

The Boston Globe

FRIDAY, JUNE 17, 2016

In the news



Mandatory fine

Friday: Cooler and comfy; high 67-72, low 56-61
Saturday: Warmer and dry; high 71-76, low 55-60
High tide: 10:04 a.m., 10:15 p.m.
Sunrise: 5:07 Sunset: 8:24
Complete report, **B9**

More than 50 State Department diplomats urge military strikes against the Syrian government to stop its cease-fire violations. **A6.**

A member of Parliament was fatally shot outside a library in northern England. A suspect was held, with no motive established. **A3.**

Egypt said it has recovered the cockpit voice recorder from the jetliner that plunged into the Mediterranean last month. **A7.**

More than \$1 million in arts funding will be included in Boston Creates, the city's 10-year cultural plan. **B1.**



Attorney General Maura Healey gave the failed Boston IndyCar operators a week to determine how to reimburse ticket buyers. **B1.**

The Supreme Court said a lower court must give further review to a suit over a death at an Arbour psychiatric unit in Lawrence. **B1.**

Prospective buyers ponder how to redevelop buildings in Kenmore Square without blocking the Citgo sign. **C1.**

National Amusements replaced five Viacom directors, a step toward ousting the chief executive. **C1.**

POINT OF VIEW: ALEX BEAM

"Do you think the pharaohs built those pyramids by themselves? They outsourced the job to, um, local workers. We outsource our kids' education to virtual strangers, and sometime rely on Sunday School to teach them what passes for contemporary morals." **A17.**

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Commonwealth v. Commonwealth

Upscale school fights name use by academy for the underprivileged

By **Jeremy C. Fox**
GLOBE STAFF

The Commonwealth School is a serious institution.

The Back Bay private high school occupies a seriously grand pair of townhouses built in the 1870s for the children of a railroad baron. It sends students to serious universities, including MIT and half the Ivy League. It charges a serious \$40,000 a year in tuition and fees.

The school is also serious about protecting its brand: It filed a \$2 million lawsuit in April against a Springfield private academy for underprivileged students that also has "commonwealth" in its name.

The Boston school asserted in court filings that the public's confusion between it and Commonwealth Academy, nearly 90 miles away, is causing the insti-

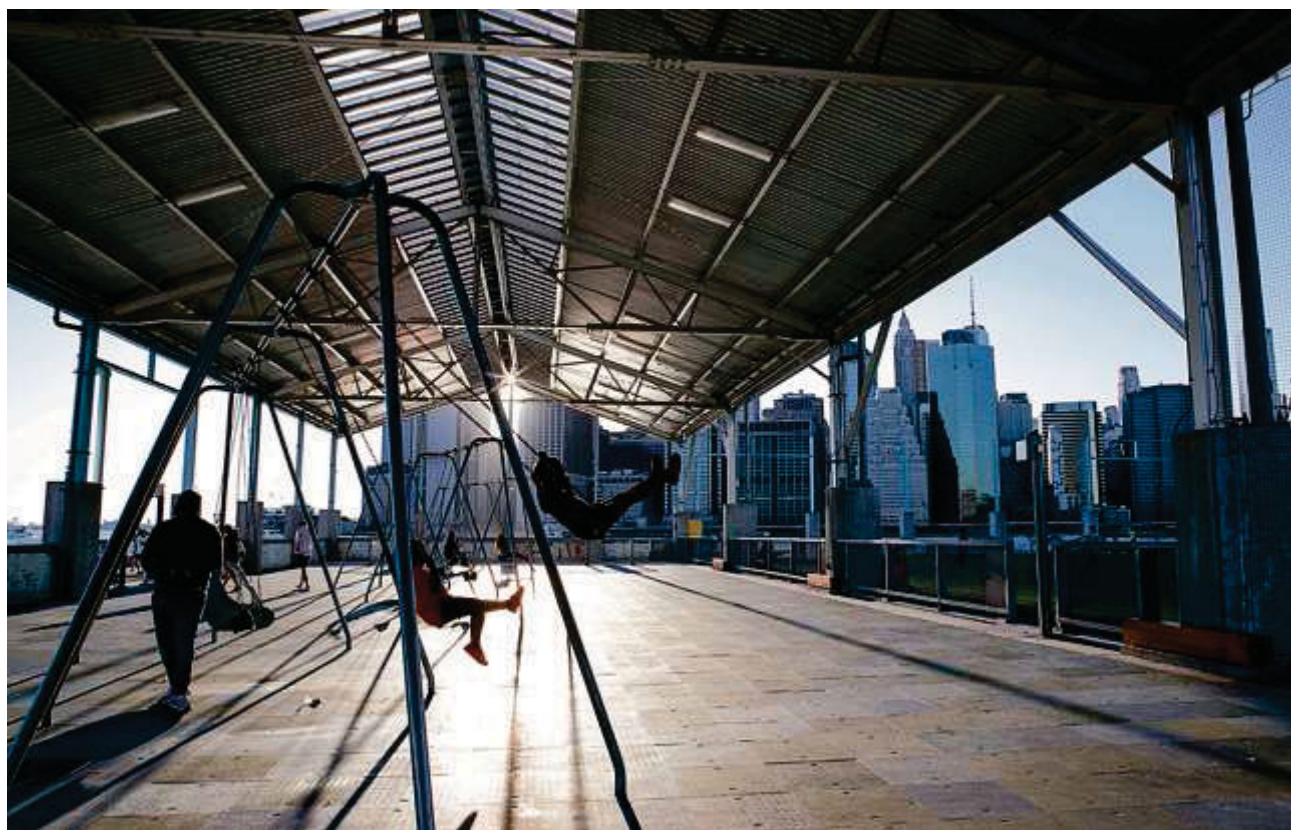
COMMONWEALTH, Page A15



COMMONWEALTH SCHOOL
\$40,000
yearly tuition and fees



COMMONWEALTH ACADEMY
\$1,167
average tuition



JENNIFER TAYLOR FOR THE BOSTON GLOBE

SHIRLEY LEUNG

COMMENTARY

ON NYC'S WATERFRONT, LESSONS FOR BOSTON

NEW YORK — A walk along the East River in Brooklyn is like no other stroll along the waterfront. Sure, there are the obligatory benches and paved paths that open up to breathtaking vistas of the Manhattan skyline.

But for 1.3 miles along the river's edge, visitors experience playgrounds, soccer fields, basketball courts, an outdoor roller rink, a pop-up swimming pool, cafes, barbecue pits, beaches, and performance spaces. And just when you think it can't get any better, you spy a hand-painted carousel that spins under the Brooklyn Bridge.

Now this is how you develop a waterfront.

Brooklyn Bridge Park is a six-year-old public space that Jim Canales, president of the Barr Foundation in Boston, has hailed as a model. Turns out a bunch of Bostonians who are shaping our own harbor's edge have also checked out the 85-acre park.

After visiting the space last week, I couldn't help but think about our own Seaport District, with its ho-hum towers, and ask: Did we just blow it?

LEUNG, Page A14



DAVID L. RYAN/GLOBE STAFF

Children played on Pier 2 at Brooklyn Bridge Park in New York City (top); construction is moving fast in Boston's Seaport (above), but amenities may be mostly an afterthought.

Concessions may get an overhaul at Logan

By **Jon Chesto**
GLOBE STAFF



JUSTIN SAGLIO FOR THE BOSTON GLOBE

Rights to oversee businesses at four terminals may soon be up for bid.

For the first time in more than a decade, the Massachusetts Port Authority is looking to hire a new company to oversee the concessions at its four Logan Airport terminals — a decision that could remake the vast array of retailers and restaurants there for years to come.

Many of the country's biggest airport concessionaires and developers are jockeying for the business: About 160 stores, restaurants, and newsstands operate in the terminals now, together generating about \$175 million in revenue a year.

A new management team could usher in a range of new tenants over the next several years. The people who run Logan have hinted they are looking for more of a regional theme among the

LOGAN, Page A18

Strong words, wide gap on guns

President consoles shooting victims, castigates Congress

By **Tracy Jan**
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON — President Obama traveled to Orlando Thursday and consoled families whose loved ones were killed during the worst mass shooting in modern US history, while Republicans in Congress showed little sign of embracing significant restrictions on weapons sales.

Obama publicly scolded Republicans and gun lobbyists for continually blocking curbs on gun sales, even as House Speaker Paul Ryan told reporters in Washington that he did not want to undercut the Second Amendment.

"Those who defend the easy accessibility of assault weapons should meet these families and explain why that makes sense," Obama said, standing before a makeshift memorial of wreaths and balloons in downtown Orlando.

Obama and Vice President Joe Biden laid 49 white roses, honoring each of the lives cut short early Sunday when what authorities have described as a "lone wolf" terrorist went on a rampage with a military-style rifle firing high-velocity ammunition into a gay nightclub.

Thursday's trip to Orlando was

OBAMA, Page A10

Shooter's postings

Omar Mateen denounced the West and warned of Islamic state vengeance, a senator reported. **A10.**

Weaponmaker stocks

Treasurer Deborah Goldberg said only the Legislature can make the state pension fund divest. **C1.**

BU cancels plan to honor concussion researcher

By **Bob Hohler**
GLOBE STAFF

The Boston University School of Public Health has dropped its plans to give an award to a trailblazing researcher of brain injuries in athletes just days after the doctor was quoted in an article questioning the direction of concussion research by an organization with ties to BU.

Dr. Bennet Omalu, who was played by the actor Will Smith in the recent movie "Concussion," was notified in April that the Boston University School of Public Health planned to award him its highest honor at the school's 40th anniversary gala in November.

But this week, he said, he got a call from Dr. Sandro Galea, dean of the BU School of Public Health.

Galea's message, delivered after Omalu was quoted in a Sunday Boston Globe story about a potential conflict of interest involving World Wrestling Entertainment and the BU-affiliated Concussion Legacy Foundation, was succinct: Omalu would no longer be a

OMALU, Page A14

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The Nation

‘Our city shouldn’t be for sale — and it shouldn’t be for rent either.’

JANE KIM, *San Francisco supervisor*

San Francisco nixes plan to rent park space

Reservation proposal meets stiff resistance

By Janie Har
ASSOCIATED PRESS

SAN FRANCISCO — A proposal to let people reserve grassy plots of picnic lawn at a popular San Francisco park hit a collective nerve when it was unveiled last month: Within hours, thousands of people signed an online petition to kill the plan, a protest was scheduled, and city leaders declared the grass wasn’t for sale or rent.

The parks department quickly yanked the permitting idea, even as it defended the prices as modest and the practice as common throughout the country and in other city parks, including Golden Gate Park.

But Dolores Park happens to be in the Mission District, a historically working-class neighborhood at the center of San Francisco’s rapidly changing demographics — one that is becoming wealthier. Facebook co-founder Mark Zuckerberg, for example, owns a house nearby.

And for residents reeling from out-of-reach home prices, the prevalence of tech shuttles on city roads, and the rise of boutique shops catering to clientele with disposable cash, the

idea of reserving park space was too much.

“I’d understand where somebody wanted to rent a space with a grill and a picnic area with tables,” said Joe Maniego, from nearby Daly City, “but reserving areas of specific grass is a little too far-fetched for what Dolores Park is known for.”

Thousands of people flock to Dolores Park every weekend to perch on a sloping expanse of gorgeous lawn that overlooks the city’s downtown. It’s an egalitarian space that attracts in equal parts stroller-bearing parents, elderly couples, neighborhood kids, and beer-drinking hipsters.

San Francisco supervisors are considering legislation to curb the practice.

“We all have the right to enjoy the city’s precious open space and picnic without having every square foot and blade of grass privatized and micro-managed,” Supervisor Aaron Peskin said in a press release.

Supervisor Jane Kim, who is running for a California state Senate seat, said in a release that “our city shouldn’t be for sale — and it shouldn’t be for rent either.”

Dolores Park re-opened in January after a two-year, \$20 million renovation.

Parks spokesman Joey Kahn



ERIC RISBERG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dolores Park is in the Mission District, which is at the center of San Francisco’s rapidly changing demographics.

defended the rental program, saying that Dolores Park took reservations before the renovation. There would have been three picnic areas, each able to accommodate up to 50 people.

Rental prices start at \$33 for families and nonprofits, with a \$200 security deposit for cleanup. Cleanup is particularly an issue at Dolores Park, where the department spent \$750,000 picking up waste last year.

For-profit businesses and corporations pay more, starting at \$260. The city issued 7,700 permits in 2015, mostly for children’s parties.

Adrian Benepe, a senior vice president at The Trust for Public Land and former head of New York City parks, said parks in Chicago and New York City also assess rental fees and it’s a good way for time-strapped families without a lot of money to secure space for a birthday party.

“I think the main problem was the way it was presented as if the lawns of San Francisco are for sale to corporate buyers when all it is is a permitting system,” Benepe said. “There’s nothing unusual about this.”

And yet, the idea struck

park visitors on a recent Saturday as wrong.

Melissa Bostwick had spread out three blankets and a table decked with bouquets and balloons in honor of her 26th birthday. The San Francisco native frowned at the idea of an online reservation system.

“We knew we would have a big group, so we got here early to reserve space before it got crowded,” she said, “because that’s the right way to do it.”

This isn’t the first time the department was forced to cancel its reservation policy in this neighborhood.

In 2014, local kids rumbled with technology workers over a soccer field where the kids had played pickup games for years. The tech workers had gone online to reserve the space and insisted they had the right.

Peskin, the supervisor, said that he does not oppose renting out open space for events — but parks officials should know better than to impose an online reservation system in this particular neighborhood.

“It’s just a level of insensitivity,” Peskin said, “in a historically low income community of color.”

DAILY BRIEFING

House rejects bid to bar illegal immigrants from serving in armed forces

WASHINGTON — The Republican-led House on Thursday narrowly defeated an attempt to bar young immigrants living in the country illegally from enlisting in the armed forces, as opponents tied the measure to Donald Trump’s presidential campaign.

Lawmakers voted 211-210 to reject an amendment by Representative Paul Gosar, an Arizona Republican, to the annual defense spending bill. He said he wanted to close what he called a “backdoor amnesty program” created by President Obama without approval from Congress.

Representative Ruben Gallego, an Arizona Democrat, linked Gosar’s amendment to Trump’s characterizations of immigrants and his proposals to deport those illegally in the United States.

“I am glad to see that some



ASSOCIATED PRESS/FILE

Representative Ruben Gallego linked the proposed amendment to Donald Trump’s policies.

Republicans are rejecting the tired, anti-immigrant policies promoted by the likes of Donald Trump,” Gallego, a former Marine who served in Iraq, said.

The potential recruits were brought to the United States illegally as children. They are

protected from deportation under the Obama administration’s Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program, or DACA. They also receive temporary work permits, renewable every two years as long as they meet certain requirements. Federal officials have said the program is not a pathway to permanent residency or citizenship.

The Pentagon announced nearly two years ago that DACA beneficiaries would be allowed to enlist in a trial program that had been open only to legal immigrants who had unique language, medical, and cultural skills.

Gallego said that weeks ago the House Armed Services Committee approved a compromise that affirmed the secretary of defense’s authority to allow any immigrant to enlist, including DACA beneficiaries,

if it’s determined to be in the national interest.

Gosar said the Pentagon told him that 141 DACA immigrants have used that path to join the military. But the program was never supposed “to be utilized for the benefit of illegal aliens,” according to Gosar, who said they can be granted citizenship if they are deployed to a combat zone for at least one day. He said his amendment would have returned the program to its original intent.

“The president has relentlessly amended immigration law by executive fiat and executive edict. And this is another time,” said Representative Steve King, an Iowa Republican and a frequent critic of the Obama administration’s immigration policies who supported Gosar’s proposal.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Knives put to test at NYC hearing

NEW YORK — Even a federal judge tried her hand at flicking open a pocketknife as a state law banning gravity knives was tested in open court Thursday.

Judge Katherine Forrest in Manhattan flicked open a decades-old knife, and it popped out with ease. An artist and an art dealer charged in 2010 with misdemeanor criminal possession of a weapon and a retail store that sells common folding knives are challenging a state law created in the 1950s as too vague to enforce.

Plaintiffs’ attorney Daniel Schmutter demonstrated about a dozen knives with blades shorter than 4 inches along with Doug Ritter, chairman of the Knife Rights organization, to show that the city’s test as to whether a pocket-knife is legal — a flick of the wrist — is insufficient to charge someone criminally.

As an assistant US marshal observed the knives, the judge twice warned a court stenographer to move a safe distance from the demonstration while

a man hired by the plaintiffs videotaped the demonstration.

Repeatedly, Ritter threw his arm down hard as he tried to open knives. His face turned red, and he sometimes seemed in pain. On several occasions, he did so six or seven times before the blade popped out.

Schmutter said only three of about a dozen knives shown to the court were true gravity knives while the rest might be determined by the city to be illegal knives if a police officer is able to flick them open. Because the ability to open various knives can vary from person to person, Schmutter said, a knife buyer is put in the position of facing prosecution depending on which officer tries to open the knife.

Manhattan Assistant District Attorney Dan Rather testified that the knives Schmutter demonstrated would not have resulted in criminal charges and he ridiculed the knife-flicking display for the “exaggerated shoulder movement and foot stomping.”

ASSOCIATED PRESS

3 US babies have defects tied to Zika

NEW YORK — Three babies with Zika-linked birth defects have been born in the United States, the government reported Thursday in its first accounting of outcomes for pregnant women infected with the virus.

The defects were also seen in three other pregnancies that ended.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has been tracking the pregnancies of women with Zika infections since the beginning of the year. So far, 234 pregnant women — residents and visitors — have been diagnosed with Zika.

Some babies have been born with no immediate signs of problems, according to the CDC’s Dr. Denise Jamieson, but she would not say how many.

All the cases are connected to travel to areas with outbreaks of the mosquito-borne virus, primarily Latin America and the Caribbean.

The health agency provided few details about the six wom-

en, their pregnancies, the birth defects, or their severity. Three cases ended in “pregnancy loss” but the CDC did not say whether they were from miscarriage, stillbirth, or abortion.

While the women had Zika infections, the officials said they did not know whether the birth defects were caused by the virus or other factors.

Most people infected with Zika never develop symptoms, and Jamieson said not all of the six women had them. Others get a fever, rash, joint pain, or red eyes, and recover within a week.

But during the Zika epidemic in Brazil, the virus was identified as a cause of fetal deaths and potentially devastating birth defects.

