Eagle Pass a "Forward Operating Base." Using the military to effectuate mass deportations will similarly result in leaders seeing communities across the country as places to invade and hold rather than places where people live, work, and raise families.

Furthermore, the National Guard has now installed over 100 miles of razor wire across Texas,²⁵ including between Texas and New Mexico.²⁶ People, including children, routinely get injured in the razor wire,²⁷ and TCRP has spoken to people in El Paso who report that local residents regularly find neighborhood pets caught in the wire. Elsewhere, the National Guard cleared and leveled a 170-acre island in the Rio

²³ Uriel J. García, *Texas officers take "full control" of Eagle Pass park against city's wishes*, The Tex. Tribune (Jan. 11, 2024), https://www.texastribune.org/2024/01/11/texas-border-eagle-pass-park-seized-dps-immigration/.

²¹ Alejandro Serrano, *Eagle Pass residents have mixed feelings about sharing their city with the National Guard*, The Tex. Tribune (Jul. 15, 2024),

https://www.texastribune.org/2024/07/15/texas-mexico-border-national-guard-migrants-eagle-pass/.

²² Id.

²⁴ Id.

²⁵ Press Release, Office of the Texas Governor, *Texas Deploys More Than 100 Miles Of Razor Wire To Secure Border*, Apr. 4, 2024, https://gov.texas.gov/news/post/texas-deploys-more-than-100-miles-of-razor-wire-to-secureborder.

²⁶ Uriel J. García, Texas strings concertina wire along New Mexico border to deter migrants, The Tex. Tribune (Oct. 17, 2023), https://www.texastribune.org/2023/10/17/texas-border-new-mexico-concertina-wire-abbott/.

²⁷ Benjamin Wermund, Texas troopers treated 133 migrants for injuries from razor wire over two months this summer, Hous. Chron. (Aug. 31, 2023), https://www.houstonchronicle.com/politics/texas/article/border-wireinjuries-18336354.php.



Grande, creating a no-man's-land that one advocate called "an ecological and human rights disaster."²⁸

OLS militarization has endangered and even killed Texans. Between March 2021 and July 2023, high speed pursuits in OLS counties killed at least seventy-four people and injured 189.²⁹ Sixty-eight percent of all vehicle pursuits in Texas now occur in OLS counties—which represent only thirteen percent of the state's population. Eighty-one percent of these pursuits occurred because of a traffic violation, ninety-seven percent of which were traffic misdemeanors.³⁰ In one instance, State police chased a suspect through Kinney County at speeds over 115 miles per hour.³¹ In another instance, a high-speed chase killed a seven-year-old girl—an innocent bystander.³²

These pursuits cause lasting damage to Texas communities. In the aftermath of the shooting at Robb Elementary School in Uvalde, investigators identified the frequency of school lockdowns resulting from high-speed chases connected to OLS as one reason for the insufficient security response.³³ One report noted that chases became a "daily occurrence" in the Uvalde area after March 2021, when OLS began.³⁴ Uvalde schools were locked down forty-seven times after February 2022. Ninety percent of those lockdowns occurred because of high-speed chases.³⁵

Under OLS, Texas forces have also harassed U.S. citizens. On October 12, 2023, the Ayala family was returning from visiting family in Ciudad Juarez when State security

²⁸ Xavier Alvarez, *Border expert: Texas' actions at Fronton Island interferes with federal immigration policy,* MyRGV (Feb. 16, 2024), https://myrgv.com/local-news/2024/02/16/border-expert-texas-actions-at-fronton-island-interferes-with-federal-immigration-policy/.

²⁹ "So Much Blood on the Ground": Dangerous and Deadly Vehicle Pursuits under Texas' Operation Lone Star, Human Rights Watch (Nov. 27, 2023), https://www.hrw.org/report/2023/11/27/so-much-blood-ground/dangerous-and-deadly-vehicle-pursuits-under-texas-operation.

³¹ Randy Clark, *Suspected Migrant Smuggler Leads Texas Cops on 115 MPH Pursuit Near Border*, Breitbart (Jun. 23, 2023), https://www.breitbart.com/border/2023/06/20/watch-suspected-migrant-smuggler-leads-texas-cops-on-115-mph-pursuit-near-border/.

³² "Human Rights Watch *supra* note 29.

³³ Texas House of Representatives, Investigative Committee on the Robb Elementary Shooting, A Report to the House of Representatives 88th Texas Legislature, 6 (Jul. 17, 2022), https://house.texas.gov/_media/pdf/committees/reports/87interim/Robb-Elementary-Investigative-Committee-Report.pdf.

³⁴ *Id.* at 22–23.

³⁵ Id



vehicles boxed them in and forced them off the road in El Paso.³⁶ The family was terrified when they saw men in uniform pointing semi-automatic weapons at them.³⁷ The officers damaged the Ayalas' car, and the sixty-seven-year-old grandmother still has lingering back pain.³⁸

This is what it looks like when the government uses military and other security forces to conduct civil immigration enforcement in U.S. communities. We expect similar results across the country if the federal government deploys the military for mass deportations.

IV. Operation Lone Star has weakened the Texas National Guard's readiness and resulted in lives lost to suicide.

Texas's deployment of the National Guard under Operation Lone Star was fraught with missteps and logistical problems from the very beginning. These problems damaged morale and hurt the organization's readiness as a fighting force. Mobilizing military units across the U.S. for mass deportations would likely have a similar impact on military readiness.

