



Rain 58/50 • Tomorrow: Morning rain 62/44 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6, 2024 • \$3

Record fine for Liberty over safety on campus

Education Dept. charges \$14 million for numerous violations of federal law

BY SUSAN SVRLUGA

Liberty University has agreed to pay a record \$14 million fine after the Education Department found a “systemic and persistent” failure by the institution to comply with a federal law on campus safety.

The agency’s review found that Liberty did not notify people on campus about emergencies and dangerous situations such as bomb threats, the attempted abduction of a young girl, and people accused of repeated acts of sexual violence. The university did not keep an accurate and complete crime log during the 2016 to 2023 review period, the report found.

In addition to the fine, the private Christian university in Lynchburg, Va., must spend \$2 million on campus safety improvements during a two-year post-review monitoring period, the Education Department said.

In the report, which spans more than 100 pages, the Education Department cited multiple violations by Liberty of the federal Clery Act, a decades-old law that requires institutions like Liberty that participate in federal financial aid programs to provide timely reporting of crime statistics and other information about campus safety.

The report paints a portrait of a campus culture that made victims of sexual assault reluctant to speak up about their assaults: “Over the course of this review period, several sexual assault

SEE LIBERTY ON A4

D.C. Council cracks down on crime after historic surge

BY MEAGAN FLYNN AND EMILY DAVIES

The D.C. Council on Tuesday passed a massive public safety package that puts the liberal city on a track toward harsher punishments for a range of crimes from illegal gun possession to retail theft, a new direction forged by months of intense outcry from residents and businesses over last year’s historic crime spike.

The near-unanimous passage of the legislation — the Secure D.C. Omnibus Amendment Act — represents the council’s most significant response to that surge. Last year’s proliferation of carjackings and the most homicides in a quarter-century left many residents describing an atmosphere of fear, and a spike in property crime had others decrying a perceived sense of lawlessness. The bill passed with 12 votes in favor and council member Trayon White Sr. (D-Ward 8) voting present, as he had done in the council’s first vote last month.

The debate surrounding the bill has forced robust reflection on the problems within D.C.’s criminal justice ecosystem — which Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) has said needs a full reset — and about

SEE CRIME ON A4

Cap on service fees: The council passes restaurant legislation. B1

ELECTION 2024

Trump pulls closer to nomination

Delegates at stake Tuesday **1,420 854**
Needed to secure nomination **1,968 1,215**

As of 11:30 p.m. Tuesday



Joe Biden
Gained 347
553



Donald Trump
Gained 220
493



Nikki Haley
Gained 9
52



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Donald Trump takes the stage to speak at a Super Tuesday election night party at Mar-a-Lago in Palm Beach, Fla. He won resounding victories in most of the 15 states with primaries or caucuses, with over one-third of Republican delegates at stake in the contests.

In year of uncertainty, road to general election appears dark and bleak

BY DAN BALZ

Super Tuesday brought an effective end to the 2024 presidential primary season and with it the start of a long general-election campaign

THE TAKE President Biden and former president Donald Trump that could be the most negative in modern times — and the most consequential.

Tuesday’s voting will be followed by Biden’s State of the Union address Thursday, then both candidates will campaign

at events Saturday in Georgia — an early pairing in a battleground state. While both will continue to secure the necessary delegates in upcoming primaries to guarantee their nominations, they will be focused almost exclusively on each other.

The general election begins with Biden and Trump displaying as many vulnerabilities as assets. Trump tried to overturn the 2020 election, is facing 91 felony counts and has threatened anti-constitutional actions if elected to a second term. Biden is

already the oldest president in the nation’s history and is confronting doubts about his capacity to serve into his mid-80s as well as some of the lowest approval ratings of any modern incumbent seeking a second term.

Many Americans wish this were not the choice ahead. Some continue to imagine a race without one or the other, or both, at the top of their party’s ticket. Scenarios about an open Democratic convention or Trump somehow being disqualified flicker around the edges of the campaign. On

Tuesday, as an example, the office of Michelle Obama declared that she will not be a candidate for president this year, putting to rest a far-right notion that has rumbled for months.

Barring something unexpected, 2024 will be a rerun of the 2020 election, though in a markedly different country and political climate. In 2020, Trump was the unpopular incumbent, the country was reeling from the worst pandemic in a century, the economy had fallen into a

SEE TAKE ON A9

COMMANDING WINS ON SUPER TUESDAY

Haley notches an upset victory in Vermont

BY HANNAH KNOWLES

Donald Trump won resounding primary victories in at least a dozen states on Tuesday, pulling closer to securing the Republican presidential nomination and catapulting more fully into a rematch with President Biden.

Trump led his last standing GOP rival, Nikki Haley, by large margins in most of the 15 states that held primaries or caucuses on Super Tuesday, with victories projected by the Associated Press from the Deep South to New England. He won delegate-rich Texas and California, led handily in more moderate Massachusetts, and was winning by well over 60 points in Oklahoma with almost all of the vote counted there Tuesday night.

