

The New York Times

THE WEATHER

Today, morning showers, decreasing clouds, high 76. **Tonight**, partly cloudy, warm, low 64. **Tomorrow**, warmer, cloudy, afternoon storms, high 78. Weather map, Page B8.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00



KATARINA PREMFORNS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Selling the 'Dubai Dream' as Battles Rage Nearby

The Emirates' largest city has pitched itself as a sun-soaked safe haven in a volatile region. War has challenged that image. Page A9.

Review Shows New Weapons Hit School Site

U.S. Missile Untested in War Left 21 Dead

By CHRISTIAAN TRIEBERT and JOHN ISMAY

On the first day of the war with Iran, a weapon bearing the hallmarks of a newly developed U.S.-made ballistic missile was used in an attack that struck a sports hall and adjacent elementary school near a military facility in southern Iran, according to weapons experts and a visual analysis by The New York Times. Local officials cited in the Iranian news media said the strike and others nearby in the city of Lamerd killed at least 21 people.

The Feb. 28 attack occurred the same day as a U.S. Tomahawk cruise missile struck a school in the city of Minab, several hundred miles away, killing 175 people. In the case of Lamerd, though, it involved a weapon that had been untested in combat.

The Times verified videos of two strikes in Lamerd, as well as aftermath footage from the attacks. Times reporters and munitions experts found that the weapon features, explosions and damage were consistent with a short-range ballistic missile called the Precision Strike Missile, or PrSM



FARS NEWS AGENCY

A still from a video shows a missile in flight on Feb. 28 that matches the profile of the U.S.-made Precision Strike Missile.

(pronounced like "prism"), which is designed to detonate just above its target and blast small tungsten pellets outward.

Videos that capture one strike, in a residential area about 900 feet from the sports hall and school, show the weapon in flight, with a distinctive silhouette that matches the PrSM. The missile erupts in a large fireball midair.

Another video, from a security camera directly across from the sports hall, shows the strike on the hall and adjacent school. While the video does not capture an incoming missile, it clearly shows an explosion just above the structure.

Photos of the aftermath show Continued on Page A8

WAR DISRUPTING IRAN'S CAPACITY TO SET STRATEGY

INTELLIGENCE REPORTS

Uncertainty Over Who's in Power, and What's on Table for Deal

This article is by Julian E. Barnes, Adam Goldman and Ronen Bergman.

WASHINGTON — The U.S.-Israeli war against Iran has fractured the Iranian government, complicating its ability to make decisions and coordinate larger retaliatory attacks, according to officials familiar with U.S. and Western intelligence assessments.

Several dozen Iranian leaders and their deputies have been killed since the war began four weeks ago. Those who survive have had difficulty communicating and are unable to meet in person, for fear of having their calls intercepted by the United States or Israel and being targeted in an airstrike.

While Iran's security and military agencies continue to function, the government's ability to plan new strategies or policies has been weakened.

The Trump administration has said a new government is in charge in Iran and has pressed it to make a quick deal. But the more degraded Iranian government decision making becomes, the more difficult it will be for it to negotiate with American envoys or make significant concessions.

With different leaders in place, Iranian negotiators may have little knowledge about what their government is willing to concede, or even whom precisely to ask.

What is more, American officials say hard-liners within Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps have become more influential, exerting more power than the religious leadership nominally in charge.

But whether someone emerges to make a deal, and whether that person can persuade other officials to agree to it, is far from clear. Former American officials say Iran will make a deal when it suffers enough economic pain from the war. While the damage has been severe, Iran may not yet feel as though it is losing, according to current and former officials.

On Monday, President Trump threatened to expand the war if a deal was not quickly reached, suggesting that U.S. forces might try to take Kharg Island, Iran's main hub for oil exports.

Iran's compromised communications have caused confusion Continued on Page A7

NEWS ANALYSIS

Growing Split On Birthright

Some Now See Chance for Reversal by Court

By ANN E. MARIMOW

WASHINGTON — For generations, most legal experts and the courts have agreed that the Constitution guarantees citizenship to nearly all babies born in the United States.

But ever since President Trump issued an executive order to eliminate so-called birthright citizenship for the infants of undocumented immigrants and temporary residents, some conservative legal scholars have begun re-examining the history of the 14th Amendment, long understood as the source of the birthright guarantee.

On Wednesday, the Supreme Court will hear arguments on the legality of Mr. Trump's executive order, and some conservative legal experts say that, in light of new scholarship, it might be a closer call than once thought.

"A lot of people, when Trump first started talking about it, thought this is crazy," said John Yoo, a law professor at the University of California, Berkeley, School of Law, who was a top lawyer in the George W. Bush administration. "But in the intervening years, a lot more serious people are taking it seriously."

Even as the legal debate has grown more robust, many legal experts, including Professor Yoo, remain confident that a majority of justices across the ideological spectrum will rule against Mr. Trump's quest to redefine citizenship. Doing so would mean another major defeat for Mr. Trump in front of a court that includes three of his own nominees. Last month, the court invalidated the president's sweeping tariffs on imports from major U.S. trading partners.