In its birth defects numbers, the CDC is counting a range of conditions. Chief among them is microcephaly, a severe birth defect in which a baby’s skull is much smaller than expected.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Southern Baptists welcome refugees

WASHINGTON — In the midst of a political season in which political leaders have frequently decried refugees as a security threat to the United States, the nation’s second-largest religious group sent a different message about refugees on Wednesday: Welcome them.

The Southern Baptist Convention, the denomination that represents more Americans than any religion but Catholicism, approved a resolution on refugee resettlement in the United States at its annual meeting in St. Louis.

It was the first time that Southern Baptists, who regu-

larly weigh in on all sorts of political topics, approved a resolution about refugees since 1985, according to Matthew Soerens of World Relief, an evangelical organization.

The significance of the message did not escape Southern Baptists.

“Scripture calls for and expects God’s people to minister to the sojourner,” the resolution said, citing Bible verses about welcoming strangers. “We encourage Southern Baptist churches and families to welcome and adopt refugees into their churches and homes.”

WASHINGTON POST

Reporting corrections

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The World

UK lawmaker shot to death after meeting

Suspect has ties to US hate group, center contends

By Stephen Castle and Pauline Bock
NEW YORK TIMES

LEEDS, England — A member of Parliament was gunned down outside a library in northern England as she was wrapping up a meeting with constituents Thursday afternoon, a rare act of political violence in a nation that strictly regulates firearms.

The lawmaker, Jo Cox, 41, who was considered a rising star in the opposition Labour Party and was a passionate advocate for victims of the civil war in Syria, was shot in Birstall, a town about six miles southwest of the city of Leeds. A 77-year-old man was slightly injured in the attack.

A 52-year-old man was arrested in Cox’s killing, and police said they were not looking for any other suspects. No motive has been established, officials said. The suspect was identified in the British news media as Thomas Mair.

On Thursday night, the Southern Poverty Law Center reported on its website that Mair was a “dedicated supporter” of the National Alliance, a neo-Nazi organization in the United States. The center, which tracks hate groups, said Mair bought a manual from the alliance in 1999 that included instructions on how to build a pistol. It based its reporting on invoices it said it had obtained, copies of which were published on its website.

According to the center, Mair sent just over \$620 to the alliance for items from National Vanguard Books, its publishing imprint, including works that instructed readers on the chemistry of powder and explosives.

Mair’s brother Scott told The



CHRISTOPHER FURLONG/GETTY IMAGES

Police examined shoes and a handbag where Jo Cox, a Labour lawmaker, was shot. Mourners (below) set up a memorial.

Daily Telegraph that he was “struggling to believe what has happened.”

“My brother is not violent and is not all that political. I don’t even know who he votes for. He has a history of mental illness, but he has had help,” the newspaper quoted him as saying.

Gun ownership in Britain has been tightly controlled since a 1996 massacre at a school in Scotland, and historians said it was the first time a sitting member of Parliament had been killed since 1990, when the Irish Republican Army assassinated a Conservative lawmaker, Ian Gow.

The killing occurred one week before a referendum on whether Britain should leave the European Union, and both sides immediately halted cam-



DANIEL LEAL-OLIVAS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

paigning out of respect for Cox.

“The death of Jo Cox is a tragedy,” Prime Minister David Cameron of Britain wrote on Twitter, describing Cox as “a committed and caring MP” and “a great star.” He said, “It’s right that we’re suspending campaigning activity in this referendum.”

Jeremy Corbyn, the leader of the Labour Party, wrote on Twitter: “The whole of the Labour family, and indeed the whole country, is in shock and grief at the horrific murder of Jo Cox.”

Cox, like most other Labour politicians, supported Britain’s continued membership in the

European Union. In her maiden speech in Parliament last year, she spoke of the diversity of her district, which includes Irish Catholics and Indian Muslims. “We are far more united and have far more in common than that which divides us,” she said.

Last week, she wrote on Twitter: “Immigration is a legitimate concern, but it’s not a good reason to leave the EU.” On Wednesday, her husband, Brendan, took part in a joust between prominent campaigners from both sides, an event nicknamed the Battle of the Thames.

Brendan Cox issued a statement on Thursday, saying: “Hate doesn’t have a creed, race or religion, it is poisonous.”

In Birstall, where the last census recorded nearly 17,000 residents, police cordoned off

DAILY BRIEFING

Tourist-bait monkeys overrun town

WASHINGTON — It started as a tourist destination, but the main attraction soon overran the town. In a story that seems to channel the spirits of both Michael Crichton and Charlton Heston, a scheme by Chinese villagers to support the local economy with dozens of tame monkeys has gone horribly awry.

In 2003, over a span of nearly seven weeks, the residents of Xianfeng village lured dozens of macaque monkeys down from nearby mountains. Xianfeng is located in China’s Sichuan province, where another tourist attraction, Mount Emei, is famous for its monkeys. The villagers were, perhaps, inspired by the mountainous monkey refuge, China’s CCTV News said.

In the beginning, Xianfeng found success. Tourists flocked to see the monkeys, with investors following close behind.

“Every weekend and public holiday, the village welcomes thousands of visitors,” a stakeholder told CCTV.

But it would not last. After the death of lead investor

Zhou Zhenggui in 2014, commercial support for the village dried up. Meanwhile, the monkey troop swelled to 600 animals, which began ransacking farms. (Where macaques are common, they can be pests; this presents a particular conundrum in northern India, where the animals are simultaneously icons of the god Hanuman as well as threats to the local Hindu farmers.)

Like humans, macaques are intelligent primates: Dario Maestripieri, a primatologist at the University of Chicago, once called the macaque “Machiavellian.” Also like humans, the monkeys can become nuisances in diverse environments.

At Xianfeng the monkeys steal food, get into cacophonous fights, and break into homes, CCTV News reports. On nearby Mount Emei, visitors to the monkeys’ habitat are now warned not to touch or feed the furry denizens, and to clutch valuables tightly as the animals have been known to abscond with objects and drape them from the treetops.

WASHINGTON POST

Canada anthem to be gender neutral

WASHINGTON — Canada’s lower house of Parliament voted Wednesday to tweak the words to the national anthem so that it is “gender neutral.” The bill will now move to the Senate.

Currently, the English version of “O Canada” contains the words “true patriot love, in all thy sons command” — and the second clause would be replaced with “in all of us command.”

Canada’s new prime minister, Justin Trudeau, has been hailed as a feminist leader, and made his Cabinet the first to have equal numbers of men and women. His Liberal Party controls the House of Commons, and the vote to change the anthem was passed resoundingly. Patty Hadju, the Status of Women minister, said of the move: “I think it’s really important as a very strong symbol of our commitment to gender equality in this country.”

The bill was introduced by Mauril Bélanger, who has championed the cause for many years. The bill was ta-

bled once before, in 2010, and it was voted down by the previous Conservative-led government. But the move has gained greater urgency since Bélanger received a diagnosis of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, or ALS, also known as Lou Gehrig’s disease.

There are concerns that the Canadian Senate, which usually does pass bills sent to it by the House of Commons, won’t get around to the bill before Bélanger passes away.

“O Canada” was composed in 1880, and its original version was in French. The English version is an adaptation, not translation, of the French, and was written decades later. It didn’t become the national anthem until 1980. The French version has gender-neutral language.

Lawmakers in the House of Commons stood and sang the anthem in both national languages after the vote passed Wednesday. It wasn’t clear whether the English version they sang had the amended clause.

WASHINGTON POST



BEN CURTIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS/FILE 2014

Kenyan gays and lesbians wore masks to preserve their anonymity during a rare protest against discrimination.

missed their petition.

Other countries that still use “anal examinations” to determine homosexuality include

Cameroon, Egypt, Tunisia, Turkmenistan, Uganda, and Zambia.

WASHINGTON POST

Venezuela asylum requests spike

CARACAS — The number of Venezuelans seeking asylum in the United States has soared as the oil-dependent economy crashes and more of the middle-class flees.

The most recent data from the US government’s Citizenship and Immigration Services show that in March 2016, Venezuelans climbed to second place among nationalities submitting asylum requests, with 1,345 applications during that month.

Only citizens of China made more requests, 1,441 of the total 10,345 submitted that month.

The South American country first cracked the top 10 asylum-seeking nations in February 2014 when a bloody, monthslong street protest movement seeking to oust the socialist administration kicked off. But back then, amid the widespread jailing and harassment of opponents of President Nicolas Maduro, fewer than 100 Venezuelans per month sought asylum.

The number of applicants has accelerated sharply since December 2015, when the opposition scored a landslide victory in congressional elections, giving hope to many

that it could disrupt 17 years of socialist rule. Instead, more and more Venezuelans are choosing to leave as an economic crisis marked by triple-digit inflation pulverizes salaries and widespread food and medicine shortages makes life unbearable for many.

The asylum requests in March surpass the number of applications received in all of 2013, according to Julio Henriquez, director of the Boston-based nonprofit Refugee Freedom Program, which drew attention to the data in a report Thursday. It also is more than the total number of Venezuelans granted asylum in 2014. The vast majority are middle-class Venezuelans who don’t qualify for refugee status reserved for those seeking to escape political persecution, he said.

Still, given mounting hardships at home, increasing numbers of Venezuelans are willing to take advantage of a more-than-two-year delay for their application to be processed to obtain work authorization and seek short-term employment even if it means being eventually deported.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Runaway Russian robot snarls traffic

WASHINGTON — A robot ran away from scientists and caused a traffic jam in the city of Perm, Russia. Although that might sound like a scene from a science fiction movie, it actually happened.

The robot, named Promobot, apparently broke free after an engineer forgot to shut the gate. The robot then found its way to the middle of a nearby street, where it blocked traffic for about an hour before its battery ran out. A witness filmed the incident and posted the bizarre situation on You-

Tube. In the video, a policeman guards the white, humanoid-looking robot while cars swerve around to avoid hitting it.

According to Oleg Kivokurtsev, cofounder of the company behind Promobot, “the robot was learning automatic movement algorithms on the testing ground,” which will be featured in an upcoming version. The company says its machines can answer questions, give directions, and even recognize people.

WASHINGTON POST

Kenya upholds invasive tests for gays

WASHINGTON — A Kenyan court has upheld the use of anal examinations in attempts to determine a suspect’s sexual orientation. Homosexual acts are a crime in Kenya, bringing possible prison sentences of up to 14 years.

Some might find the terms anal examination and/or anal probe graphic enough, but, to be clear, some consider it a form of torture. In fact, a United Nations special rapporteur on torture wrote this in a report this January: “In states where homosexuality is criminalized, men suspected of same-sex conduct are subject to nonconsensual anal examinations intended to obtain

physical evidence of homosexuality, a practice that is medically worthless and amounts to torture or ill-treatment.”

In other words, the “examination” is intended to humiliate, not obtain evidence, critics say.

The high court in the coastal Kenyan city of Mombasa made the decision after reviewing the case of two men who were arrested in a bar in February 2015 on suspicions of engaging in gay sex. The two men were subjected to the procedure, as well as mandatory HIV and hepatitis B testing, and protested their treatment as degrading and abusive.

A judge on Thursday dis-

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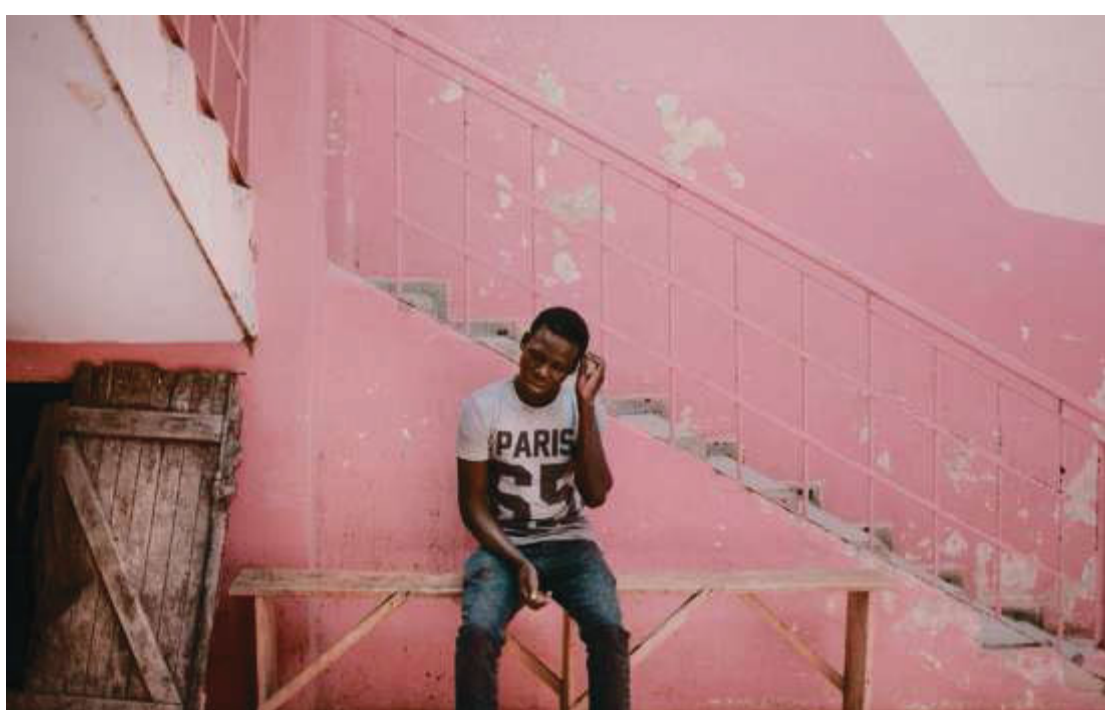
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DMITRY KOSTYUKOV/NEW YORK TIMES

Samba Thiam moved from his home village in search of work in Dakar, Senegal.

Desperation at home drives Africans to perilous seas

2,800 migrants have died in 2016 in Mediterranean

By Dionne Searcey
NEW YORK TIMES

DAKAR, Senegal — Samba Thiam knew exactly what would happen after his older brother drowned with 800 other migrants last spring in one of the worst Mediterranean shipwrecks in recent history.

Thiam would have to test his luck, too.

Now that his brother is gone, Thiam, 23, is the oldest male in the family, the one expected to support his brother's widow and three daughters, not to mention his mother and his own wife and son.

So, instead of making Thiam recoil from such a treacherous journey, his brother's death has made him more likely to set off on the same perilous course.

"I'm quite sure if he would have made it to Europe, our life would have changed," Thiam said. "If I don't get a job, I will take the risk and do the same."

More than 1,300 people have died trying to cross the Mediterranean in boats from North Africa in the last few weeks alone. Most of the people who risk everything to make the crossing come from such places as Eritrea, Gambia, Nige-

ria, Senegal, Somalia, and other African countries where the job market is decimated.

The global debate over migration often focuses on the desperate treks of Syrians fleeing a horrible civil war. But the latest deaths at sea are a powerful reminder that the journey Africans take to escape the hardships of daily life is significantly more dangerous — and increasingly common, the United Nations says.

On Thursday, the government of Niger reported that the bodies of 34 migrants, including 20 children, had been discovered in the Sahara near the Algerian border.

Getting to Europe from places such as Senegal often requires crossing hundreds of miles of desert patrolled by thieves and terrorist groups — offshoots of Al Qaeda and the Islamic State.

Those who make it that far then step aboard overcrowded, shoddy boats that head out across the Mediterranean from Libya or Algeria. The odds of dying at sea on the way to Italy are grim: as high as 1 person for every 23 who try.

Despite the risks, three to four times as many migrants as usual have been streaming into Libya from Niger, a popular place to cross the Sahara, in recent weeks, according to Giuseppe Loprete, chief of mis-

sion in Niger for the International Organization for Migration. As many as 17,000 people made the crossing in a single week in June.

About 240,000 migrants are now in Libya, looking for work or waiting to cross, he said.

More than 2,800 migrants have died crossing the Mediterranean Sea this year, a 56 percent increase from what was recorded in the same period last year, according to the migration organization.

For West Africans, just getting to Niger on the arduous trek to Europe costs about \$400, a sum often gathered from relatives who sell their livestock or personal belongings. Then to carry on from Niamey, the capital, they must pay another, bigger fee, which catches many people off guard. They often get trapped, scrambling for more cash to push on.

Thiam got a call from his brother, Amadou, 25, when he arrived penniless in Niger. The family sold cattle and sent him money to keep going. Halfway to Libya, robbers attacked his group, but Amadou managed to flee before anyone could take his cash. He finally made it to the boat carrying 800 people, only to drown when it sank off the coast of Libya as a cargo ship was coming to its rescue.

He had never been on a boat before. He could not swim.

US diplomats urge strikes against Assad

Obama unlikely to change course

By Mark Landler
NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON — More than 50 State Department diplomats have signed an internal memo sharply critical of the Obama administration's policy in Syria, urging the United States to carry out military strikes against the government of President Bashar Assad to stop its persistent violations of a cease-fire in the country's five-year-old civil war.

The memo, a draft of which was provided to The New York Times by a State Department official, says US policy has been "overwhelmed" by the unrelenting violence in Syria. It calls for "a judicious use of stand-off and air weapons, which would undergird and drive a more focused and hard-nosed US-led diplomatic process."

Such a step would represent a radical shift in the administration's approach to the civil war in Syria, and there is little evidence that President Obama has plans to change course. Obama has emphasized the military campaign against the Islamic State over efforts to dislodge Assad. Diplomatic efforts to end the conflict, led by Secretary of State John Kerry, have all but collapsed.

But the memo, filed in the State Department's "dissent channel," underscores the lingering frustration within the administration over how to deal with a war that has killed more than 400,000 people.

The State Department set up the channel during the Viet-

nam War as a way for employees who had disagreements with policies to register their protest with the secretary of state, without fear of reprisal. While dissent cables are not that unusual, the number of signatures on this document, 51, is extremely high.

The names on the memo are almost all midlevel officials — many of them career diplomats — who have been involved in the administration's Syria policy over the last five years, at home or abroad. They range from a Syria desk officer in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs to a former deputy to the US ambassador in Damascus.

While there are no widely recognized names, higher-level State Department officials are known to share their concerns. Kerry, himself, has pushed for stronger action against Syria. The president has resisted such pressure and has been backed up by his military commanders, who have raised questions about what would happen in the event that Assad was forced from power — a scenario that the draft memo does not address.

The State Department spokesman, John Kirby, declined to comment. But he said Kerry respected the process as a way for employees "to express policy views candidly and privately to senior leadership."

Robert S. Ford, a former ambassador to Syria, said, "Many people working on Syria for the State Department have long urged a tougher policy with the Assad government as a means of facilitating arrival at a negotiated political deal to set up a new Syrian government."