But Haley, the former U.N. ambassador, notched a surprise victory in Vermont as she sought to demonstrate that many voters still want a Trump alternative. She was running a few points ahead of Trump with more than 80 percent of the vote counted. With her path to the GOP nomination effectively closed, barring some unforeseen event, Haley watched the election returns in private with her staff and did not say how she would proceed.

Trump entered his Mar-a-Lago Club in Palm Beach, Fla., to cheers Tuesday night, mouthing “thank you” and giving a fist pump. “There’s never been anything so conclusive,” he told the crowd.

“We love you,” his supporters responded.

More than a third of the delegates who eventually will vote on the GOP’s candidate were up for

SEE PRIMARIES ON A8

Takeaways: What Super Tuesday can tell us about November. A9

Young liberals: Little enthusiasm for president at Florida festival. A12

How RFK Jr. made Riverkeeper his



EVAN AGOSTINI/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Robert F. Kennedy Jr. worked to clean up the Hudson River as an attorney at Riverkeeper.

Battle atop nonprofit presaged maverick bid for White House

BY PETER JAMISON

Robert F. Kennedy Jr. arrived at a midtown Manhattan law firm’s office on a summer night in 2000 ready for a fight. His adversary was not one of the polluters he had spent years driving from the Hudson River. It was his mentor, friend and boss, the renowned environmentalist Robert H. Boyle.

Boyle had helped Kennedy rehabilitate himself, personally and professionally, after an arrest for heroin possession in 1983 at the age of 29. But now the two men were locked in a power struggle for control of Riverkeeper, the group that Boyle founded and where Kennedy had built a career as a crusading environmental attorney.

Their battle at that night’s board meeting was over Kennedy’s push to hire a staff scientist who had just been released from federal prison. His crime: running an international wildlife smuggling ring that prosecutors said had damaged rare bird populations.

Boyle argued that employing such a figure at one of New York’s premier environmental organizations was like hiring a

SEE KENNEDY ON A6

Zelensky struggling to find soldiers as war grinds on

Recruitment quandary is a massive challenge for an exhausted Ukraine

BY SIOBHÁN O’GRADY AND SERHI KOROLCHUK

KYIV — Even as he promises international partners that Ukraine will handle the fighting if given needed weapons and other support, President Volodymyr Zelensky and his top military commanders have failed so far to come up with a clear plan to conscript or recruit many thousands of new soldiers critically needed to defend against Russia’s continuing attacks.

Zelensky’s inability to forge a political consensus on a mobilization strategy — despite months of warnings about a severe shortage of qualified troops on the front — has fueled deep divisions in Ukraine’s parliament and more broadly in Ukrainian society. It has left the military relying on a

hodgepodge of recruiting efforts and has sown panic among fighting-age men, some of whom have gone into hiding, worried that they will be drafted into an ill-equipped army and sent to certain death given that aid for Ukraine remains stalled in Washington.

The quandary over how to fill the ranks has confronted Zelensky with perhaps the greatest challenge to his leadership since the start of the February 2022 invasion. The lack of a clear mobilization strategy — or even agreement on how many more troops Ukraine needs — factored into Zelensky’s dismissal of his top general in February, but the new commander in chief, Oleksandr Syrsky, so far has brought no new clarity.

Syrsky has been tasked with auditing the existing armed forces to find more combat-eligible troops, after Zelensky’s office recently announced that of the 1 million people who have been mobilized, only about 300,000 have fought at the front lines. But

SEE UKRAINE ON A14

IN THE NEWS

An alleged climate crime In the first such prosecution under a 2020 law, federal authorities charged a man with smuggling super-pollutants into the United States. A12

Police killing A Fairfax County officer who fatally shot a man last year had drawn his gun on suspected shoplifters twice before. B1

THE NATION Officials said they were racing to help hospitals and health-care providers at risk of running out of cash after a hack. A3
Sen. Kyrsten Sinema (I-Ariz.) said she will not seek reelection. A10

THE WORLD A Chinese leader laid out Beijing’s plan for growth at a precarious economic moment. A13
Palestinian security forces are ill-equipped for the postwar role U.S. officials see for them. A15

THE ECONOMY The federal government said it would sharply limit charges for late credit card payments as part of a crack-down on “junk fees.” A17
U.S. companies escalated their legal fight against federal rules that could help gig workers receive higher pay. A18

THE REGION A judge ruled that a D.C. child born at home in 2022 should receive a birth certificate. B1
Some fraternities criticized the University of Maryland’s order that dozens of Greek life organizations must pause social activities involving alcohol. B1

STYLE The National Symphony Orchestra finishes with a flourish as it ends its sweep through European concert halls. C1

FOOD The sheetpan is an underappreciated workhorse that can help you tackle hands-off breakfasts, mains and more. E1

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