

The Fading Ghosts of India's Partition



75 Years Later, a Final Generation Recalls the Deadly Chaos of Pakistan's Birth

This article is by **Majid Muzahid, Hari Kumar and Zia ur-Rahman**.
AMRITSAR, India — For seven decades, Sudarshana Rani has tried to learn her younger brother's fate. She was just a child when the communal bloodletting that surrounded Britain's 1947 partition of India wiped out nearly her entire extended family. But in the paddy fields that became execution grounds, there was one body she did not find: that of her 5-year-old brother, Mukk Raj.
Ms. Rani, a Hindu, and a Muslim brother were sheltered by a slender classmate's family before they abandoned their home near Lahore, which became part of the new Muslim nation of Pakistan. In India, they built an ear. The brother, Piers Lal Duggal, retired as a senior officer in India's state bank. Ms. Rani raised children who are now doctors and bankers.
Yet her mind remained with the brother left behind. Had Mukk Raj made a run for it and survived? She has imagined him searching for her; she saw him everywhere and in everything. Even a family movie about a few years ago became part of her long, quiet search.
"I thought maybe this is my brother —"
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Top, Sikhs migrating to India in 1947. Sudarshana Rani, above, was a child when most of her family, Hindu landowners in a majority-Muslim village in today's Pakistan, were killed. She has held out hope that a brother, 5 at the time, survived.

On the Clock And Tracked To the Minute

More Employees Labor Under Digital Eye

By JODI KANTOR and ARYA SUNDARAM

A few years ago, Carol Kraemer, a longtime finance executive, took a new job. Her title, vice president, was impressive. The compensation was excellent: \$200 an hour. But her first paychecks seemed low. Her new employer, which used extensive monitoring software on its alternate workers, paid them only for the minutes when the system detected active work. Mrs. Kraemer noticed that the software did not come close to capturing her labor. Office work — doing math problems on paper, reading printouts, thinking — didn't register and required approval as "manual time." In managing the organization's finances, Mrs. Kraemer oversaw more than a dozen people, but monitoring them didn't always leave a digital impression. If she forgot to turn on her time tracker, she had to appeal to be paid at all.
"You're supposed to be a trusted member of your team, but there was never any trust that we were working for the firm," she said.
Since the dawn of modern offices, workers have orchestrated their actions by watching the clock. Now, more and more, the clock is watching them.

In lower-paying jobs, the monitoring is already ubiquitous: not just at Amazon, where the second-by-second measurements became notorious, but also for Kroger cashiers, UPS drivers and millions of others. Eight of the 10 largest private U.S. employers track the productivity metrics of individual workers, many in real time, according to an examination by The New York Times.
Now digital productivity monitoring is also spreading among higher-paying jobs and roles that require graduate degrees. Many employees, whether working remotely or in person, are subject to trackers, scores, "who" behaviors, or just quiet, constantly accumulating records. Pauses can lead to penalties, from lost pay to lost jobs.
Some radiologists see scoreboards showing their "productivity" time and how their productivity stacks up against their colleagues. In some cases, including at J.P. Morgan, tracking how employees spend their days, from making phone calls to composing emails, has become routine practice. In Britain, Barclays Bank scrapped productivity metrics to keep employees from being tracked.
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AFTER EARLY FURY AT TRUMP SEARCH, THE G.O.P. IS SPLT

TEMPERING THE TONE

Questions on How Far to Go in Criticism of Law Enforcement

By LUKE BROADWATER

WASHINGTON — As Republicans continued on Sunday to defend former President Donald J. Trump after an unprecedented F.B.I. search of his residence in Florida, deep fissures were visible in the party's support for law enforcement amid a federal investigation into Mr. Trump's handling of top secret documents.
Immediately after the search, congressional Republicans, including members of leadership, reacted with fury, attacking the nation's top law enforcement agencies. Some called to "defund" or "destroy" the F.B.I., and others invoked the Nazi secret police, using words like "gestapo."
On Sunday, more moderate voices in the party chastised their colleagues for the broadsides against law enforcement, calling for a more restrained case for defending Mr. Trump while also carrying out oversight of the Justice Department.
Many Republicans called for the release of the affidavit supporting the search warrant that was executed last Monday, which would detail the evidence that had persuaded a judge there was probable cause to believe a search would find evidence of crimes. Such documents are typically not made public before charges are filed.
"It was an unprecedented action that needs to be supported by unprecedented justification," Representative Brian Fitzpatrick, Republican of Pennsylvania and a former F.B.I. agent, said on CBS's "Face the Nation." But he added, "I have urged all my colleagues to make sure they understand the weight of their words."
The calls for a more cautious tone came as threats emerged against law enforcement. A gunman on Thursday attacked an F.B.I. office in Cincinnati and Friday, the Department of Homeland Security distributed an intelligence bulletin to law enforcement around the country that warned of "an increase in threats and acts of violence, including armed encounters, against law enforcement, judiciary and government personnel who are involved in the handling of the ongoing investigation."
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New tactics to target at-home abortions