Ex-chief of military to challenge Netanyahu

By Josef Federman
ASSOCIATED PRESS

JERUSALEM — Israel's newly resigned defense minister said Thursday that he will challenge Benjamin Netanyahu in the country's next election, accusing the Israeli prime minister of scaring the public with exaggerated security threats and allowing a "radical minority" to take over.

With his comments, Moshe Yaalon completed his transformation from one of Netanyahu's closest and most trusted advisers into one of his most serious challengers.

Yaalon, a former military chief, was forced to resign last month after Netanyahu offered the defense post to Avigdor Lieberman. Netanyahu and Yaalon had been at odds following a series of disagreements between political hard-liners and military leaders.

In his first major address since stepping down, Yaalon accused Netanyahu of using scare tactics to exaggerate regional threats against Israel.

"Knowing the strategic situation of Israel in detail, and the military's power and capabilities, I can say that today and in the foreseeable future there is no existential threat on the state of Israel," Yaalon said.

"Therefore, it is expected of the leadership to stop scaring the citizens of Israel and giving them the sense that we are on the brink of a second Holocaust," he added, speaking Thursday at the Herzliya Conference, an annual gathering of the military and political elite.

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MASSACRE IN ORLANDO

Strong words, weak prospects on gun control

►OBAMA
Continued from Page A1

Obama's tenth visit to console a community following a mass shooting during his presidency. He mentioned Newtown, Conn., where 20 children and six adults were killed at an elementary school in 2012, and Aurora, Colo., where 12 were killed in a movie theater earlier that year.

Politics has conspired to make it easy for a terrorist to legally purchase “extraordinarily powerful weapons,” he said.

“Today once again, as has been true too many times before, I held and hugged grieving family members and parents, and they asked, why does this keep happening? And they pleaded that we do more to stop the carnage,” Obama said. “They don’t care about the politics. Neither do I.”

But stalemate continued to rule in Washington, and it was clear Thursday that Obama and his allies in Congress faced a difficult challenge winning tougher rules. Senate Republicans agreed to hold votes on several amendments as early as Monday after a nearly 15-hour filibuster led by Democrat Christopher Murphy of Connecticut. But the chances of any of the measures passing the Republican-controlled chamber — let alone the even more conservative House — are slim.

“My legs are a little bit rubbery but my heart is strong because I know we made a difference yesterday,” Murphy said in a press conference Thursday. “Now we believe we’re on a path to get folks on the record and that’s a start.”

Lawmakers wrangled, with little or no progress, over a possible compromise that would increase scrutiny by federal authorities before weapons could be sold to people on terror watch lists. Proposals for expanded background checks for sales at gun shows and on the Internet appeared doomed.

When asked at a press conference about proposals to keep weapons out of the hands of potential terror suspects, Ryan appeared unmoved.

“Is going after the Second Amendment how you stop terrorism? No, that’s not how you stop terrorism,” Ryan said. “We don’t take away citizens’ rights without due process. . . We’re going to stand up and defend the Constitution.”

Legislation to expand mandatory background checks for gun sales failed in 2013 following the Newtown school shooting. At the time, Democrats controlled the Senate.

Democrats leading the charge accused their Republican colleagues of remaining beholden to the powerful National Rifle Association.

“I think we’ve reached a tipping point. The terrorists we need to fear are not on the streets of Aleppo or Mosul or Fallujah. They are on the streets of the United States,”



SAUL LOEB/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

President Obama and Vice President Joe Biden visited a memorial Thursday for victims of the mass shooting in Orlando.

said Senator Edward Markey, a Massachusetts Democrat.

But the NRA has a “vise-like grip on the Republican Party,” Markey said. “It will not release it easily. This is going to be a titanic struggle on the Senate floor. The NRA has to stand for Not Relevant Anymore in American politics.”

Obama, in his Orlando speech, said that he hopes senators who had previously voted against expanded background checks have a change of heart and that the House “does the right thing and helps end the plague of violence that these weapons of war inflict on so many young lives.”

“We can stop some tragedies. We can save some lives,” Obama said. “If we don’t act, we will keep seeing more massacres like this because we will be choosing to allow them to happen.”

Most Americans for years have shown in polls that they

favor stronger background checks and curbs on assault weapons, which have been defined as a semiautomatic rifle that has been modified and can accept large ammunition magazines. The debate after the Orlando killings has also been focused on combating Islamic State and identifying home-grown terrorists who are inspired by extremist websites and social media.

A CBS News poll conducted after the Orlando shooting found that 57 percent of Americans now say they support a nationwide ban on assault weapons, up by 13 percentage points from a poll taken in December.

Arizona Senator John McCain Thursday lashed out at Obama, telling reporters that the president was “directly responsible” for the Orlando killings because of his failure to stop Islamic State. He later issued a statement saying he mispoke and that he meant that

Obama’s policies in Iraq and Syria were responsible.

Donald Trump expressed interest in blocking weapons sales to suspected terrorists. He announced on Twitter Wednesday that he would be meeting with the NRA, which has endorsed him, about “not allowing people on the terrorist watch list, or the no fly list, to buy guns.”

Then at a campaign rally in Georgia that same day, Trump told the crowd, “I’m going to save your Second Amendment.”

Neither his campaign nor the NRA responded to a question on whether the meeting had been set up.

The NRA, in a statement, said it, too, believes “terrorists should not be allowed to purchase or possess firearms, period.” But that is different than passing legislation specifically banning sales to people on watch lists.

The gun lobby supports a

bill put forth by Senate majority whip John Cornyn, a Texas Republican, that would delay guns sales to those on the terror watch list for up to 72 hours. After that, federal prosecutors would have to persuade a judge to block the sale.

A Democratic bill, proposed by Senator Dianne Feinstein of California, would prevent anyone on the list from buying firearms or explosives. If someone on the list tries to purchase a gun, the Justice Department would be notified and a background check would be conducted. The attorney general would be able to prohibit weapons sales to individuals with suspected links to terrorism, even if he or she is not already on the list.

Republicans contend that version would deny due process to those who are erroneously on the terror watch list.

Markey said Trump needs to clarify which bill he supports.

Gay pride events draw heightened security

By Don Babwin
ASSOCIATED PRESS

CHICAGO — The huge crowds expected to attend gay pride parades around the United States in the coming weeks will be greeted by more police officers and ramped-up security measures as a means to protect them after the mass shooting in a gay nightclub in Florida.

While federal and local authorities haven’t received information of any credible threats, authorities from Denver to Chicago to New Orleans say they are tightening security with bag searches, more police officers and private security workers, and more crowd-control barriers.

In Chicago, where nearly 1 million people have attended the pride parade in previous years, better security — including 200 additional uniformed and plain-clothes officers — will be assigned to this weekend’s PrideFest and next weekend’s parade.

In Denver, organizers of this Sunday’s PrideFest said the 300,000 people expected to attend will see more fences, more searches of bags and other security measures.

And in New Orleans, city officials say that security will be beefed up in the popular French Quarter for the city’s annual gay pride celebrations, with larger numbers of police officers and state troopers on duty.

“Donald Trump says he has the ability to talk tough to terrorists but he doesn’t have the courage to talk tough to the NRA,” Markey said. “Donald Trump has to prove that he’s not a wholly owned subsidiary of the NRA.”

Senator Chuck Schumer, a New York Democrat, called the Republican versions “bunk,” “smokescreen proposals.” Democrats say the waiting period in the Cornyn bill is too short and that requiring the Justice Department to intervene and ask a judge to block the sale is balky and unfeasible.

“It’s a way for them to say they’re doing something when they’re doing nothing, a way for them to pay obeisance to the NRA without changing the world as it is,” Schumer said. “Let’s stop this kabuki dance.”

Tracy Jan can be reached at tracy.jan@globe.com. Follow her on Twitter @TracyJan.

Gunman posted threats to Facebook accounts before attack

Company asked to supply data from his pages

By Richard Pérez-Peña
NEW YORK TIMES

The gunman who committed the massacre at a popular gay nightclub in Orlando used multiple Facebook accounts to write posts and make searches about the Islamic State. “Now taste the Islamic state vengeance,” he declared, denouncing “the filthy ways of the west.” He even searched for references to the massacre while he was carrying it out, a US senator revealed Thursday.

In his posts, the gunman, Omar Mateen, called on the United States and Russia to stop the bombing campaign against the Islamic State, the extremist group that controls parts of Syria and Iraq, pledged allegiance to the group’s leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, and said, “may Allah accept me,” Republican Senator Ron John-

son of Wisconsin wrote in a letter to Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook’s chairman and chief executive.

“You kill innocent women and children by doing us airstrikes,” Mateen wrote in one post, according to the senator. “Now taste the Islamic State vengeance.”

And in what Johnson described as the gunman’s final post, he wrote, “In the next few days you will see attacks from the Islamic State in the USA.”

Federal law enforcement officials and eyewitnesses have said that after killing and wounding scores of people at the Pulse nightclub early Sunday and taking hostages, Mateen, 29, declared his support for the Islamic State in phone conversations with police. In the past, he had said he supported or belonged to other Islamist extremist groups, and he had expressed hatred of gay people.

Law enforcement officials, and President Obama, have said that Mateen, the Ameri-

can-born son of Afghan immigrants, was influenced by radical propaganda that he found online. But so far, officials say, the evidence suggests that he was “self-radicalized” and acted alone, with no direct connection to any larger organization.

On Thursday, the CIA director, John O. Brennan, gave a grim assessment of the prospects for such attacks to continue. Though the Islamic State has been pushed back on battlefields in the Middle East, he said in testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee, “our efforts have not reduced the group’s terrorism capabilities and global reach.”

About a third of the Islamic State fighters in Syria and Iraq are believed to have been killed or to have deserted. But Brennan said the Islamic State was intensifying its plans to stage attacks in the West, and was committed to continue using propaganda to inspire “lone wolf” attacks like Mateen’s.

Johnson, who leads the

Committee on Homeland Security, wrote in his letter to Zuckerberg that his staff had found that “five Facebook accounts were apparently associated with Omar Mateen.” He asked that Facebook provide the committee with all information on any accounts tied to the gun-

‘You kill innocent women and children by doing us airstrikes. Now taste the Islamic State vengeance.’

OMAR MATEEN, on Facebook

man, including activity logs, messages, photos, and posts. The letter, dated Wednesday and made public on Thursday, asked the company to comply by June 29.

Mateen frequently used Facebook to search for informa-

tion on offices of the FBI and other law enforcement agencies, and last month he searched for information on the couple who pledged allegiance to the Islamic State and then killed 14 people in December in San Bernardino, Calif., Johnson wrote. On June 4, he conducted a Facebook search for “Baghdadi Speech.”

And on Sunday morning, after opening fire at the Pulse nightclub and while a three-hour standoff with police was underway, “Mateen apparently searched for ‘Pulse Orlando’ and ‘Shooting,’” the letter states.

The disclosure by Johnson came as Obama and Vice President Joe Biden prepared to visit Orlando and meet privately with the scores of families who lost sons, daughters, siblings, and partners to offer the condolences of a nation that is still reeling.

On Thursday, investigators were still searching for answers to the shooting. In recent days, they have interviewed Mateen’s

wife, along with relatives, friends, and anyone who may have had contact with him.

His wife, Noor Zahi Salman, has told the FBI that she tried to talk her husband out of carrying out an attack, but that she once drove him to Pulse and went with him to buy ammunition, law enforcement officials say. On Wednesday, Justice Department officials declined to say whether Salman might face criminal charges.

The attack by Mateen, who used an assault rifle and a handgun, left 49 people dead and 53 wounded — the worst mass shooting in American history. Most of the victims were lesbian or gay, Hispanic, or both.

During the standoff, Mateen told police that he had explosives as well as firearms. And he referred to other gunmen working with him. Investigators have found no evidence for either claim. Mateen died in a shootout with the police after they breached a wall of the nightclub.

CAMPAIGN 2016

An unlikely would-be savior: Bush

NEW YORK — After eight years of largely abstaining from politics, former president George W. Bush is throwing himself into an effort to save his party's most vulnerable senators, including several whose reelection campaigns have been made more difficult by Donald Trump's presence at the top of the ticket.

In the weeks since Trump emerged as the party's presumptive presidential nominee, Bush has hosted fund-raisers for two Republican senators and has made plans to help three more. Among them are Senators John McCain of Arizona, who was one of Trump's earliest targets of derision, and Kelly Ayotte of New Hampshire, who has struggled to respond to Trump's inflammatory rhetoric.

Friends say the former president is deeply bothered by Trump's campaign message, especially his derogatory remarks about Muslims and immigrants. At the event with McCain, Bush stressed the importance of preserving the Republican-held Senate as a "check and balance" on the White House, suggesting that such a check was needed, whether the next president is Trump or Hillary Clinton, the presumptive Democratic nominee.

Bush announced through a spokesman last month that he would not support Trump's candidacy and would not attend the Republican convention next month. His father, former president George H.W. Bush, and his brother Jeb Bush, who was defeated and ridiculed by Trump in the primary, are also staying away.

Bush's effort to help down-ballot candidates fill their coffers underscores how fissures in the party are affecting fund-raising. The senators are not receiving any fund-raising help from Trump, a typical role for the party's standard-bearer. And few congressional candidates have sought Trump's endorsement, given his high negative ratings in polls and unpredictable nature.

NEW YORK TIMES

From Sanders, vows of unity but still no concession

WASHINGTON — Bernie Sanders profusely thanked his supporters. He said he looked forward to working with Hillary Clinton to advance key issues. And he urged like-minded followers to run for state and local offices so they can continue the "political revolution" he began.

In short, during his 23-minute speech live-streamed across the country, Sanders sounded very much like a candidate prepared to drop out of the Democratic presidential race. Only the senator from Vermont pulled up short Thursday night, neither conceding the nomination nor endorsing Clinton in the general election.

"The major political task that together we face in the next five months is to make certain that Donald Trump is defeated and defeated badly," Sanders said of the presumptive Republican nominee. "And I personally intend to begin my role in that process in a very short period of time."

But "defeating Trump cannot be our only goal," Sanders cautioned, speaking from his hometown of Burlington, Vt.

The senator reiterated his call to push the issues that animated his campaign — centered on income and wealth inequality — and he pledged again to maintain that effort up until the Democratic National Convention next month in Philadelphia.

While not bowing out of the race, Sanders has done nothing of late to pursue the only available course left to wrest the nomination from Clinton, the party's presumptive nominee. That would involve persuading hundreds of superdelegates who have already announced their support for the former secretary of state to switch allegiances at the convention.

Sanders has instead been focusing his energy on trying to influence the Democratic Party platform and its future legisla-

tive agenda so that it looks more like the agenda on which he campaigned for president. WASHINGTON POST

AFL-CIO'S support to Clinton gives her potent resources
WASHINGTON — Hillary Clinton on Thursday won the

endorsement of the AFL-CIO, the nation's largest labor federation, giving her a powerful voter turnout engine against Donald Trump. The Republican businessman swiftly accused labor leaders of selling out its membership to a candidate he said was aligned with Wall

Street.
The exchange underscored Trump's efforts to win over blue-collar workers who typically support Democrats, especially those in Midwest battleground states whose wages have stagnated. ASSOCIATED PRESS



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Trump’s schedule focuses on chasing money, not votes

By Maggie Haberman
NEW YORK TIMES

Donald Trump’s campaign schedule is being driven by his fund-raising needs, prompting him to appear in heavily Republican states like Georgia and Texas and diverting his attention from battlegrounds where Hillary Clinton is spending her time.

Trump’s aides, scrambling to raise money to compete against Clinton’s cash juggernaut and extensive donor network, have scheduled fund-raisers in plac-

es like Georgia, North Carolina, and Texas this week. The private events for donors were often scheduled first, followed by his campaign rallies, according to two people involved in Trump’s fund-raising who insisted on anonymity.

Even some of Trump’s appearances in battleground states have been tied to fund-raisers: A New Hampshire rally Monday night was planned in conjunction with a fund-raiser in Boston, but both events were canceled after the deadly shooting in Orlando, Fla., on Sunday.

Trump has informed people raising money for his campaign that he is not interested in traveling to states for donor events unless there is a rally scheduled as well, according to the people involved. Those rallies have often garnered Trump national cable news coverage, the type of news media attention that fueled his primary campaign.

But the result for now has been that Trump is campaigning in states where he has far less risk of being defeated by Clinton than states that are likely to be competitive, like Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin, Rust Belt states with large numbers of the white working-class voters who have been most receptive to Trump’s message.

“A travel schedule driven by fund-raising needs that takes you away from battleground states is one that’s full of missed opportunities,” said Kevin Madden, a Republican strategist and former Mitt Romney adviser.

With Trump in the South, Clinton has been spending her week in Ohio and Virginia, two of the most crucial states for winning the presidency. She was also in Pennsylvania, another state where Trump’s brand of populism could be effective, but where he has spent little time since becoming the presumptive Republican nominee.

Madden noted that Trump was uniquely able to generate national TV coverage and newspaper headlines wherever he happened to be. “But he needs to flip states like Colorado, Ohio, Virginia, and Florida in order to win,” he added. “I’d rather be driving national coverage from those locales than not.”

Clinton’s campaign is also beginning an advertising blitz in battleground states this week, on top of commercials that have been run in those places by the super PAC supporting her, Priorities USA.

Trump remains confident that he can flout conventional campaign practice by relying on a small staff and heavy news coverage. But even so, and de-

finance his general election campaign in a large-scale way. Yet many Republican fund-raisers have openly questioned why they would donate their money to a candidate who has claimed a net worth of \$10 billion.

Hope Hicks, Trump’s spokeswoman, called his fund-raising operation “a tremendous success,” adding that “the money is pouring in for the party.” She declined to answer specific questions.

Trump’s campaign has carefully guarded information about his fund-raising: His aides telephoned attendees for the Boston event to call it off, rather than e-mailing them, the people involved said, and have closely held lists of coming fund-raising events; another candidate might distribute those dates widely to help build interest.

Unlike Clinton, who has been able to tap into a long-established network of allies and donors, Trump is trying to build one from scratch and on the fly. But he has struggled to sign on some of his party’s top donors. Local party figures in different cities have declined to add their names to his invitations, meaning many have been sent out without lists of co-hosts, a standard practice, according to veteran fund-raisers in both parties.

That has kept Trump in New York raising money, as he did last week, or heading to California for fund-raising events. While he has said he will put both states in play, neither has been in reach for a Republican presidential candidate in decades.