In September 2021, Texas rapidly expanded the OLS National Guard deployment from 1,000 volunteers to a mandatory mobilization of 10,000 soldiers.³⁹ Many were given only days' notice for a mission that was expected to last a year. In early 2022, soldiers reported problems with their pay, shortages with critical equipment such as cold weather gear and medical equipment, and others reported substandard living conditions such as being packed into crowded trailers.⁴⁰ Many noted that the problems were predictable, given that the force encountered similar issues during a deployment in the wake of Hurricane Harvey.⁴¹

³⁶ Angela Kocherga, Family held at gunpoint by DPS in mistaken Operation Lone Star stop, El Pasoans say, KTEP (Dec. 22, 2023), https://www.ktep.org/2023-12-22/family-held-at-gunpoint-by-dps-in-mistaken-operation-lone-star-stop-el-pasoans-say.

³⁷ Id.

³⁸ *Id*.

³⁹ Davis Winkie and James Barragán, *Haste and planning failures doomed Operation Lone Star's troops to suffer*, Army Times & Tex. Tribune (Aug. 29, 2023), https://www.armytimes.com/news/your-army/2022/02/01/haste-and-planning-failures-doomed-operation-lone-stars-troops-to-suffer/.

⁴⁰ *Id.*

⁴¹ Id.



Half of soldiers who responded to a January 2022 survey expressed skepticism or frustration with OLS and how it was planned and executed.⁴² One said, "I'm wasting time watching the grass grow at my [observation] point [along the border], while my civilian job is dying on the vine."43 A number of cyber airmen who were deployed near Brownsville told media that they would either guit after their contracts or request assignments away from the Texas National Guard.44

Furthermore, OLS harmed readiness by removing soldiers from their "organic" units, the groups they train with while not deployed, and mixing them into ad hoc units on the border, under different chains of command. 45

Worse, seventeen soldiers have died under OLS for reasons including suicide, rescuing migrants, and negligent discharge of a weapon.⁴⁶ Four soldiers took their own lives during an eight-week span in late 2021 and early 2022.47 An investigation into the death of Bishop Evans, who drowned while heroically trying to rescue two migrants, found that he was not outfitted with a flotation device because the National Guard was experiencing procurement delays with the devices.⁴⁸

The Texas National Guard's many problems during OLS demonstrate why using armed forces to implement a mass deportation policy will harm military readiness. American military forces are not designed to conduct civil law enforcement missions on U.S. soil. Asking them to do so hurts morale and distracts them from their readiness

⁴² Davis Winkie, James Barragán, Chris Essig, & Rachel S. Cohen, *Troops slam Operation Lone Star in* leaked survey, Army Times & Tex. Tribune (Feb. 24, 2022), https://www.armytimes.com/news/yourarmy/2022/02/24/troops-slam-operation-lone-star-in-leaked-survey/.

⁴³ Id.

⁴⁴ Winkie & Barragán *supra* note 39.

⁴⁵ Shuham *supra* note 6.

⁴⁶ Gabriella Alcorta-Solorio, 17 Guardsmen have died on Gov. Greg Abbott's controversial border mission, soldiers speak out, Texas Public Radio (Aug. 31, 2024), https://www.tpr.org/news/2024-08-31/17-guardsmen-have-died-on-gov-greg-abbotts-controversial-border-mission-soldiers-speakout.

⁴⁷ Davis Winkie and James Barragán, *Another National Guard soldier working Operation Lone Star dies* by suspected suicide, Army Times & Tex. Tribune (Oct. 6, 2022),

https://www.texastribune.org/2022/10/04/texas-national-guard-suicide-operation-lone-star/. ⁴⁸ Davis Winkie and James Barragán, *Months-long flotation device delay preceded Texas soldier's* drowning, Army Times & Tex. Tribune (Apr. 27, 2022), https://www.armytimes.com/news/yourarmy/2022/04/27/months-long-flotation-device-delay-preceded-texas-soldiers-drowning/.



to deploy abroad. The former chief of the National Guard Bureau, General Daniel Hokanson, made exactly this point when he said "there is no military training value" to national guard border deployments because ultimately they are "a law enforcement mission under the Department of Homeland Security."⁴⁹

Deploying military forces to conduct domestic civilian operations risks distracting our armed forces in a time of global instability. Should the unthinkable happen and the U.S. is attacked by a foreign adversary, our military will not be able to respond effectively if units are busy enforcing immigration law. We urge the committee and other policymakers to consider this serious risk before deploying the military on our streets.

V. Conclusion

In sum, the Texas example of the past four years shows why the government should not use the military for civil immigration enforcement. Our military is designed to defend our nation from external threats, not to enforce civil law within our borders. Deploying the military in our towns and cities risks grievous civil and human rights violations, turning our communities into military zones, and misappropriating soldiers from their purpose as military forces. For these reasons, we strongly urge this committee to stand resolute against any plans that involve using military assets for mass deportations or other civil law enforcement activities.

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⁴⁹ Connor O'Brien, 'No military training value': Guard chief dings Trump, Biden border missions, Politico (Jun. 18, 2024),

https://www.politico.com/news/2024/06/18/guard-chief-dings-trump-biden-border-missions-00163900.