Groups pressing states to curb access to drugs used to end most pregnancies

By KIMBERLY KENNY

Two top antiabortion groups have crafted and successfully lobbied for state legislation to ban or further restrict the predominant way pregnancies are ended in the United States — via drugs taken at home, often facilitated by a network of abortion rights groups.
In the wake of the Supreme Court's decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, 16 states now ban or partially ban the use of those drugs, mifepristone and misoprostol, which are used in more than half of all abortions.
But the drugs remain widely available, with multiple groups working to help provide them even to women in states with abortion bans. Students of Life of America and National Right to Life Committee, which have played leading roles in crafting antiabortion laws, hope to change that with new legislation.
The groups are pursuing a variety of tactics, from bills that would ban the abortion-inducing drugs altogether to others that would allow family members to sue medication providers or attempt to shut down the nonprofit groups that help women obtain and safely use the drugs.
Their strategy reflects the re-
sistance abortion on a 15



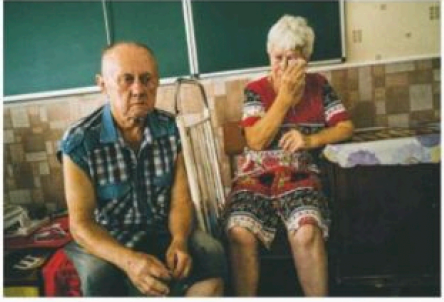
TOP: A soldier, call sign Petrovich, stands in trenches on the Kherson front line in Ukraine. Retaking the city would be a blow to Russia's ambitions. ABOVE: Serbin Fedok, 70, and Valentina Yefimenko, 66, live in a shelter in Kryvyi Rih, Ukraine.

A slow slide into stalemate

Ukraine's progress in retaking key port city of Kherson has stalled as Russian troops dig in

By LOVEDAY MORRIS, LIZ SLY, DALTON BENNETT and ANASTASIA GALOUCHEVA IN MYKOLAYIV REGION, UKRAINE

On the front line in southeast Ukraine, there is little sign that a major counteroffensive is brewing.
For weeks, Western intelligence and military analysts have predicted that a Ukrainian campaign to retake the strategic port city of Kherson and surrounding territory is imminent. But in trenches less than a mile from Russia's positions in the area, Ukrainian soldiers bunker down from an escalating onslaught of artillery, with little ability to advance.
"It's to our left side, our right side, over our heads," Yuri, a 46-year-old soldier with the Ukrainian military's 63rd Mechanized Brigade, said of the incoming fire, which has intensified this month. At night, Russian forces make reconnaissance missions that probe the tenuously held fortifications. "It's a more tense situation," he said.
SEE UKRAINE ON A16



TOP: A soldier, call sign Petrovich, stands in trenches on the Kherson front line in Ukraine. Retaking the city would be a blow to Russia's ambitions. ABOVE: Serbin Fedok, 70, and Valentina Yefimenko, 66, live in a shelter in Kryvyi Rih, Ukraine.

GOP releases findings on airlift

FEW NEW DETAILS ON KABUL EVACUATIONS

But report offers hints at party's plans in House

By KAROLIN DEMERIAN AND TIM CRAIG

Republican members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Sunday disclosed the findings of their inquiry into the Biden administration's calamitous evacuation from Afghanistan a year ago, an apparent blueprint for a deeper investigation of the president and his top advisers should the GOP win the House majority in November's midterm elections.
A draft of their report, provided to The Washington Post, contains new details about the number of Americans left behind when the last military transport departed Kabul's international airport and the paucity of State Department officers on hand to process the tens of thousands of Afghans trying to flee the Taliban's takeover.
But overall, there are few major revelations.
A Republican aide, speaking on the condition of anonymity under ground rules set by the committee, said that was because the State Department refused to turn over documents or consent to interviews, leaving lawmakers to rely on public records and materials provided by whistleblowers.
A spokesman for the agency said in response that officials had briefed Congress more than 150 times since the withdrawal, and continue to update lawmakers on efforts to relocate and resettle Afghans.
"The success Sunday night when the report would be released publicly.
The evacuation, unprecedented in scale, was carried out over the last two weeks of August
SEE ARGUMENTATION ON A18

Sensing Opportunity, Democrats Spotlight Abortion in Their Ads

By SHANE GOLDMACHER and KATIE GULECK
Democrats all across America are using abortion as a powerful cudgel in their 2022 television campaigns, paying for an onslaught of ads in key House, Senate and governor's races that show how swiftly abortion politics have shifted since the Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade* in late June.
In Michigan, Democrats took aim at the Republican nominee for governor almost immediately after the primary with a television ad highlighting her opposition to abortion, without exceptions for rape or incest. The Republican governor in Georgia faced attacks in another television ad, with women speaking fearfully about the specter of being investigated and "criminalized." And the Republican nominee in Arizona for both Senate and governor were confronted almost instantly after their primaries with different ads
calling them "strongwomen" for their anti-abortion positions.
With national protections for abortion rights suddenly gone and bans going into effect in many states, senior White House officials and top Democratic strategists believe the issue has radically reshaped the 2022 landscape in their favor. They say it has not only reawakened the party's progressive base, but also provided a wedge issue that could wrest away independent voters and even some Republican women who believe abortion opponents have overreached.
In the fallout of the ruling, Democrats see the potential to spend the typical dynamic of midterm elections in which voters punish the party in power. In this case, although Democrats control the White House and both chambers of Congress, it is one of their top