Other concerns have been the potential for protests outside the fund-raisers, prompting organizers to choose out-of-the-way sites. An Arizona fundraiser for Trump on Saturday will be held at the home of Senator Barry Goldwater, the conservative firebrand and Republican nominee in 1964 who is often blamed for exacerbating racial tensions.

‘A travel schedule . . . that takes you away from battleground states is one that’s full of missed opportunities.’

KEVIN MADDEN, *strategist*

spite his reliance on assistance from the Republican National Committee, his campaign faces heavy potential costs for TV advertising, polling, and building operations in key states.

Raising money to pay for those items through the campaign is difficult: Donors may give no more than \$5,400 a person through the party convention in July. After that, they are limited to donating \$2,700.

At this point in the presidential cycle in 2012, Romney was raising more than \$1 million a day for himself and the party. There is no indication that Trump is approaching that pace.

Moreover, while Trump lent his campaign more than \$43 million in the primaries, he has shown little inclination to self-

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Parks consider alligator signs

After fatal attack, attention turns to tourist awareness

By Jay Reeves and Kelli Kennedy
ASSOCIATED PRESS

LAKE BUENA VISTA, Fla. — It's an unwritten rule for Florida residents: Keep your kids away from ponds and lakes because alligators are everywhere.

But after a gator killed a 2-year-old Nebraska boy at a Walt Disney World resort, attention soon turned to tourists. In a state with an estimated 1 million alligators, how should theme parks and other attractions warn visitors, and did Disney do enough?

Disney beaches remained closed Thursday after the death of Lane Graves, and the company said it was reviewing policies that do not currently include posting alligator warnings around park waters.

The review “includes the number, placement and wording of our signage and warnings,” Jacquee Wahler, vice president of Walt Disney World Resort, said in a statement.

Local law enforcement and state wildlife officials publicly praised the company for spotting and removing nuisance gators from park waters.

Disney’s wildlife management system has ensured “that their guests are not unduly exposed to the wildlife in this area,” Orange County Sheriff Jerry Demings said during the search for the child.

Yet Kadie Whalen, who lives in Wynnewood, Pa., saw no evidence of that system when she visited Disney World with her family four years ago.

Whalen said her three young children and niece were playing on a resort beach at the water’s edge with buckets and shovels provided by Disney workers when the beady eyes of a 7-foot gator appeared in a lake just a few feet away. She screamed and everyone scattered.

No one was hurt, but after



It is unclear whether the parents of Lane Graves knew about the threat of alligators in Florida.

her experience, this week’s fatal alligator attack did not surprise her.

“We knew that Disney was aware that this was a problem, and yet they encourage people to be there,” Whalen said Thursday in a telephone interview.

The dead child’s parents, Matt and Melissa Graves, who live in a suburban area of Omaha, have not spoken publicly, so it’s unclear whether they knew anything about the gator threat in Florida. A statement released through a family friend thanked local authorities for their tireless work.

An autopsy showed that the boy died from drowning and traumatic injuries, according to the Orlando medical examiner.

Most Florida residents know to keep kids and pets away from water, not to feed gators, and to be especially vigilant at dusk, dawn.

Depending on the size of an alligator, the state may send out a trapper, as happened after the gator grabbed the boy at Disney’s Grand Floridian Resort and Spa, located across Seven Seas Lagoon from the Magic Kingdom, one of the world’s most popular tourist destinations.

Five gators were removed from the lake following the boy’s disappearance, and trappers continued looking for gators after his body was found Wednesday.

While Disney had posted “no swimming” signs at the lake where the boy died, it did not have alligator warning signs, which are common around golf courses, ponds, and public parks all over Florida. That has raised questions about whether the company did enough to convey the potential danger to visitors.

“They presumably know, since they have caught four or five alligators in this area, that the area has dangers that far and away exceed the danger of drowning,” said Miami-based defense attorney Scott Leeds. “So this issue of posting a sign warning of swimming or no swimming doesn’t adequately warn patrons of the known danger.”

Responding to questions from the Associated Press, Disney said it has a policy of relocating alligators that are considered a potential threat. Animals less than 4 feet long are taken to conservation areas. Larger gators are removed by state-licensed trappers, the company said.

Whalen said that’s what happened in 2012 after the gator appeared in the water near her kids at Disney’s Caribbean Beach Resort, which is on a different lake than the one where the boy was killed.

As shocked tourists looked on, she said, trappers caught the animal and carried it away, writhing, across a pool and courtyard area outside the hotel. Disney workers threatened to confiscate the phones and cameras of anyone who tried to photograph or videotape the spectacle, she said.

Whalen said she complained to the front desk and wrote a letter to Disney but never heard back. She was also chided by Florida residents who questioned why she’d let her kids get near the water, even at Disney.

“It never crossed our minds at Disney World that we would have to worry about a predator eating our children,” she said. “We don’t have alligators in Pennsylvania.”



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GOING PLACES TOGETHER

On Boston’s waterfront, missed opportunities

►LEUNG
Continued from Page A1

New Yorkers made a decision long ago that this part of Brooklyn would not go to the highest bidder but be set aside as a waterfront for all. Not just passive patches of grass, but spaces teeming with recreation. Initiated as a joint city-state project, the \$400 million park is built on old Port Authority land and is operated and maintained by a not-for-profit owned by the city of New York.

Boston’s leaders made a different decision. They left it up to the private sector to drive development and offer public amenities such as parks, walkways, and cultural space.

The result: The Seaport District may be one of the hottest real estate markets in the country, but it is also one of the most soulless parts of our city. Instead of another Esplanade, we got another Financial District.

As if sensing another inferiority complex in the making, Boston Redevelopment Authority waterfront planner Rich McGuinness, who has visited the Brooklyn park, tried to assure me: “We didn’t blow it.”

McGuinness explained that when Boston started planning the Seaport District in earnest back in the 1980s, the city was losing population, and developers weren’t lining up to build here. To make the South Boston Waterfront desirable, billions of dollars of public investment went into the area: the Big Dig, the Moakley Courthouse, the convention center, the Silver Line. The intention all along was to get a return on our investment, even if it meant public spaces would feel like an afterthought.

My takeaway: Fugged-

aboutit. We’ll never get a grand waterfront park in the Seaport.

“It would have been a lot easier to do it 10 years ago,” acknowledged Tom Glynn, who runs the Massachusetts Port Authority and toured the Brooklyn park with McGuinness last year.

Neither man is giving up hope that elements of Brooklyn Bridge Park can happen here. Boston’s waterfront is a lot smaller than New York’s, but as parks get built or are redone, both see a trend toward more engaging experiences.

Already, the A Street park by State Street’s building along Fort Point Channel includes a basketball court, a playground, and a dog park.

In East Boston, the newly renovated LoPresti Park features an artificial turf soccer field and basketball courts with postcard views of the North End and downtown Boston.

Glynn and McGuinness also think that Eastie may be our best shot at creating an imaginative public space on the water, where development is not yet fully formed.

City Councilor Sal LaMattina thinks so, too, and during his own pilgrimage to Brooklyn Bridge Park last year he focused on how its ferry system could be vital to creating a vibrant waterfront.

“We don’t want every developer to do the same community benefit,” said LaMattina, who lives in East Boston but also represents Charlestown and the North End. He points to one developer in East Boston who wants to provide water transportation to Charlestown, while another might build a kayak launch.

Massport, a major water-



DINA RUDICK/GLOBE STAFF/FILE 2010

Piers Park in East Boston offers prime views. The neighborhood may be the best chance for new waterfront amenities.

front landowner, also plays a role. The authority owns four acres of empty waterfront land in East Boston that is designated for public use — the so-called second phase of Piers Park.

What’s up in the air is who will pay for the next phase.

McGuinness also sees opportunity for more open space as the city deals with climate change. Boston may need to fill in some shoreline as a buffer to rising sea levels.

“We can create land,” he

said. “Those are some of the fun things we are looking at.”

Feeling a little better about the future of our waterfront, I circled back to Canales, of the Barr Foundation. He was the one who holds up the Brooklyn park as aspirational after the foundation pledged last month to get involved in shaping the waterfront.

“There is an opportunity here, and we have multiple actors who can come together and make something exciting,” Canales said.

His favorite part of the Brooklyn park also happens to be mine: the sense that everyone belongs there, from locals to tourists, whether rich or poor, the kind of place where a construction worker would feel as comfortable as a Wall Street banker.

Regina Myer, the president of Brooklyn Bridge Park, summed up best the park’s most compelling attribute: “It’s a place that’s deeply democratic.”

We don’t have enough of

those types of spaces in Boston, especially along the downtown harborfront. We may have lost our opportunity to create something on the scale of a Brooklyn Bridge Park, but we shouldn’t give up pushing developers and government to reimagine public use on the harbor.

In other words, we still have time to make it right.

Shirley Leung is a Globe columnist. She can be reached at shirley.leung@globe.com. Follow her on Twitter @leung.

BU cancels plan to honor researcher

►OMALU
Continued from Page A1

recipient of the school’s esteemed Beyond Health Award.

“What I find very surprising is the timing of this, right after the [Globe] article,” Omalu said in an interview. “It feels like a vendetta against me.”

On Wednesday, Omalu asked Galea to state in writing why the award had been rescinded. Galea sent a letter expressing his apologies and stating ““the gala event has evolved in the last month and we have had to change our programming.”

“We will be highlighting people with closer connections to our School of Public Health as we mark our 40th anniversary,” Galea wrote.

Omalu was taken aback by the decision, considering Galea had sent him a letter in April expressing “great pleasure to honor you with the Beyond Health Award in recognition of your research, discovery, and activism on chronic traumatic encephalopathy (CTE) by examining American football players.”

Galea’s letter had further lauded Omalu, whose struggle to document CTE in the National Football League was chronicled in the 2015 film “Concussion.”

Omalu is a Nigerian-born forensic pathologist. His autopsy of Pittsburgh Steelers center Mike Webster led to his 2002 discovery of chronic traumatic encephalopathy in



EVAN AGOSTINI/INVISION/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dr. Bennet Omalu posed with Will Smith, who portrayed him in “Concussion,” before the December opening.

football players. Omalu is currently chief medical examiner of San Joaquin County, Calif., and is a professor in the UC Davis Department of Medical Pathology and Laboratory Medicine, according to his website.

Omalu once partnered with Chris Nowinski, who chairs the Concussion Legacy Foundation. The foundation is affiliated with the BU School of Medicine’s CTE Center and a brain bank also operated by BU and the US Veterans Administration. Nowinski also has authored research papers with faculty of the BU School of Public Health

Omalu and Nowinski had a bitter falling out in 2007 after

they formed the Sports Legacy Institute, which became the Concussion Legacy Foundation.

As they follow separate paths at the forefront of CTE research, there remains animosity between them.

Nowinski, who suffered career-ending brain injuries in 2003 as a WWE performer, was criticized in the Sunday Globe article by several professional wrestlers for not aggressively procuring the brains of deceased wrestlers to document CTE in the business, as he has done so effectively with football players.

Omalu was quoted in the story as saying the study of possible CTE in professional

wrestling remains vital, considering the relatively small amount of research to date. The story also reported that Omalu has agreed to examine the brains of three professional wrestlers who died this year under the age of 50.

Nowinski did not immediately respond Thursday to requests for comment, and a BU spokesman declined to comment on whether Nowinski played any role in the decision.

A BU Web page on the 40th anniversary gala continued to state Thursday that “three outstanding Beyond Health Awardees” will be honored in November, although only two names remained on the page: Larry Kessler, a pioneering Massachusetts AIDS activist, and Janice Cooper, who leads the Carter Center Mental Health Program’s project in Liberia.

The Atlanta-based Carter Center was founded by former president Jimmy Carter and his wife, Rosalynn.

The Globe asked Galea to explain how Cooper fits the school’s profile of an awardee while Omalu no longer does. BU spokesman Colin Riley responded in a prepared statement, “Dean Galea is giving the keynote address at the Carter Center’s November meeting and spoke at their annual meeting a few years ago. The decisions on the invitees are the dean’s.”

Bob Hohler can be reached at robert.hohler@globe.com.

On drone strikes, CIA now defers to Pentagon

Number of lethal attacks has fallen sharply this year

By Greg Miller
WASHINGTON POST

WASHINGTON — The pace of the CIA’s drone campaign has plunged this year as part of a renewed push by the Obama administration to shift responsibility for lethal counterterrorism operations to the Pentagon, current and former US officials said.

The agency has carried out at most seven strikes so far in 2016, putting the spy service on course to take fewer shots from remotely piloted aircraft than in any year since 2007, two years before Barack Obama took office and made the agency’s drone program a pillar of his counterterrorism approach.

US officials said several factors have contributed to the sharp drop in the number of strikes, including the staggering depletion of Al Qaeda’s ranks in Pakistan, where in 2010 the agency launched 118 attacks. This year, the CIA has fired missiles from remotely piloted aircraft only twice.

But the decline has also been driven by White House decisions to curtail the CIA’s lethal role in Yemen and restrict it from even flying armed drones over Syria — instead handing the unambiguous lead for such operations to the military’s elite Joint Special Operations Command.

CIA and White House officials declined to comment.

US officials emphasized the CIA has not been ordered to disarm its fleet of drones, and its aircraft remain deeply involved in counterterrorism surveillance missions in Yemen and Syria even when they are not unleashing munitions.

Still, the changes appear to mark a significant turning point for an agency that was fundamentally transformed after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks from a conventional intelligence-gathering service to a paramilitary force.

The drop in CIA strikes comes as the White House prepares to release data on the drone program for the first time, including the number of

strikes made while Obama has been in office, as well as aggregate estimates of the number of militants and civilians killed.

The White House has repeatedly signaled its desire to shift control of such lethal operations to the military, in part to enable greater transparency and end an often awkward charade in which the US government refuses to acknowledge its role in strikes that are abundantly covered by news organizations and tallied by watchdog groups.

In a speech in Chicago in April, Obama said: “I don’t want our intelligence agencies being a paramilitary organization. That’s not their function. As much as possible this should be done through our Defense Department so that we can report here’s what we did, here’s why we did it, here’s our assessment of what happened.”

But White House efforts to accomplish that have been repeatedly derailed by factors including logistical problems and intense bureaucratic opposition. The plan only began to gain traction, one US official said “over the course of the past year.”

In the most visible sign of the shift, the military began publicly acknowledging drone strikes on Al Qaeda targets in Yemen earlier this year — a step the Pentagon had refused to take in prior years, largely out of concern that identifying its operations would also mean staying silent on other attacks and make clear that they were carried out by the CIA.

The latest Pentagon release, posted two weeks ago, not only confirmed a May 19 drone attack on suspected Al Qaeda operatives in central Yemen but acknowledged it was the ninth this year.

It then proceeded to disclose details about a series of “previously unannounced counterterrorism strikes” dating back to February.

The CIA has not taken any corresponding steps toward greater transparency. But officials said it has launched four strikes in Yemen in 2016, and there is now a “clear preference” in that country — the only nation where the CIA and military both fly armed drones — for the JSOC to pull the trigger whenever possible.

US judge rejects lawsuit by Texas to bar Syrian refugees

By Manny Fernandez
NEW YORK TIMES

HOUSTON — Texas’ efforts to bar Syrian refugees from settling in the state were dealt a legal blow Wednesday when a federal judge in Dallas dismissed the state’s lawsuit against federal officials and a nonprofit that assists refugees.

After the terrorist attacks last year in Paris, Texas became the first state to try to block the resettlement of Syrian refugees by suing the Obama administration. Texas Republican leaders — including Governor Greg Abbott and US Senator Ted Cruz — cited security concerns and said they believed that

people with ties to terrorist groups were exploiting the refugee program. Officials in other states, including Indiana and Oklahoma, have publicly refused to accept Syrian refugees as well, but only Texas and Alabama filed federal lawsuits.

The Texas lawsuit accused the State Department and other federal agencies of violating the Refugee Act of 1980 by failing to consult state officials before resettling refugees. It also charged that the nonprofit relief group, International Rescue Committee, had breached its contract with the state.

In his opinion, released

Thursday, Judge David C. Godbey of US District Court ruled that Texas’ claims had no legal merit. Godbey did not rule on whether federal officials violated the Refugee Act. The judge ruled more narrowly, finding that Texas lacked legal standing to enforce the Refugee Act’s requirement on advance consultation with states and failed to prove sufficient facts to establish a breach of contract.

“The goal of this wasteful lawsuit had nothing to do with public safety and everything to do with scoring political points on the backs of desperate refugees,” said Terri T. Burke, execu-

utive director of the Texas branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, which represented the relief group along with the National Immigration Law Center and Southern Poverty Law Center. “We trust Judge Godbey’s ruling will dissuade other states contemplating similar discriminatory measures.”

The Texas attorney general, Ken Paxton, suggested in a statement that further legal action was possible.

“We are considering our options moving forward to guarantee the safety of Texans from domestic and foreign threats,” Paxton said.

Name use at issue in Commonwealth v. Commonwealth

►COMMONWEALTH
Continued from Page A1

tution “irreparable harm” and financial losses that are “presently incalculable.”

It asks a judge to force the academy to change its name. The Springfield academy fired back in a filing Wednesday in US District Court in Boston, saying the Boston school is trying to “unlawfully expand” the scope of its trademark. The Springfield-based school contends that the Commonwealth School has engaged in threats, harassment, and libel to force a name change.

The academy says it is willing to add “Springfield” to its name, as it has on its website, or make other compromises, but will not willingly give up using “commonwealth” in its name.

The academy’s headmaster, John Foley, has also described the Boston school as elitist and accused it of unfairly targeting an institution that serves minority and low-income students. In an e-mail included in court filings, Foley said the Boston school probably learned the Springfield academy existed only through the success of its basketball team.

The team had a 23-5 record this year and has garnered attention from NCAA recruiters.

The similarity in names, Fo-

‘Our position has been, you don’t have a federal trademark for the word “commonwealth.”’

JOHN H. RAY III, *lawyer for Commonwealth Academy*

ley wrote, “is not anything that would cause confusion with your very exclusive, very wealthy, very entitled clientele who do not require an NCAA basketball scholarship in order to afford college.”

Foley declined to be interviewed through the academy’s spokesman, citing the ongoing litigation.

William Wharton, headmaster of Commonwealth School, said the lawsuit was necessary to prevent confusion around the name the Back Bay school has used for nearly six decades.

“It’s a part of our identity, and it’s something that we ultimately have to protect,” Wharton said in an interview.

At the heart of the suit is a question: Should a school be allowed to lay claim to a word that is ubiquitous around the state, one that graces the shingles of plumbers, dentists, auto repair shops, insurance agents, and countless other concerns?