The debate over the bounds of birthright citizenship moves from law review articles to the Supreme Court on Wednesday, in a historic case that will test the president's power and the common understanding of what it means to be an American.

The Trump administration is asking the court to reinterpret the 14th Amendment, which was added to the Constitution in 1868 Continued on Page A13

Aiming to Pursue Deportations, Not the Spotlight

By HAMED ALEAZIZ

WASHINGTON — In his first days as head of the Department of Homeland Security, Markwayne Mullin has stuck to a suit and tie, not the ICE-embazoned bulletproof vest worn by his predecessor, Kristi Noem, in her debut video when she started the job.

While Ms. Noem, cameras in tow, growled about "getting the dirtbags off the streets," Mr. Mullin has worked toward a less flashy debut: briefing members of Congress on the effects of the government shutdown, attending White House meetings and doing a video talking up the people he now oversees.

"I think I have the greatest em-

Noem's Successor Plans to Keep Hard Line and Avoid Outcry

ployees working at D.H.S. ever — I mean that sincerely," he said in a video he posted on social media.

It remains to be seen whether the more diplomatic style of Mr. Mullin, a former Republican senator for Oklahoma, will help him achieve President Trump's hard-line immigration policy and navigate the intense backlash ignited by the department's deportation tactics.

Mr. Mullin, 48, must now also

look inside an agency that critics say was badly damaged under Ms. Noem, though she has said she worked with the full backing of the White House. He has taken over a department that is in declining public repute, especially after the fatal shootings of two U.S. citizens in Minneapolis in January.

Time and again, the Homeland Security Department has struggled to explain to the American public its deportation strategy or how it goes about its work. What is more, the Noem era, which ended with her dismissal this month, frustrated department officials who believed the agency was being used as a pawn in her political

Continued on Page A13



ARIANA DREHSLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Cesar Chavez mural in Bakersfield, Calif. He moved to a secluded property near the city in 1970.

A Mountain Compound, and 'the Cult of Cesar'

This article is by Shawn Hubler, Sarah Hurtes and Manny Fernandez.

KEENE, Calif. — It was 1979, and Cesar Chavez, then the head of the United Farm Workers, called a staff meeting at the union's remote headquarters in the Tehachapi Mountains, 125 miles north of Los Angeles. As the proceedings came to an end, Mr. Chavez abruptly switched topics and instructed someone to turn the lights off.

At Remote Site, Chavez Seemed to Go Astray

"Who can see my aura?" he asked the room.

Larry Tramutola and his wife, an organizer and bookkeeper who had worked with the union for years, exchanged an uncomfortable glance in the dimness. They revered the charismatic U.F.W. leader. His movement had turned

one of the nation's most exploited and downtrodden populations of farmworkers and their supporters into an army to be reckoned with.

When Mr. Chavez had ordered the couple and their children to come live on the union's nearly 200-acre compound to help him organize, they did it. When he directed that everyone critique each other in encounter groups that often became vicious, they joined in. When Mr. Tramutola's wife fell ill,

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NATIONAL A10-15

Sin City's Declining Fortunes

High prices and tightening household budgets are driving a sharp drop-off in visitors to Las Vegas. PAGE A10

Fur Flies Over Comedy Skit

Some weren't amused when Zohran Mamdani and Curtis Sliwa joked with each other in a video. PAGE A14

SPORTS B7-11

Durant's Climb to Rarefied Air

The Rockets star, who recently passed Michael Jordan for fifth place on the N.B.A.'s career scoring list, was inspired by Jordan's midrange game. PAGE B7

Twice-in-a-Lifetime Shots

A writer who saw the game-winners of Christian Laettner in 1992 and Braylon Mullins on Sunday weighed in. PAGE B10

OBITUARIES A16-17

Forensic Scientist for Simpson

A renowned and controversial expert, Henry C. Lee testified for the defense in O.J. Simpson's trial. He was 87. PAGE A17



INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Elephant in Colombia's Senate

After years of documenting abandoned public works projects in secret, Luis Carlos Rúa revealed himself. PAGE A6

Accused of Mocking Mao

Gao Zhen was arrested during a visit to China and now faces up to three years in prison for his artwork. PAGE A5

ARTS C1-6

She Has Some Advice for You

The actress Sarah Shahi plays a therapist on the Hulu drama "Paradise," and she has also gone to counseling in real life. Now she is offering guidance to others with a self-help memoir. PAGE C1

He's Hard Not to Love

A high-strung alien named Rocky is the breakout star of the new hit movie "Project Hail Mary." But the creature's charming personality was the result of a bit of a misunderstanding. PAGE C1

OPINION A18-19

Frank Bruni

PAGE A18



SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Leaving the Earth Behind

A new NASA mission aims to send four astronauts on a trip around the moon. Above, a photograph taken during the Apollo 8 mission in 1968. PAGE D2