Misinformation Riddles TikTok Before Election

By TIFFANY HSU

In Germany, TikTok accounts impersonated prominent political figures during the country's last national election. In Colombia, misleading TikTok posts falsely attributed a quotation from one candidate to a cartoon villain and allowed a woman to masquerade as another candidate's daughter. In the Philippines, TikTok videos amplified sugarcated myths about the country's former dictator and helped his son prevail in the country's presidential race.
Now, similar problems have arrived in the United States.
Ahead of the midterm elections this fall, TikTok is shaping up to be a primary incubator of baseless and misleading information, in ways that always remains fresh — even in the days of summer when much of the region's native vegetation is golden brown.
But as climate change exposes the limits of the water supply, homeowners and water officials say, a central part of the backyard that always remains lush — even in the days of summer when much of the region's native vegetation is golden brown.
SEE CLIMATE ON A4

In Dry Los Angeles, Grass Gives Way to Gravel

By JILL COWAN

AGOURA HILLS, Calif. — Erin Brockovich made her name decades ago as an environmental activist who exposed corporate wrongdoing that polluted drinking water in her hometown.
So she left a bit defensive when a television reporter asked how her name landed on a list of water gazdars during a dire California drought. At one point last year, she received a \$1,700 bill for two months of water and fees.
Ms. Brockovich ultimately decided she had to get rid of her lawn, a central part of the backyard oasis she had built over more than two decades living in Agoura Hills, a suburb of large homes with immaculate yards about 40 miles northwest of downtown Los Angeles. She replaced 3,000 square feet of grass with high-tech artificial turf.
"This is not a fire drill, and every one of us has to participate," she said. "We have to get past the blame and sadness of it."
For the better part of a century, the lawn has been one of Southern California's most durable middle-class fantasies: a single-family yard with a mix of the lawn lawn that always remains lush — even in the days of summer when much of the region's native vegetation is golden brown.
But as climate change exposes the limits of the water supply, homeowners and water officials say, a central part of the backyard that always remains lush — even in the days of summer when much of the region's native vegetation is golden brown.
SEE CLIMATE ON A4



Erin Brockovich, the water quality activist, replaced her lawn, left, with high-tech artificial turf. At right, a neighbor's yard.

The political shifts that led to the climate bill's passage

By STEVEN MYSON

The world has changed dramatically since the last time Congress considered climate legislation.
Last time, it sought to cap greenhouse gas emissions, and the fossil fuel industry fought back hard. Not this time.
Last time, some Republicans supported the measure, banking on an era when environmental protection was not so polarizing. Not this time.
On Friday, a dozen years after a sprawling climate bill passed the House but failed to move ahead in the Senate, Democrats successfully unseated the United States' most prominent climate change signpost: President Biden for his signature.
The bill's success shows how the politics of climate change have shifted profoundly since scientists began warning about how human-caused emissions would warm the planet.
Whereas President Jimmy Carter once pushed clean energy as a matter of personal, moral responsibility, the new bill treats climate change as a pragmatic ask: as at a yard that resur-

After massacre, a battle for accountability

Survivors of Tex. shooting say court fight is compounding their anguish

By HOLLY BAILEY IN RUTHERFORD SPRINGS, TEX.

Ryland Ward looks like he looks different from other kids, though it's hard for him to talk about why.
When he moved to a new school in Lampasas, the small Central Texas town where he lives with his mother, the 10-year-old felt other children staring at him when he wore a T-shirt to class. Just below his sleeve, at the crook of his left elbow, a deep chunk of flesh is missing — as if a monster had taken a bite out of his arm.
That monster was a high-velocity bullet, and the cavernous
SEE SURVIVORS ON A4



Ryland Ward was 5 years old when he was shot at First Baptist Church in 2017. The gunman killed 34 others.

Alarm in Fla. as DeSantis ousts elected prosecutor

Reform-minded attorney clashed with governor over policing, abortion

By LOUI ROZZA

TAMPA — State Attorney Andrew Warren was waiting for a grand jury to issue indictments in two rape and murder cases he had been working on for three years when he glanced down at his phone and saw an email from an attorney for Gov. Ron DeSantis. It said he was suspended from his job.
Stunned, Warren quickly went to his office to consult with his legal team. Not long after, there was a knock at the door. An armed man from the county sheriff's office and a man in a suit from the governor's office carrying a copy of DeSantis' executive order suspending him were looking for him.
"He said, essentially, 'The governor has suspended you and you need to leave the office now,'" Warren, a Democrat, recalled of DeSantis' aide. "So within maybe seven minutes from getting a copy of the executive order, I was on the street. The major officer was a ride home because they took my car."
SEE DE SANTIS ON A4