John H. Ray III, the Springfield academy’s attorney, said it should not.

“Their position has been they own the word ‘commonwealth’ in educational services, to the exclusion of all others,” Ray said. “Our position has been, you don’t have a federal trademark for the word ‘commonwealth.’ You have a federal trademark for the words ‘Commonwealth School.’”

Stacey Dogan, a Boston University law professor who specializes in trademark and copyright matters, said the word’s frequent use across the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is one factor a judge could weigh.

“I think there’s reason to be skeptical about parties that seem to be trying to appropriate that term to their exclusive use in a particular industry,” Dogan said.

Timing could be a consideration, she said. Though the Boston school was founded in 1958, it filed for a trademark in April 2012, shortly before the Springfield academy opened. The Boston school asserts, though, that it didn’t know the academy existed until October 2015.

Also, US Patent and Trademark Office records show that Commonwealth Academy in Alexandria, Va., holds the trademark for that two-word phrase. Ray said the Virginia institution doesn’t oppose the Springfield academy use of the same name.

Thomas E. Kenney, a trade-

mark litigator at the Beacon Hill firm Pierce & Mandell, said the outcome could be determined by a measure of the actual confusion caused.

“If no one who applies to the Commonwealth School would consider the Commonwealth Academy, and the other way around, that’s . . . very powerful for the Commonwealth Academy,” he said. “But if some students would be in a

position to consider both schools, then that, to me, raises the stakes of someone finding a likelihood of confusion.”

The institutions serve starkly different populations.

The Commonwealth School in Boston receives four or five applications for every open seat, Wharton said, and requires an admission exam and interview. The Commonwealth Academy in Springfield, on the

other hand, never turns away a student, according to the academy’s website.

The institutions’ demographics also differ. Minorities make up 97 percent of the Springfield school’s student body, Foley said in the e-mail included in court filings; at the Boston school, 28 percent are minorities.

And the Boston school charges more for two students

than the Springfield academy charged all 60 who enrolled there last year. For all those students, the academy took in only \$70,000 in tuition, Foley said in the e-mail.

A spokesman for the academy said students pay what their families can afford, and the rest comes largely from private fund-raising.

A status hearing is set for July 12, but the academy hopes

to reach a settlement, said Ray, the attorney for the Springfield school.

“We want to be distinct and not be confusing in any way,” he said. “I think the Commonwealth School wants the same thing.”

Jeremy C. Fox can be reached at jeremy.fox@globe.com. Follow him on Twitter @jeremycfox.



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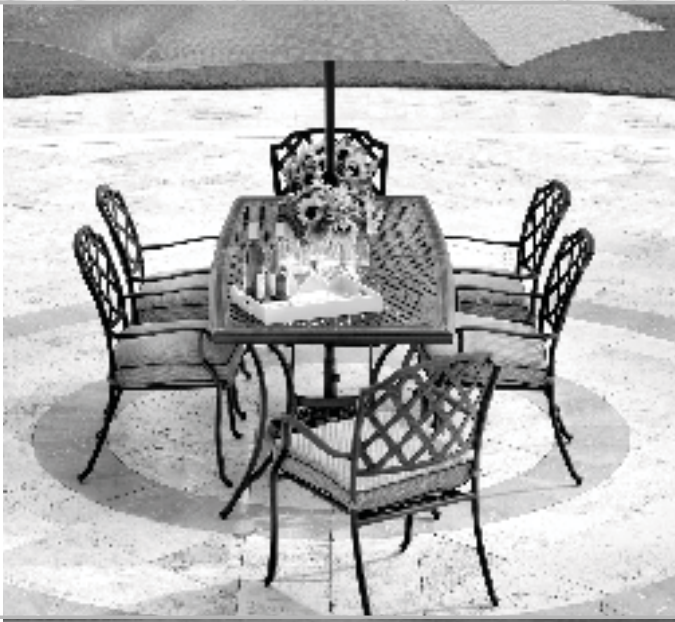


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Opinion

BOSTONGLOBE.COM/OPINION

EDITORIAL

Protect older property owners from scams

IF VETERAN scam artist Rolando Pam had tried to pull off one of his signature real estate frauds in Maine, he'd face more obstacles than he has in Boston. That state has a unique law protecting older property owners, who are most likely to fall victim to real estate swindles like Pam's. Sadly, Pam and his family members aren't the only scammers targeting vulnerable homeowners in Massachusetts, and the Commonwealth should consider enacting a law like Maine's.

Pam and members of his family, whose shameless exploits were documented in a two-part series in the Globe, have managed to obtain a string of properties in Roxbury and Dorchester at suspiciously low prices, often from older sellers. Once, according to a judge's ruling, Kyle Pam deceived a widow into selling him her pristine home for just \$100 after her husband died. In another case, Kyle Pam allegedly dropped off a 69-year-old widow at a shelter after he took possession of her house.

Property transfers can involve thousands of dollars — in some cases representing the bulk of a person's assets — yet remain something of a Wild West. Apart from the notary public who signs off on the deed, there's nobody monitor-

ing transactions. Selling a house in good condition for \$100 to a stranger is perfectly legal, even if it's also a red flag that the seller may have been coerced or duped. And once an owner loses his or her property to a scammer, they may not have the knowledge or ability to fight back.

In another case reported in the Globe earlier this year, an elderly man in Brookline supposedly signed over deed for a property valued at \$4.5 million for \$100. The same buyer, Brian R. Burke, left a troubled man homeless, in 1997, after allegedly swindling him out of his Brighton home for a pittance.

Lawyers involved in such cases say that one red flag to look out for is a transaction involving elderly or vulnerable individuals that the seller cannot easily explain. Victims, or family and friends, can call the attorney general's office, which operates a special hotline for elder-abuse issues, 1-888-AG-ELDER, if they suspect a scam.

Meanwhile, the state should be able to add protections against abuse without chilling legitimate real estate transactions. One part of the response, suggests Secretary of State William Galvin, should involve notaries, who are at the front lines of real estate transactions and need to en-

sure that sellers understand what they're signing. "We've taken some trouble over the last few years to make it clear to notaries public that it's not just a ministerial thing — the 'free act and deed' piece is just as important," Galvin said.

The Legislature could also play a role. In Maine, any property transfer involving owners over age 60 has enhanced legal protections under the state's improvident transfer act. The law does not prohibit any sales, and has no impact on ordinary real estate deals. But it creates an assumption of undue influence if the transaction was for less than full consideration, the seller did not have a lawyer, and other red-flag conditions are met. When those protections are triggered, it's easier for victims of real estate scams to get their property back.

The Maine law also puts other actors in the real estate market on notice that they need to take fraud seriously. Pam sold off some of his properties to major real estate firms, who seem to have shown little interest in asking how he acquired property in quickly gentrifying parts of the city. Awareness of scam tactics is the best way to stop financial abuse before it starts, but a little boost from Beacon Hill would help too.

SCOT LEHIGH

This, sadly, is the real Donald Trump

BE NOT angry that you cannot make others as you wish them to be, since you cannot make yourself as you wish to be," Thomas à Kempis counseled in "The Imitation of Christ," his 15th-century book of religious contemplation.

Perhaps GOP leaders can find some solace in his words as they go about the gargantuan effort of trying to mold Donald Trump, their party's new intellectual and philosophical leader, into the kind of candidate who might actually be able to win the nation's confidence.

For months now, the GOP elite have been urging Trump to clean up his act.

- To change his tone.
- To stop his name-calling.
- To abandon his race-baiting.
- To curtail his sexism.
- To act more presidential.

They have, periodically, come away faintly encouraged that he might, possibly, change his ways. I'm told that Reince Priebus, the Republican National Committee chairman, once felt he had developed a relationship where he could tell Trump to cease and desist. That was said to be Priebus's message when Trump was busy attacking the Indiana-born judge presiding over the Trump University case, claiming he had a conflict of interest because he was "Mexican."

Trump ended those attacks — but only to move on to other things. Sometimes there's a day or two of good behavior, but the GOP simply can't stop Trump from being Trump. He inevitably reverts to form. That is, back to being a blustering, self-aggrandizing, truth-twisting, name-calling, character-assassinating, conspiracy-theory-trafficking demagogue.

That, of course, worked for him in the primary campaign, which tells one a lot about the modern Republican Party. One school of thought is that, given his nominating-season success, Trump is intentionally rejecting advice to change course.

But the evidence is growing that Trump, as Thomas would have it, couldn't change if he wanted to. This is who he is. The behavior you see in Candidate Trump is what you'd get in President Trump.

Certainly in response to the Orlando massacre, Trump has sounded positively pixilated. In New Hampshire on Monday, he made the stunning charge that Hillary Clinton wants to end the Second Amendment, confiscate the guns of Americans, and "then admit [into the country] the very people who

want to slaughter us." One assumes Trump doesn't really believe that, and has simply chosen to engage in hugely irresponsible hyperbole, though it's hard to be confident of that.

Those comments followed his earlier insinuation that President Obama secretly might not want to stop terrorism by Islamist extremists. By mid-week, Trump was back flogging that theme. The right-wing polemical operation Breitbart posted a convoluted story that misinterpreted a memo to suggest that the Obama administration had supported a Syrian opposition faction that later morphed into ISIS. Trump then tweeted that story as support for his insidious suggestion that Obama sympathizes with ISIS-inspired terrorist attacks in this country.

This is either cross-eyed conspiracy-theory crazy or cynicism of the most despicable kind. But it should come as no surprise, not to anyone who followed the absurd birther quest Trump undertook against President Obama in 2011.

So here's where the GOP finds itself.

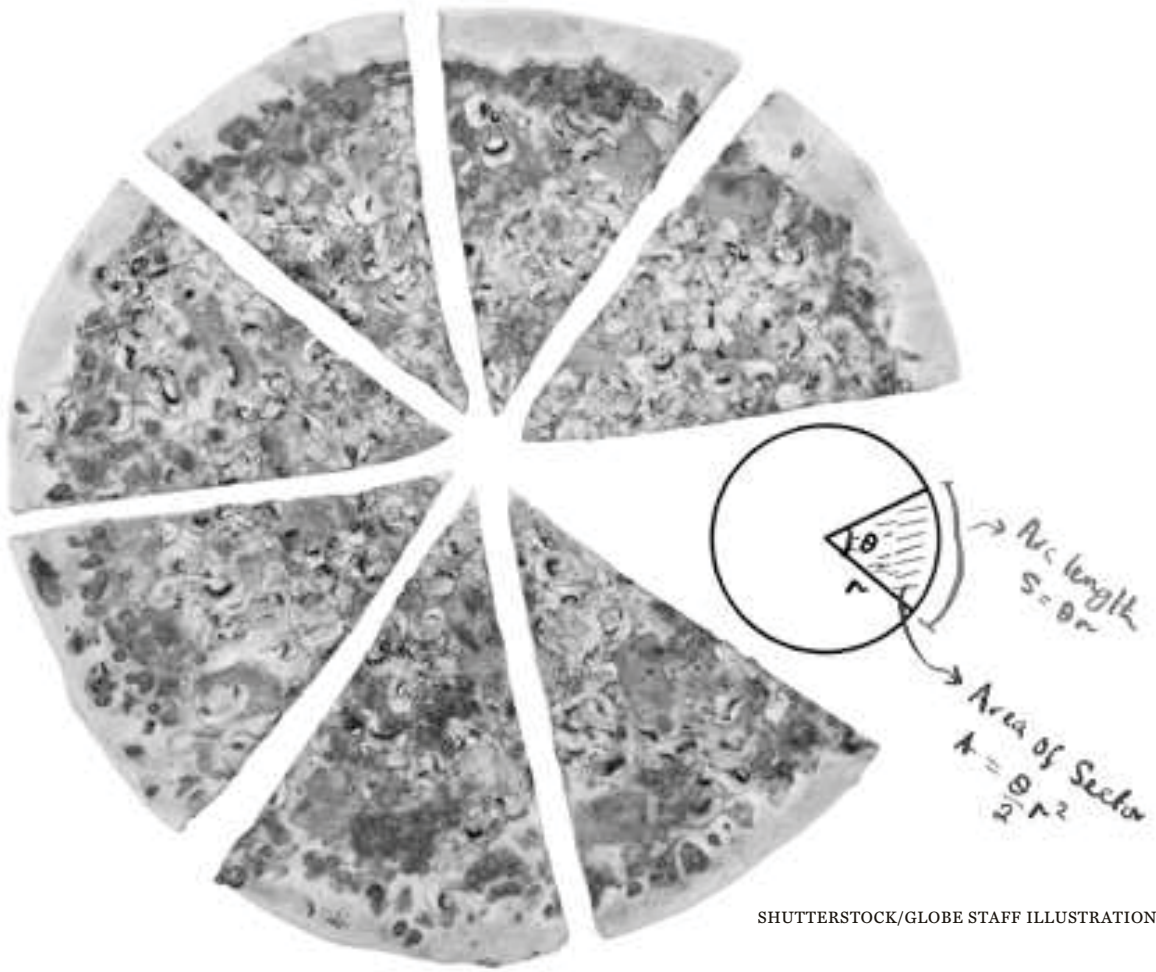
Trump is not a civil or responsible or decent or self-disciplined politician. He will not become one. If one takes his statements at face value, he doesn't have the habits of mind necessary to assess complex situations in an intelligent way.

But regardless of whether he's immensely cynical or somewhat off his beam, his many campaign controversies can no longer be seen as mistakes, missteps, or gaffes. They reflect the real Donald Trump. That's the reality Republicans must confront.

Simply put, they are about to nominate a political wrecking ball, a wrecking ball that, to nick a line from Boston-area chanteuse Carla Ryder, is spinning to crazy.

And careening back toward the party itself.

Scot Lehigh can be reached at lehigh@globe.com. Follow him on Twitter @GlobeScotLehigh.



SHUTTERSTOCK/GLOBE STAFF ILLUSTRATION

Pizza and pi

By Kathleen Hirsch

POLICY EXPERTS and foundation folks who spend their days plumbing the mysteries of effective inner-city education should take a break and head to Dudley Square for a slice of pizza.

On a sunny afternoon in May — perfect hangout weather — 35 kids stroll into Dudley Dough, a storefront pizza parlor operated by Haley House. They have walked, bussed, taken the T. After ordering free organic gourmet pizza and healthy drinks, they find a table in the public atrium of the Bruce C. Bolling Municipal Building, open math books, and dig in.

This is Pie R Squared, a math tutoring program with attitude. It is the brainchild of Beth Segers, a Wall Street financial analyst and a 30-year veteran tutor at Nativity Prep in Jamaica Plain. The program's goal is to serve students who don't have access to private tutors or pricey enrichment programs and to bridge what Robert Moses, of the Algebra Project, famously dubbed, "the algebra gap." Math fluency and confidence, Segers believes, "is the key to inner-city kids moving into engineering and tech careers that are going to lift the boat for them and their families.

"I'd always dreamed of running a tutoring program in a pizza parlor," she says. "It's the perfect setting. You come by with your friends after school, you get to hang out, and you get your homework done with lots of good help."

Pie R Squared marries a healthy meal with one-on-one math work for students in grades three to 12. Students have total ownership of the process. They e-mail their expected arrival time, then show up in the brightly muralled space. From a large booth, complete with pi symbols and whimsical equations, Segers greets them and checks on individual needs.

The fact that the space is public adds significantly to the sense that this is grown-up, serious fun. Neighborhood residents and education department folks from upstairs wander through; the occasional teacher hangs out and grades papers. There's a cool vibe, complete with background music.

Beneath the laid-back Wi-Fi café feel, Segers keeps meticulous records of who comes, who returns, and how their math grades are progressing. She works closely with faculty, stay-

ing current with classroom work so that her tutors are tuned in.

When she isn't hand-delivering pizza to the tables, Segers is searching for fresh recruits. Or she's lining up new tutors (one recent day, three of the six available held PhDs in math). Or she is strategizing summer fun that combines statistics, baseball, and a trip to Fenway Park.

An aspiring engineer, a seventh-grader named Nathan, has seen his grades jump from Cs to As in a few months. "This place is awesome," he says. "If I went home, I'd have to watch my brother and do chores. Here, it's quiet. It's my time."

"I like the environment," says Ashily, an eighth-grader. "It's quiet, and nice." Adds a classmate, Aya, "People are kind. We help each other."

In six months, this pied piper of the square-root set has attracted 200 students from more than a dozen schools, the support of school

Pie R Squared is a math tutoring program with attitude.

math faculties, and even DYS social workers, who bring kids eager to improve skills.

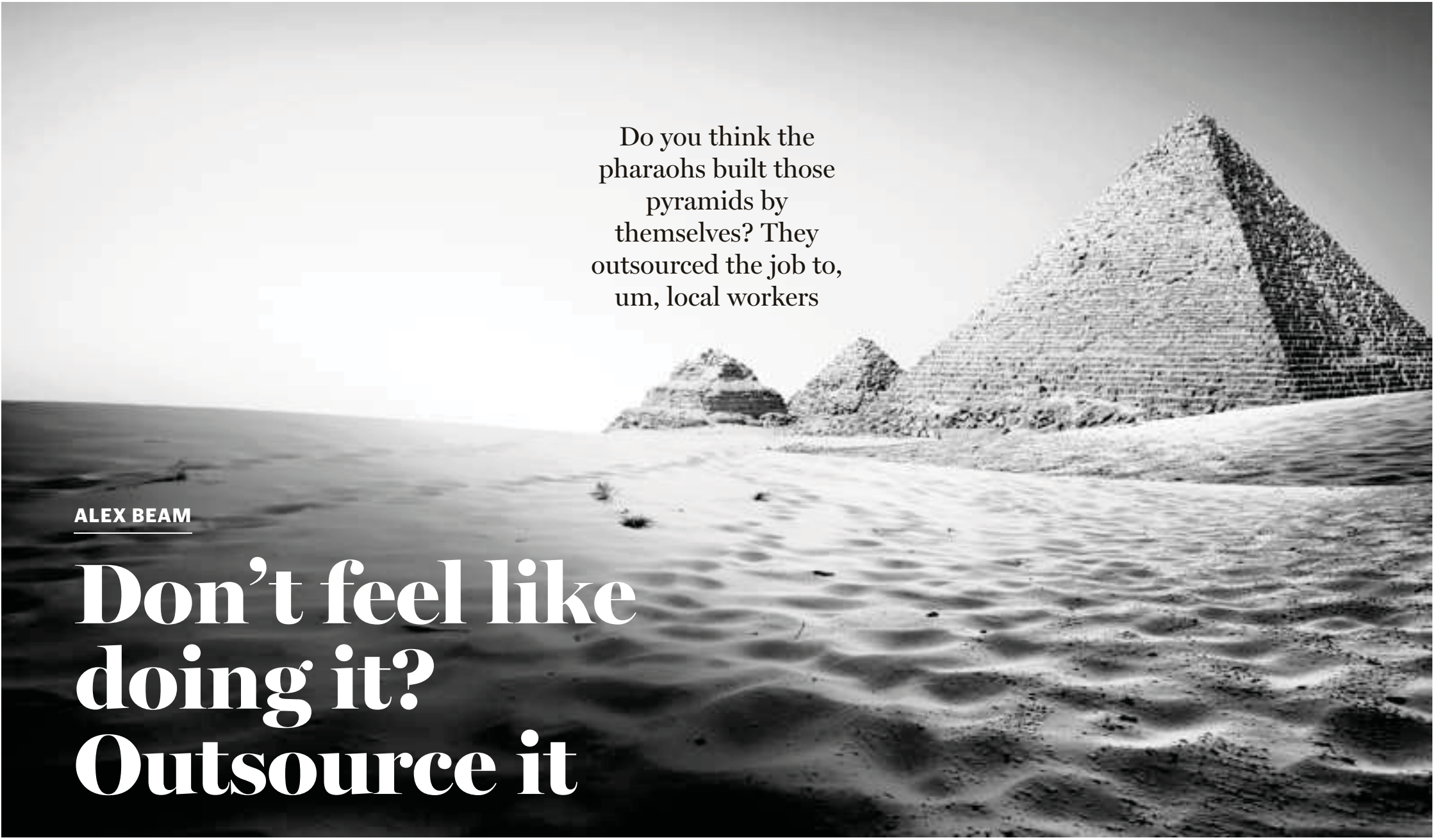
"It's a win win win," says Dudley Dough's manager, Luther Pinkney. "We are providing neighborhood kids with healthy food, we're building community, and the [pizza operation] is an incubator profit-sharing operation for our employees in an area that needs jobs."

Segers pays for the pizza, which runs about \$500 a week, but is hoping that her success will appeal to a foundation soon. In the meantime, it feels to her a small price to pay for seeing her dream come true. And with the right synergy of local businesses, she can see a pizza/pi on street corners in many other neighborhoods.

And, why not? Pie R Squared is simple, effective, and replicable.

There's also this: Come 7 p.m., when the program ends and the Dudley Dough staff are ready to call it a day, the kids don't want to leave.

Kathleen Hirsch lives in Jamaica Plain and blogs at www.kathleenhirsch.com.



SHUTTERSTOCK

ALEX BEAM

Don’t feel like doing it? Outsource it

EARLIER THIS month, the Globe published a story that shocked the delicate sensibilities of the Twitterverse and beyond: Parents in “good” suburbs such as Newton, Brookline, and Somerville were outsourcing their children’s bicycle lessons! Can you imagine? That holy rite of parenthood, those uncertain, knee-scraping, tearful wobbings in the elementary school parking lot on weekend mornings, was being handed over to strangers! One of the parents even fired off a letter to the editor, defending her actions. The story “ended up reinforcing an unavoidable strain of criticism and judgment of parents, especially moms,” she wrote. “A bike lesson is no different from a swim lesson, ski school, or driver’s ed.” She is right. Outsourcing has been around since the Flintstones. Do you think the pharaohs built those pyramids by themselves? They outsourced the job to,

um, local workers. We outsource our kids’ education to virtual strangers, and sometimes rely on Sunday School to teach them what passes for contemporary morals. It is said that in the history of civilization certain sexual needs have been outsourced to hired hands. But I wouldn’t know anything about that. Look, we outsource all the time. What are book reviews, if not convenient pretexts for not reading books? I know plenty of people who don’t have opinions until they’ve been laundered through the prose of important thinkers such as David Brooks of The New York Times or The Wall Street Journal’s Peggy Noonan. Because economics is so darned hard to understand, friends of mine want to outsource our Gross National Product to Times columnist Paul Krugman, just because he souNdS as if he knows what he’s talking about. I keep a file labeled “People who are always right,” and Krugman has many entries therein. My favorite Krug-

manism: “It’s also true, however, that while the economy remains deeply depressed, corporate profits have staged a strong recovery. And that’s a bad thing!” Bad is good and good is bad — remember that. A lot of people want to know what’s going on in the world, but who has time to read a newspaper? I don’t even have time to teach my kids how to ride a bike. Public radio’s soothing audio wallpaper is the default solution here. You outsource your need for information to those well-spoken men and women with the buttery voices and the Bernie Lite politics. But don’t accuse them of being biased! Every so often, they invite some cracker senator onto their air, spouting nonsense about needing fossil fuels to warm our homes. His outlandish views are quietly marginalized, subsumed by the miasma of liberal pap, and the quest for “a more just, verdant, and peaceful word” — the MacArthur Foundation’s signature inanity —

continues. I should mention that I make a brief, paid-weekly appearance on a local public radio show. I don’t outsource my hypocrisy to anyone. Have you noticed how we outsource our moral courage (the only courage that matters, Gore Vidal once noted) to dead people? I am certainly one of those who admired Muhammad Ali’s perseverance in the face of racism and his principled opposition to the Vietnam War. If I’ve ever put my career on the line for an idea or principle, I’m not coming up with an example right at this moment. But God bless the people who do. Yes, this whole opinion-writing thing will get outsourced soon enough. But then we can outsource opinion-reading, and we will have achieved perfect equilibrium.

Alex Beam’s column appears regularly in the Globe. Follow him on Twitter @imalexbeamyrnot.

INBOX

A cry to stop the carnage

Let’s see how many gun owners sign up for that ‘well-regulated militia’

REGARDING YOUR front-page opinion on assault rifles (“Make it stop.” June 16): Perhaps America’s present problem with the Second Amendment results not from too great an emphasis on its guarantees, but from too little insistence on its stated responsibilities. When a person applies for a license to own a military-grade weapon (as Legislatures, in their wisdom, may define), that application should include, as a requirement and condition, concomitantly volunteering to be a member of a well-regulated militia, as specifically provided in the opening words of the Second Amendment. At a minimum, militia membership should entail reporting with the licensed weapon for mandatory and regularly scheduled training sessions, for training and practice regarding how to use those weapons safely and properly, among other things. Failure to attend or to master the skills and material being taught would result in


revocation of the license. Breaches of mandated protocols, such as failure to properly secure the weapon when not in use, or criminal activity performed or aided by use of the weapon, would be breaches of military order, and dealt with by court-martial.

Let us see how many people wish to own military-grade weapons when that ownership entails, as constitutionally mandated, military participation and regulation.

KEITH BACKMAN
Bedford

20 years later, still feeling aftershocks of gun violence

AS SOMEONE who has lost a friend and family member to gun violence, I would like to thank the Globe for its editorial on the state of guns and gun control in this country (“Ban these guns,” June 16). After horrific gun violence in Aurora, Colo.; Newtown, Conn.; Orlando, and elsewhere, I think about my friend and brother-in-law, Nelson, who was murdered on Feb. 12, 1995. I will never forget how his brutal murder affected Nelson’s mother, sib-

 **Big Hits**
@young5skiers
@GlobeOpinion @trenni @BostonGlobe I'm not a gun owner, but grew up with them. The issue is the extremism and not the guns. Educate yourself

lings, friends, and me. After these heartbreaking instances of gun violence, I whisper one question to myself: How many Nelsons have to die before this country wakes up? We need political courage now. We need to break the chokehold the National Rifle Association has on our Congress. I think enough Nelsons have died.

DAVID SHIELDS
Newton

These weapons have been with us for decades — the problem is the user

THE CAMPAIGN to ban assault rifles misses the point and distracts from the real issue (“Ban these guns,” Editorial). An assault rifle is a semiautomatic firearm, and semiautomatic firearms have been around since 1885. Today, there are hundreds of millions of semiautomatic rifles, pistols, and

shotguns in circulation. So, if they’ve been around for more than 130 years, why haven’t they been more of a problem until recently? Because the problem is not the firearm — a firearm is only a tool, like a knife or hatchet. It’s the people using the tool who are the problem. The answer is better licensing, more comprehensive background checks, and stiffer penalties for those who obtain firearms illegally, or who use them to commit a crime.

STEPHEN THOMPSON
Yarmouth Port

We need meaningful action, not symbolic bans

UNFORTUNATELY, BANNING a certain class of weapon is nothing more than a symbolic gesture. Banning sales of new weapons ignores the millions of guns already in the hands of citizens. The previous ban did not appear to have any effect on mass murders. What a ban would do is raise sales ahead of the ban and increase the price of existing weapons, not to mention give the National Rifle Association and the extreme right a rallying point. Other measures are more promis-

ing: universal background checks with no loopholes, a short waiting period between purchase and delivery, barring those on the no-fly list from purchasing guns, and better screening of those with behavioral health issues. We need meaningful action, not talking points.

BARRY NEEDALMAN
Framingham

Apparently, it doesn’t take much to sway a senator

KUDOS FOR today’s editorial section on the need for gun control legislation (“Make it stop.”). But your description of six senators who voted against such legislation or balked at it is perplexing. Did these senators, who seem unable to back even minimal measures to reduce the gun-induced carnage our country is experiencing, really receive, on average, less than \$55,000 in donations from gun-rights advocates? Can buying votes be so easy? If so, I’m sure that, together with a few friends, many of us can readily match those measly sums. Please, Senators Kelly Ayotte, Richard Burr, Jeff Flake, Heidi Heitkamp, Ron Johnson, and Rob Portman, tell us what it will cost.

JOE MEGERMAN
Waltham

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► **LOGAN**
Continued from Page A1

concessions, meaning that the 100,000 or so people who trek through Logan every day could see more Boston brands, names like Legal Sea Foods and Stephanie's.

"This is really significant because the whole makeup at Logan is going to change," said Ramon Lo, publisher of trade journal Airport Revenue News.

But change won't happen overnight: The companies' agreements with Massport begin to expire at the end of June 2017 and many individual tenants have leases that will extend well beyond that date.

Potential bidders are waiting for Massport to officially open up the process next month. But a number of them are already trying to line up the right teams, with an aim to re-

place the incumbent landlords, Airmall USA and Westfield Corporation.

"It's as big as anything out there," said John Cugasi, a business development executive with concessionaire Paradies Lagardère. "You'll have a lot of players interested because of the size of the procurement."

Massport could end up consolidating all four terminals under one master operator, al-

though the authority remains open to alternatives, such as assigning one company to handle restaurants and the other to oversee stores. Airmall wants to come back, while Westfield isn't showing its hand yet, company officials said.

Paradies Lagardère, a division of a French company whose main US office is in Atlanta, is one of the biggest players in this industry—and one

of the most likely contenders. Cugasi said that while his company is weighing a bid to oversee the roughly 190,000 square feet of commercial space that Massport says is available, it's also considering smaller efforts that would involve operating as a partner with another commercial landlord.

Some of the potential players would be familiar in Boston. Delaware North Cos., the owner

of the TD Garden, is considering a bid. And Rebel Restaurants, the local group overseen by Jon Cronin, may bid on the food and beverage business in all four terminals, possibly with a partner.

National companies that aren't household names around Boston are also following Massport's plans closely — firms such as SSP America, OTG and HMSHost. Some of the national concessionaires, such as HMSHost and Paradies, already run individual stores at Logan.

Westfield, which oversees the shops in terminals A and C, is circumspect about its plans because Massport hasn't yet issued a formal request for proposals, although it issued a statement saying it's interested in learning more about the agency's vision for the airport.

But Airmall, the longtime developer for terminals B and E, is making it clear that it's not ready to walk away.

"We love it here [and] we want to continue," said Michael Caro, vice president at Airmall, which first arrived at Logan in 2000. "We've helped Massport make a lot of changes that have been to the benefit of the customer. We're looking to stay."

Caro said he expects Massport will consolidate its concessions business under one landlord instead of two, a prediction that's shared by others based on the guidance Massport has provided and the chatter within the industry.

Massport isn't saying much publicly yet. CEO Thomas Glynn declined to comment, other than to issue a brief prepared statement, saying in part that "the master concession agreement will be an important decision for Massport and for the millions of people who use Boston Logan International Airport each year."

But the agency has offered some clues on its website for the criteria it could apply when weighing the various bids, to give the potential bidders time to prepare. The goals: to find operators that can develop a diverse lineup of shops with competitive prices and services for travelers, while maximizing revenue for Massport. The agency takes a piece of the tenants' revenue, but it declined to say how much.

Massport wants to see the new operator upgrade the interior design, while assembling a tenant lineup that reflects the character of Boston and the region. And the agency said it wants to continue its practice of keeping prices in the airport comparable to elsewhere in Boston and Cambridge.

Tucked into the guidelines are two proposed changes in how Logan is run. Massport says it would prefer that bidders create a centralized distribution center for food and other products that are being trucked in to the vendors. The agency also wants to see an agreement in place that could make it easier for a union to organize workers at the airport.

Many local restaurateurs are paying close attention. Those with existing locations at Logan are protected, at least in the short term, by their leases. But a new landlord could still have a big impact in terms of the overall environment and the other restaurants that could arrive.

Legal Sea Foods CEO Roger Berkowitz said he's not worried: He already has five Logan restaurants, hopes to open a sixth, and doesn't expect major changes in how he runs them. He said he has talked with some of the potential bidders but it's too early to publicly discuss those negotiations.

"Airports are a strong part of what we do," Berkowitz said. "I want to do more, not less."

Bidders also reached out to the Waldwin Group, a local Dunkin' Donuts franchisee with eight locations at Logan. Waldwin CEO Clayton Turnbull said he expects to continue to operate at Logan after the change.

"I'm assuming ... any of the bidders would bring more local brands," said Lo, the trade publisher. "The airport is the first and last thing that anyone sees of the city. I think it's exciting to have that opportunity to have more of a Boston flavor."

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ADRIAN WALKER

The power of art



At first blush, the rooftop of the Taj Boston seemed like an awfully fancy place to pay homage to a man who runs an arts program off L Street in South Boston.

But as Michael Dowling’s friends filled the place with their presence and affection Wednesday night, it slowly became apparent that the location was a metaphor for his life’s work, which is to bridge the many worlds that comprise Boston.

Dowling was celebrating 25 years as the artistic director and founder of Medicine Wheel Productions. Primarily, it uses art to bring together young people from across the city in an atmosphere that fosters collaboration and dialogue.

One of its signature programs, Hand-in-Hand, brings together young adults and Boston police officers to spend a day working together on art projects. The idea is to give them a space to see one another as human beings and peers, rather than as adversaries on the streets.

It isn’t unusual for participants to discover they have previously encountered one another, under less collegial circumstances. By the end of the day, they walk out with a different relationship. Both the young people and police love it: Police Commissioner William Evans is a huge supporter.

“Young people are gifts to the community, but they’re often invisible,” Dowling says. “And they’re invisible because they haven’t been invited to be active participants of he community they’re part of.”

Medicine Wheel’s alumni now number in the thousands. Many of the young adults who walk through the doors have been referred to it as a result of legal problems or other issues. They come together to make art and also, as Dowling often says, to feel part of something larger than themselves. The guiding principle of Medicine Wheel is that it is transformative when young people find their voices.

Thinking outside the box comes naturally to Dowling. He gave up a successful painting career, more or less by accident, to become an activist in a neighborhood he lived in but then detested, Southie.

When he moved there, in 1978, few were rolling out the welcome mat for a gay painter. As he became visible, he also became a target: he still talks about the St. Patrick’s Day parade during which people threw rocks at his house.

The AIDS epidemic made him start to think about art as a tool for healing, and whether there might be more to being an artist than painting. Living in South Boston led him to give Medicine Wheel its community focus.

When a suicide epidemic hit the neighborhood in the mid-1990s, the notion of using art as a tool for healing suddenly made sense. Dowling led a movement to turn a vacant lot near Dorchester Heights into a public art installation, featuring stones with the names of people who had died during the epidemic. As the project gained in popularity, Dowling began to find acceptance. People who had previously taunted him began to apologize.

A medicine wheel, Dowling explains, is a Native American concept for connection.

“My concept of it is that every spoke of the wheel is significant and if one spoke of the wheel is broken the wheel is incomplete,” Dowling said. “It’s a symbol of inclusion and being part of something bigger than themselves.”

Medicine Wheel’s definition of art is expansive. Dowling has led peace marches from Southie to Roxbury. Arts groups of every discipline use Medicine Wheel’s space. Much of Boston — not just South Boston — was represented at the gathering for Dowling Wednesday, paying tribute to a force for unity.

Dowling said Thursday he has thrived for 25 years by never dwelling on his influence.

“I never think about it,” he insisted Thursday. If I thought about the work I probably wouldn’t do it. It’s stepping off the cliff every day. I try to live my life being available to what comes to me each day.”

Adrian Walker is a Globe columnist. He can be reached at walker@globe.com. Follow him on Twitter

Art in the city getting a \$1m boost

Walsh to unveil Boston Creates, a 10-year cultural plan, on Friday

By Malcolm Gay

GLOBE STAFF

When Mayor Martin J. Walsh unveils Boston Creates, the city’s 10-year cultural plan, on Friday, it will include more than a million dollars in new arts funding.

Initiatives include a program linking public art to new city construction and infrastructure projects, a plan to provide affordable housing to artists, a pilot program to make new rehearsal spaces available to performers, and a collaboration with the Museum of Fine Arts to conserve city-owned artworks. Meanwhile the Boston Foundation, in conjunction with the Barr Foundation, is set to establish a pooled fund providing grants to small theater and dance troupes.

“You’re going to see a completely different vision for the city of Boston,” said Walsh by phone on Thursday. “This arts plan lays out a vision and shows that we’re truly committed ... that Boston is an arts leader at every single level.”

The final Boston Creates plan leaves one big question unanswered:



PHOTOS BY JESSICA RINALDI/GLOBE STAFF

Raekwon Jaquay Brown's mother and father were overcome during his funeral Thursday.

A CALL for HEALING



‘We do not accept this reality for you.’

SENATOR SONIA CHANG-DIAZ
Speaking to students at the funeral about violence in their community

Funeral for student gunned down near school brings words of consolation and peace

By Vivian Wang
GLOBE CORRESPONDENT

Sunlight streamed through the stained-glass windows of the sweltering Charles Street AME church in Roxbury, where mourners wiped away tears and sweat as they said goodbye Thursday to Raekwon Brown, the 17-year-old fatally shot last week outside Jeremiah E. Burke High School.

His funeral drew more than 300 mourners, from classmates to former landlords to elected officials. They squeezed into pews and when those were full, stood against walls, waving off the heat with hand-held fans bearing images of peace doves and Martin Luther King, Jr. Near the altar was the casket, heaped with red and white roses and a ribbon reading simply, “Beloved baby brother.”

In the days since Brown was killed in an explosion of gunfire near the Burke on June 8, countless people across Boston have called his loss a tragedy, another promising young man taken by gun violence. But Thursday morning, church leaders said they wanted the service to be joyous.

“This is a celebration, so we’re going to sing a celebratory song,” Elder Tawanna Johnson declared.

FUNERAL, Page B8

Drive for whale-friendly rope gets a lift

State gives \$180k to help researchers

By Reis Thebault
GLOBE CORRESPONDENT

The 45-foot creature might not notice when the rope first snags its mouth, its tail, or a flipper. But when it realizes what has happened, the whale will panic, thrashing and spinning underwater. This is the critical moment: Will it break the rope and swim free?

For the North Atlantic right whale, the answer most often is no.

In an effort to aid the endangered animal, the state is awarding \$180,000 to the New England Aquarium to help develop whale-friendly fishing ropes that would help save them from entrapment and often painful deaths.

On Thursday, Massachusetts’ energy and environmental affairs secretary, Matthew Beaton, held a news conference outside the



KEITH BEDFORD/GLOBE STAFF

Making rope strong enough for commercial fisherman but weak enough for a trapped whale to break is the goal of the research.

aquarium to announce the Baker administration’s support for the aquarium’s work, which emphasizes saving the dwindling North Atlantic right whale population.

Scientists say 83 percent of right whales show evidence — usu-

ally deep scars or unnaturally arched backs — of having been entangled in fishing rope, which over the past 20 years has been manufactured to be stronger.

Researchers at the aquarium

WHALES, Page B3

Can the city establish a sustainable public revenue stream robust enough to truly help sustain the arts? That’s something arts leaders say is essential to maintaining the city’s vibrant cultural scene.

“People want a percent of our overall budget: We’re not there yet,” said Walsh. “But we’re certainly investing a lot more than the city’s ever invested in the arts, and we’re building

BOSTON CREATES, Page B3

AG tries to rev up IndyCar refunds

Gives organizers week to create plan

By Mark Arsenault
GLOBE STAFF

State Attorney General Maura Healey has given the parties connected to a failed Boston IndyCar race a week to come up with a plan to reimburse ticket buyers — or she will speed ahead with litigation.

Healey has subpoenaed documents from Boston Grand Prix, a local entity that sold thousands of tickets for a planned IndyCar race in the Seaport, and from the national IndyCar organization, according to a Healey spokeswoman.

The AG is seeking records to help figure out who bought tickets, where the ticket money went, and why it wasn’t all returned when the race was canceled in April.

On Wednesday, at Healey’s invitation, representatives from Boston Grand Prix and IndyCar made a pit stop at the Office of the Attorney General, where they were told to collectively develop a plan to repay ticket buyers, many of whom say they are out hundreds of dollars, or more.

The attendees at the meeting included: John Casey, manager, Boston Grand Prix LLC; Michael Murphy, a lawyer representing Casey; Michael Goldberg and Edward Colbert, lawyers for Boston Grand Prix; Stephen Starks, vice president of promoter relations for IndyCar; and IndyCar’s lawyer, Angela Kraulik, according to Healey’s office.

INDYCAR, Page B8

Suit can proceed in teen death

Supreme Court sends case back

By Liz Kowalczyk
GLOBE STAFF

The US Supreme Court Thursday handed a partial victory to a Massachusetts family who sued the country’s largest owner of psychiatric hospitals over the death of their daughter. But the justices sent the case back to a lower court for further review.

Both sides seemed to find something to like in the complex decision written by Justice Clarence Thomas. And lawyers and organizations who had been following the case disagreed about the ultimate meaning of the decision, which was unanimous.

The question at hand was whether Universal Health Services, a Fortune 500 company that owns the Arbour psychiatric facilities in Massachusetts, violated the law when it allegedly permitted an unsupervised nurse practitioner to prescribe medication to 19-year-old Yarushka Rivera. Virtually every therapist who came in contact with Rivera at the company’s clinic in Lawrence was unlicensed and

ARBOUR, Page B8



DINA RUDICK/GLOBE STAFF

RED, WHITE, AND BLUE — Lina Maria Velez of East Boston, originally from Colombia, waved her flag during a naturalization ceremony Thursday. A total of 2,354 people from 129 different countries were presented for naturalization to the US District Court for the District of Massachusetts in a ceremony at Hynes Auditorium.

Report says T lacks cash, expertise for fixes

Cost estimates for maintenance likely too low

By Nicole Dungea
GLOBE STAFF

For the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority to keep its trains, buses, tracks, and other infrastructure in good working order, it likely needs to spend even more than the hundreds of millions of dollars per year it has estimated — largely because the T’s method of estimating that figure is inadequate, according to a report from the nonpartisan Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation. The report released Thursday also found that the T needs to increase salaries for top executives to retain talent to turn the agency around. Eileen McAnneny, president of the foundation, said the research shows that there are many impediments preventing the T from upgrading its equipment, including not having enough capable staff or an accurate estimate of how much it needs to spend. “Even if we had more money today, we wouldn’t be able to spend it all because they don’t have the processes in place or the human capital to make sure we can deliver the projects on budget and on time,” she said. The report comes as the boards overseeing the T and the state transportation department are set to vote on a plan that outlines the major construction and repair projects the agencies will work on for the next five years.

The MBTA estimated last summer that it would take about \$7.3 billion to get all its assets into good working order, and that it needs to spend about \$765 million each year to eliminate the backlog of repairs in 25 years. The report notes that the T has already acknowledged there could be “major gaps” in its data regarding commuter rail tracks, power, and signals. The T fails to account for inflation in those numbers, which would drive up the costs, according to the report. The spending estimates “appear unrealistic and understate what will be needed to fix the T because the data on which it is based is incomplete and inaccurate,” the report said. “People already know our capital needs are great, and probably presently we don’t have sufficient resources,” said McAnneny. “But when you think that it could be underestimated, it’s pretty daunting.” Governor Charlie Baker has made clear that he values investing in the “core system” before expanding the system. “For a long time, this conversation was upside down: ‘Let’s pick the coolest projects and let’s pay for that,’” Baker said at a Thursday forum coinciding with the report’s release. “There’s nothing cool about power systems, signals, switches, infrastructure, and tracks.” The report is the latest in a string of assessments of the MBTA that have painted the system as weakly managed and starved of talent. The researchers say the MBTA isn’t able to spend as much on repair and



‘I think the control board has been willing to make the hard decisions when they’re the right decisions.’

STEPHANIE POLLACK
Transportation secretary

expansion projects because of inadequate staff capability, inefficient processes, and changing funding priorities. The need to attract new employees prompted researchers to suggest increasing pay levels after reviewing the pay at other major transit agencies, reporting how much it would cost the T, and submitting a report with recommendations for the Legislature. Transportation Secretary Stephanie Pollack said the MBTA’s fiscal control board could be receptive to such a move. “I think the control board has been willing to make the hard decisions when they’re the right decisions, and if the right

decision is that we need to change the compensation scale in order to attract the talent we need . . . I think they’ll be willing to make that decision,” she said. Thursday’s report also made clear that the MBTA must update the system that estimates how much it needs to spend to get its assets in good working order. Pollack said the system that takes stock of what the MBTA owns isn’t well aligned with the systems tracking the agency’s spending or repair work. For example, if a train is refurbished or repaired, its status is not updated in the system that tracks the assets. “It’s very hard to say that you are serious about taking care of the assets you own, if you don’t know what assets you own or what condition they’re in,” she said. Baker on Thursday said the agency is heading in the right direction, but still faces an “enormously significant climb.” Amid the criticisms within the report, McAnneny also acknowledged that the T has made some strong hires — such as a new chief administrator, chief financial officer, chief procurement officer, and director of capital programs — that could lead to more progress in the long run. “I think it’s important that we are making some progress, albeit slow, and not as much as we need to,” she said. “But we are making progress.”

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Casino’s revenue slips back to where it had been

Plainridge Park, short of forecasts, awaits new rivals

By Sean P. Murphy
GLOBE STAFF

Gambling revenue at Plainridge Park Casino ticked down almost 2 percent in May to about the same level it had been three months prior. The Plainville slot parlor brought in \$13.5 million last month, about \$8,500 less a day than in April, according to figures released Wednesday by the Massachusetts Gaming Commission. So far this year, Plainridge is averaging \$13.4 million in monthly revenue, up from \$12.2 million over the last four months of 2015. But the amount of daily revenue at the state’s first casino has moved very little in the past four months. “I think Plainridge has hit a plateau of sorts,” said Paul DeBole, an assistant professor of political science at Lasell College and a specialist in gambling regulation. “This may be the normal level of revenue for Plainridge.” The slight downturn comes several months after the casino



JONATHAN WIGGS/GLOBE STAFF

Since Plainridge Park opened, municipalities have received almost \$61.5 million in payments from gambling revenue. sharply increased promotional free play, enticing gamblers with offers of hundreds of dollars of free slot machine credits. In February, Plainridge handed out \$2.4 million in promotional credits, an unusually high amount for a relatively small casino. The Gaming Commission no longer releases free play data in its monthly updates. All that free play may have contributed to the 11 percent revenue increase in January and the 8 percent increase in February. But since then, revenue has been flat, even as the weather has improved. Plainridge enjoys a monopoly on slot machine gambling in Massachusetts, but not for long. The casino will face a major

new competitor next summer, when the Mashpee Wampanoag tribe is scheduled to open the first phase of its First Light casino in Taunton, about a 30-minute drive from the Plainridge casino, which is in Plainville. The \$1 billion casino in Taunton will feature a full array of table games and be far larger than Plainridge. Meanwhile, the owners of Twin River Casino in Rhode Island are gearing up for a statewide referendum ballot question that, if passed, would bring a new casino to Tiverton, R.I., a couple hundred feet from the Massachusetts state line in Fall River and about a 45-minute drive from Plainridge. That vote is scheduled for November.

Two other casinos are planned, a \$2 billion Wynn Resorts casino in Everett and a \$950 million MGM Resorts casino in Springfield. Lance George, Plainridge’s general manager, downplayed the monthly revenue figures, calling them “a snapshot in time” that “don’t reveal trends.” Plainridge has fallen short of revenue forecasts, which estimated as much as \$300 million in its opening year. In its first 11 months, it took in \$147 million, making it likely to collect about \$160 million for the year. The state taxes Plainridge’s gambling revenue at 49 percent, most of which goes to cities and towns. Since the casino opened, municipalities have received almost \$61.5 million. “If you measure success as meeting projections, then Plainridge is a disappointment,” DeBole said. “But \$160 million a year in revenue? That’s not too shabby. If success is measured by employing a couple hundred people, paying tens of millions in new taxes, and making a profit for its owners, then, yes, Plainridge is a success.”

Sean P. Murphy can be reached at smurphy@globe.com.

New England in brief

BROOKLINE

Pedestrian stabbed during robbery

A man was stabbed in Brookline during a robbery Wednesday night, police said. The man was walking on Vernon Street at about 9:50 pm. when he was attacked by a man in his 20s wearing a hoodie or puffy jacket with a logo on the chest area, police said. During the confrontation, the victim suffered stab wounds that were not considered life-threatening and he was taken to Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston for treatment, police said in a statement. Police were alerted to the robbery by a passerby. The suspect was seen running toward Park Street in Brookline, police said.

YARMOUTH

Community aids Marine robbery victim

A disabled Marine Corps veteran on vacation with his family found himself without money or identification Thursday after a man who befriended him swindled his belongings, police said. The community, outraged about the theft, has offered money and support for Robert M. Watson and his family during the investigation, Yarmouth police said. Watson and his wife took their two young children to the Cape Cod Inflatable Park Wednesday, police said. A bag holding their identification, bank cards, and Watson’s Veterans Affairs card were stolen. A man with a young son who befriended the family and thanked Watson for his service was seen leaving the park with a bag matching a description of the one missing. The Watsons were on vacation from North Carolina and were staying in Plymouth.

CHATHAM

‘Scratchy’ the shark returns to Cape

A great white shark was spotted Thursday morning off Monomoy Island, marking a return to Cape Cod waters for the ocean predator that was fitted with an electronic tracking tag in August. The male shark, nicknamed Scratchy, was detected on a device that can read tags at a distance, according to the Atlantic White Shark Conservancy. He got the name because he has been scratched by seals many times along his side. Scratchy, who is 13 feet long, is the first shark detected around the Cape this year, said Cynthia Wigren, president of the conservancy.

LENEX

Aspiring writer wins Pearl scholarship

A Lenox Memorial High School graduate who plans to pursue a career in journalism so she can “stand against global human rights violations” has been named the 2016 recipient of the Daniel Pearl Berkshire Scholarship. Sydney Claire King, a member of the National Honor Society, has been accepted to McGill University in Montreal to study political science and communications. The \$1,000 scholarship is named for the former chief of the Wall Street Journal’s South Asia bureau who was kidnapped and murdered in Pakistan in 2002 while researching a story on Islamic extremism. It was established by The Berkshire Eagle and the defunct North Adams Transcript, the newspapers where Pearl launched his career. (AP)

LEOMINSTER

Puerto Rico murder suspect caught

The US Marshals Service said it has captured a Puerto Rico murder suspect in Massachusetts. Marshals and State Police arrested 21-year-old Ramon Torres-Vazquez without incident at a Leominster hotel on Thursday morning. He faces charges including first-degree murder in connection with a killing in Coamo, Puerto Rico, in October 2014, authorities said. Marshals said he obtained a fake Massachusetts driver’s license and was living under an alias. (AP)

ARLINGTON

Belmont officer injured in collision

A Belmont police officer was injured late Thursday morning when the officer’s cruiser collided with another car in Arlington, officials said. The officer and driver of the other car were taken to the hospital with injuries that were not expected to be life-threatening, Arlington Police Captain Richard Flynn said. The cars crashed at the corner of Park Avenue and the Concord Turnpike in Arlington, according to Flynn.

The Boston Globe

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THURSDAY MIDDAY	2408	MASS CASH
Payoffs (based on a \$1 bet)		June 16
<u>EXACT ORDER</u>		01-15-19-27-32
All 4 digits	\$5,289	<i>Jackpot: \$100,000; one winner</i>
First or last 3	\$740	LUCKY FOR LIFE
Any 2 digits	\$63	June 16
Any 1 digit	\$6	08-12-20-33-45
<u>ANY ORDER</u>		Lucky Ball 15
All 4 digits	\$220	<i>Jackpot: \$25,000; no winners</i>
First 3	\$123	MEGABUCKS
Last 3	\$123	June 15
THURSDAY NIGHT	7289	8-12-18-23-27-31
Payoffs (based on a \$1 bet)		<i>Jackpot: \$2,369,431; no winners</i>
<u>EXACT ORDER</u>		PREVIOUS DRAWINGS
All 4 digits	\$4,972	
First or last 3	\$696	
Any 2 digits	\$60	
Any 1 digit	\$6	
<u>ANY ORDER</u>		
All 4 digits	\$207	
First 3	\$116	
Last 3	\$116	

Wednesday	2518	9739
Tuesday	1368	4297
Monday	8335	4586
THURSDAY NUMBERS AROUND NEW ENGLAND		
Maine, N.H., Vermont		
Day: 3-digit	618	4-digit 2719
Eve: 3-digit	100	4-digit 5031
Wed. Tri-State Megabucks		
7-9-11-30-37-(3)		
Rhode Island		
4000		
Wednesday's Powerball		
4-22-24-31-33		
Powerball 10		

Fund manager sentenced to 9 years in prison

Friends, retirees, mother bilked in fraud scheme

By **Milton J. Valencia**
GLOBE STAFF

The list of Daniel Thibeault's financial fraud victims includes investors and retirees, his colleagues, associates, old college roommates, his nanny, and even his mother.

And one by one, more than a dozen of his victims told a federal judge on Thursday that he had cheated them of their life savings, betrayed their trust, and that he should pay back the \$15 million he stole, along with serving a lengthy

prison term. All except his mother, who attributed Thibeault's wrongdoing to a drug and prescription drug addiction, and who asked for mercy.

After a five-hour hearing, US District Judge Leo T. Sorokin sentenced the 41-year-old Thibeault to nine years in prison, a significant sentence compared to similar financial fraud crimes.

"It's a long sentence, nine years in federal prison, but this was bad," Sorokin said. "You were a financial advisor. This is a serious offense, with a lot of money, that went on for a long time."

The judge handed down the sentence just moments after Thibeault had publicly apolo-

gized to his victims — turning to the gallery, placing the microphone in front of him, and singling out each one who had made statements to the court.

"I became unethical, that's it," he said, tearfully. "I totally lost perspective."

The victims, self-described blue-collar workers, packed the courtroom and watched in silence as their former financial adviser admitted to white-collar crime in federal court.

Thibeault seemed to have it all. He was an Ivy League-educated businessman, a graduate of Dartmouth College and Harvard Business School who once worked at the prestigious financial institution Goldman Sachs.

He had founded his own company, Graduate Leverage LLC, to provide loans and financial advice to low-risk graduate students. He also began serving as the co-portfolio manager of the GL Beyond Income Fund, a mutual fund launched in March 2012 that purported to invest in low-risk loans to professionals who would not be affected by economic downturns, such as doctors, dentists, veterinarians, and attorneys.

Thibeault pleaded guilty in March to fraud for having the GL Beyond Income Fund issue several dozen fake loans to people who had not applied for one, and were unaware of the scheme. Instead, Thibeault

used the money to pay for operating expenses at Graduate Leverage and its affiliated entities, and to pay for some of Thibeault's own personal expenses.

Thibeault's scheme involved issuing the phony loans and then diverting that money to his other businesses.

By the time he was arrested in December 2014, more than \$15 million — or more than 40 percent of the Beyond Income Fund's total assets — had been diverted elsewhere.

Milton J. Valencia can be reached at Milton.Valencia@globe.com. Follow him on Twitter @MiltonValencia.

Tall ships to parade in harbor in 2017

Trans-Atlantic regatta due here

By **Trisha Thadani**
GLOBE CORRESPONDENT

Amid the burgeoning Seaport District — dotted with cranes and emerging buildings — a fleet of historic tall ships is expected to sail into Boston next year for an international event that is receiving a much warmer reception from city officials than in earlier years.

Sail Boston 2017 is part of a trans-Atlantic regatta planned to begin in England and continue racing to Portugal, then Bermuda before stopping in Boston, the only US port on the schedule.

Mayor Martin J. Walsh on Thursday expressed full support for the event, saying it will be a boon for tourism and a showcase for Boston's developing waterfront on an international stage.

"Sail Boston is certainly going to have a tremendous impact on our city, and certainly our economy," Walsh said at a news conference promoting the event. "Millions of people are going to be flocking to our city to stay in our hotels, to visit our museums, to eat in our restaurants, to shop in our shops."

The ships, which are scheduled to arrive in Boston Harbor exactly one year from Thursday, are expected to attract 4 million tourists and generate more than \$100 million for the state's economy, said Dusty Rhodes, president of Conventures Inc., which is coordinating the tall ship festival.

While city and state officials on Thursday welcomed the 2017 event with open arms, the narrative was much different in the past.

In 2009, when the ships were set to return, then-Mayor Thomas M. Menino said Boston would not back the event because of financial concerns — notably, a \$1.6 million bill for security costs the city was left with after a similar celebration in 2000.

A muted version of the event was held that summer as tall ships arrived without the usual fanfare of fireworks and a maritime parade, but only after Menino and then-Governor Deval Patrick struck a deal that included \$1 million in state money to cover security costs.

The fanfare was toned down in 2012 for similar reasons.

On Thursday, officials promised that next year's event, from June 17 to 22, will feature the whole spectacle — including tall ships sailing around the harbor before docking, known as the parade of sail.

"This year, because of the support from Mayor Walsh and Governor Baker, we are able to have the first parade of sail since 2000," said Nicole Francoeur, Sail Boston development director. "It is what people want to see, and without it, the event tends to be a little lackluster."

Walsh said the event's public safety budget is still in early planning stages.

"All of [the public safety costs] are going to work into the budget," he said in an interview. "We are still a year away, the planning stages are still moving forward, and we're still securing sponsorships."

Rhodes said Sail Boston has "every reason to believe" the city will provide support as needed.

James Carmody, general manager of the Seaport Hotel & World Trade Center, said he expects the hotel to be booked to capacity for the six-day event. Despite past controversy and hefty security costs, Carmody, a Sail Boston board member, said the 2017 event should be "breathtaking."

"It really is an incredible spectacle . . . even on TV it is a very dramatic thing to watch," he said. "It is an expensive proposition, but we have millions of people that come."

Now, if only the weather holds up.

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New type of rope could save whales

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are trying to create ropes that whales would be able to break if they are entangled. Beaton said the ropes would be "workable for the industry and could minimize the severity of whale entanglements."

The ropes that scientists at the Anderson Cabot Center for Ocean Life, the aquarium's research arm, hope to make would be far weaker than the current industry standard. The goal is to find a sweet spot where the rope is strong enough for fishermen to use in deep water but weak enough for whales to break, said an aquarium research scientist, Amy Knowlton.

Most ropes used by fishermen break at about 3,000 pounds of pressure, Knowlton said. The aquarium's scientists aim to develop ropes with a breaking point of less than 1,700 pounds — the point at which a young right whale could break free.

North Atlantic right whales are of particular concern as their population hovers around 500, according to scientists' estimates.

The number that have been entangled has risen since the mid-1990s, which was about the time the industry began using vastly stronger ropes, Knowlton said.

The ropes fishermen use today have the advantage of greater durability but are unnecessarily strong, Knowlton said.

"To do their fishing operations, I don't think they need



KEITH BEDFORD/GLOBE STAFF

Lobsterman John Haviland on Thursday demonstrated the use of a rope and sleeve designed to protect whales.

nearly as much rope strength as they're using," she said.

The South Shore Lobstermen's Association has also been trying to address the problem, with help from the rope company Novabraid, said the association's president, John Haviland.

Together, they have developed the "South Shore sleeve," which resembles a large Chinese finger trap and connects two pieces of rope. The sleeve, which is in testing, has a much lower breaking point and can be used on rope that fishermen already own, Haviland

said at the news conference.

Michael Lane, a commercial lobsterman, said he's been attaching his traps to rope outfitted with the sleeves (one sleeve for every 40 feet of rope) for a year and hasn't had any problems. The sleeved ropes function just like the ropes he used to use, he said.

"Nothing has changed," he said, speaking from his fishing boat docked near the aquarium. "There has been no change in my operation."

To support further field testing of the sleeves, the state also awarded the lobstermen's

group a \$19,000 grant Thursday.

"We in the commercial lobster industry are committed to using the best available science to coexist with the North Atlantic right whale," said John Haviland, president of the association, said in a statement.

Beth Casoni, executive director of the Massachusetts Lobstermen's Association, also endorsed further research into rope technology. Casoni said she looks forward to partnering with the aquarium and its researchers.

State Representative Jim Cantwell, a Democrat who represents Marshfield and Scituate, which are among the state's most productive fishing ports, said funding such research benefits everyone.

"We're all on the same side," he said at the news conference. "The whales don't want to have entanglements, and the fishermen don't want to have entanglements."

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Boston Creates receives more than \$1 million in funding

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ing toward that permanent line item. ... We're going to be working toward a line item like the police have, like the libraries have, like public works has. That's ultimately our goal."

Drafted over an 18-month period with input from more than 5,000 Bostonians, the Boston Creates plan articulates five broad goals for the city. Among them: creating "fertile ground" for the arts in Boston, keeping artists in the city, integrating arts into "all aspects of city life," collaboration among a variety of institutions, and promotion of cultural opportunities in historically underserved communities.

"We want Boston to become as well known for the arts as it is for sports and history," said Julie Burros, the city's chief of arts and culture, in an interview. "Having a cultural plan in place is a key initial step."

Walsh plans to sign an executive order this summer establishing a percent-for-art program that will use the city's Five Year Capital Plan to invest in public art associated with new city construction or infrastructure projects. The program will provide funding equal to roughly 1 percent of the city's anticipated annual general borrowing, which last year equaled

about \$1.4 million.

"Developers want to be part of this; I don't think we're going to have to tell them anything," said Walsh, when asked why private developers wouldn't be required to participate. "I would rather have developers voluntarily work with us on this, and get vested in this, rather than having to tell them how to do it."

Meanwhile the Boston Housing Authority will begin reserving low-income housing for artists in new redevelopments. The Bunker Hill public housing development, slated to become a 1,110-unit mixed-income project, will set aside 10 units for income-eligible artists.

Burros said the city plans to set aside additional artist units in all future public housing developments, though she did not specify how many. She added that the city hopes to identify other means for expanding artist housing, noting that the Boston Foundation will be studying the issue. "We know there's a huge demand," Burros said. "But we need to quantify what kinds of units people need."

The Boston Foundation is also the driving force behind "Catalyze Creativity," a pooled funding source it is establishing with the Barr Foundation. The



PAT GREENHOUSE/GLOBE STAFF

Julie Burros, the city's chief of arts and culture, said that having a cultural plan is a key initial step.

fund, designed to help small dance and theater companies take artistic risks, will provide grants of up to \$15,000 to performers and performing arts organizations whose annual budgets are less than \$250,000. The Boston Foundation has committed \$500,000 annually for the next three years, while the Barr Foundation will spend \$250,000 for the first year.

"The performing arts, and especially arts and theater, are some of the least supported disciplines in Boston," said Allyson Esposito, director of arts and culture for the Boston Foundation. "We want it to allow artists and arts organizations to be able to count on something for a couple of years to get new work off the ground."

Earlier this year, Walsh announced an additional \$1 million in arts funding, which would go toward an artist-in-residence program, a help desk to streamline artists' interactions with the city, and individ-

ual artist grants. Burros said the grants would be divided into two classes: a fellowship program and a series of micro-grants to be disbursed on a monthly basis.

Other programs include a pilot project to provide rehearsal spaces for small performing arts groups in underused area buildings. The MFA will consult with the city on how to preserve city-owned artwork, and Boston-based EdVestors is committing \$680,000 in grants to schools working with teaching artists and nonprofits to increase arts education for Boston Public Schools students. The Department of Public Works has budgeted \$100,000 for public art at a road-improvement project at Hyde Square, and City Hall plans to include three "arts innovation districts" — cultural hubs with incentives and programs geared toward arts and innovation — in the Imagine Boston 2030 plan, the first at Uphams Corner.

"We think we have some pretty revolutionary stuff," said Joyce Linehan, the city's chief of policy, in an interview. "It's a culture change."

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Capital

Will North Carolina become the new Florida?

For nearly a generation, those watching presidential election returns on television every four years have been taught to focus on the results in just one state: Florida, Florida, Florida.

But lately, another state has captured the attention of the political class. It may not decide who will become president in 2016 — but it may well in the future.

North Carolina wasn’t even considered a swing state until 2008. That year, the state voted for Barack Obama, the first Democrat to win there since 1976.

In 2012, both Obama and Republican nominee Mitt Romney lavished attention and money on the state, hoping to win it. The Democratic National Convention even chose Charlotte as the host city, hoping to give Obama a boost there. In the end, it was the one swing state that Romney won — with just 50.1 per-

cent of the vote.

In the past 20 years, the state has undergone a dramatic demographic transformation. What’s left is essentially every group being fought over in 2016: the white working class, who saw their once stable textile jobs disappear; a growing minority population; and a young professional class living in more urban areas. The state has been at the forefront nationally in terms of the banking industry, the cost of education, and the fight over rights for transgendered individuals.

“The North Carolina electorate is looking more like the national electorate than it did a generation ago,” said Eric Heberlig, a political science professor at the University of North Carolina Charlotte. “The state is increasingly becoming more diverse, and the dynamics of urban versus rural drives politics here like it does in the rest of the country.”

Presidential candidates

GROUND/GAME

BY JAMES PINDELL

Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton have noticed. Trump was in Greensboro on Tuesday. Clinton makes a swing through the state next week. Both campaigns have staff on the ground, though Trump is relying mainly on the Republican National Committee in North Carolina, as he is in most other states, to do the leg work. Clinton began airing television ads in the state on Thursday.

“Hillary Clinton does have a sizable operation here,” Dee Stewart, a North Carolina Republican consultant, conceded.

“But at the end of the day, this will likely be a very close election,” Stewart said. “A statewide win by either party here that is more than 1.5 percent is considered a landslide.” Still, North Carolina

doesn’t hold the keys to the White House like other states. Florida still matters more, given its sheer size — 29 electoral voters compared to North Carolina’s 15. If Clinton wins every state that Democrats have carried in the past six elections and then wins Florida, she becomes president. As 2012 demonstrated, a Democrat can lose North Carolina and still win the election.

The opposite is not true for a Republican candidates.

“North Carolina is a must-win for Trump,” said Nathan Gonzalez, editor and publisher of The Rothenberg & Gonzales Political Report, a non-partisan newsletter.

The latest polls in North Carolina show Trump with a slight lead over Clinton. The Democratic-leaning Public Policy Poll, for example, gives Trump a 47-to-43 percent lead over Clinton, which is just outside of the poll’s margin of error.

Courtney Crowder, a Democratic consultant who served

as the state’s senior adviser to Obama’s campaign in 2012, said the challenge for Clinton is to drive up turnout among young people and minority groups.

“What Obama did here was unlike anything I have ever seen,” said Crowder. “Clinton does have the organization in place to replicate it, but she needs to bring some of the enthusiasm — or hope that the opposition to Trump does it for her.”

Indeed, there seems to be bipartisan consensus on two things.

First, Obama essentially stole the state in 2008 because he had an operation he built upon after the extended presidential primary there and because his Republican opponent, John McCain, put nearly no resources there.

Second, while North Carolina is no longer considered a Republican state, it’s unclear whether 2008 and 2012 were an aberration (one Democratic win and one razor-thin Re-

publican victory) — or the new norm.

“North Carolina could become like Ohio and Florida as a top swing state,” said Gonzalez. “With Trump running such an unconventional campaign I am not sure if the 2016 election will actually tell us that, but it is a fascinating place to watch right now.”

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CAPITAL SOURCE

Curious robo-calls from MassFiscal

The Massachusetts Fiscal Alliance professes to be a nonpartisan educational organization, but a flood of robo-calls it sent to the constituents of two Democratic senators in recent days has raised some eyebrows.

The group’s targets were curious ones: **Ken Donnelly** of Arlington and **John Keenan** of Quincy, neither of whom face Republican election challenges this year.

The obvious message was to make sure their constituents were aware that they were supposedly opposing the agenda of the hugely popular Republican Governor **Charlie Baker**.

“In the last budget debate, Governor Charlie Baker put forward over 90 budget priorities and Senator Ken Donnelly voted against them,” the voice message said to voters in his district. “Were you aware of these votes by Senator Donnelly against the governor’s agenda? If yes, please press one; if not, please press two.”

The message made no effort to inform constituents what the “90 budget priorities” were. Nor does it apparently matter to MassFiscal that lawmakers do not vote on governors’ budgets. They vote on legislative budgets proposed by the House and Senate — and then a final compromise spending plan worked out between the two branches.

A spokesman for MassFiscal did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Why Donnelly and Keenan were singled out is not clear. One hint is that the two were pretty tough in the Senate budget debate last month, after feeling set up by the GOP. In the middle of a late-night debate, Senator **Ryan Fattman**, a Sutton Republican, tweeted that they and other Democrats had voted to deny cops bullet-proof vests just when slain Auburn police officer **Ronald Tarentino Jr.** was being waked.

The GOP budget amendment, which was voted down, would have provided \$300,000 for vests for police, though there was already \$3 million in the budget for that purpose.

“To suggest that this body is not concerned with public safety and politicize this, as the brother of a police chief, I really have a problem with what occurred over the past hour and a half,” Keenan said, according to the State House News Service debate coverage. “I hope we never find votes we take put out there to suggest the opposite of what we feel.”

FRANK PHILLIPS

Senator, secretary of state ... mayor? Kerry says no

BEIJING — Secretary of State **John F. Kerry**, tired after nearly four years of high-stakes diplomatic globetrotting, sat in a hotel here last week and caught up on Boston gossip with Mayor **Martin J. Walsh**.

The two Bostonians had just addressed a climate change summit and then spent a few minutes together

chatting about development in Boston and other hometown topics. In an interview with a Boston Globe reporter, Kerry professed his admiration for the office of mayor, where the job has “some of the best executive authority in politics.”

“That was one of my great frustrations in the Senate. It’s partly why I ran for president, because legislation is a different kettle of fish,” Kerry said, adding. “Even the president of the United States doesn’t have some of the direct executive authority a mayor has in a . . . big city.”

Seated next to Kerry, Walsh nodded his head in knowing agreement. The first-term mayor has experienced that unrivaled executive authority, which was a stark contrast to his previous position as one of 200 members of the state Legislature. Walsh has announced his bid for a second term in 2017, but he has yet to draw a significant challenger.

As Kerry waxed on about the allure of local power, the reporter did the math. Kerry’s term as secretary of state will end in January, giving him time to return to Boston and launch a campaign.

“You’ve expressed a lot of interest in mayor,” the reporter said. “Mayor Walsh is looking for an opponent next year when he’s running for reelection . . .”

Kerry cut the reporter off. “I’m supporting Marty Walsh,” Kerry said with enthusiasm.

Walsh noticed that the reporter, who was also using an audio recorder, had stopped taking notes.

“Hey!” the mayor said. “You didn’t write that down!”

ANDREW RYAN

Five of 9 House seats uncontested by GOP

Five out of nine seats in Massachusetts’ US House delegation — all currently held by Democrats — will go unchallenged by Republicans this fall. Four Democrats will face competitive races with Republicans, in the Third, Fourth, Eighth, and Ninth congressional districts. And one district — the Ninth — will hold a Republican primary.

Here’s a look at this year’s races:

■ **Third District**
Incumbent Democrat **Niki Tsongas** will face Republican **Ann Wofford**, a former chemical engineer from Haverhill who challenged Tsongas for her seat in 2014.

During her first campaign, Wofford said, she “couldn’t believe” how much money affected the campaign. This time around, she is focusing her efforts on fund-raising.

“A lot of that you learn the first time, and you can apply it,” Wofford said. “I’m an engineer. That’s what we do; we solve problems we encounter.”

If elected, Wofford said, she wants to improve the economy and help the middle class.

■ **Fourth District**
Incumbent Democrat **Joseph Ken-**



SAUL LOEB/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

THE PRESIDENT AND THE BABY

President Obama held a baby while greeting guests during a picnic for members of Congress on the South Lawn of the White House this week.

nedy III will face Republican **David Rosa** of Dighton. Rosa, who ran unsuccessfully for state Senate in 2014, is an Iraq War veteran and a commissioner with Dighton Parks and Recreation, according to his Facebook page. Rosa did not respond to request for comment.

■ **Eighth District**
William Burke, a Republican from Quincy, will challenge Democratic incumbent **Stephen Lynch**. He has owned and operated Burke Oil for more than 20 years, and, before that, he was a union laborer and a programmer.

New to politics, Burke said he is running because he wants to be an “independent soul up there in Washington.” He said he supported Massachusetts Senator **Elizabeth Warren’s** Social Security bill, which has not yet passed the Senate. The bill would provide a one-time payment — to veterans, Social Security beneficiaries, and others — of 3.9 percent of the average Social Security benefit.

Burke said he’s mixing traditional door-knocking with a social media push in order to persuade voters.

“I am on the streets talking to the people . . . malls, shopping centers, Walgreens, meeting and greeting,” Burke said. “And we are doing social media like crazy. . . . I’m not shy when it comes to the computer.”

■ **Ninth District**

Two Republicans are campaigning in the Ninth Congressional District. One of them will face Democratic incumbent **William Keating**.

Thomas O’Malley, a Republican from Marshfield and first-timer to politics, is a retired Naval officer and former general manager of the Pan-Am Boston shuttle. He said his experience in the Navy makes him a competitive candidate and that he would advocate for veterans’ rights.

He said he wanted to go into politics because he realized he couldn’t “sit back and not do anything and just complain.” Though he has held several fund-raisers, O’Malley said he expects raising money will be a major challenge.

“Rather than winning with money, I need to win with message,” O’Malley said.

His GOP primary competitor is **Mark Alliegro**, a biology professor at Brown University and an East Falmouth resident. His first foray into politics was in 2014, when he ran for the seat and lost in the Republican primary.

Alliegro, who is using the radio to campaign, said he thinks his public speaking experience as a professor would benefit him as a representative, as well as his training as a scientist.

“This gives me a different perspective in that I am less interested in the

partisan warfare,” Alliegro said, noting he was more interested in analyzing facts. If elected, Alliegro would advocate for the repeal of the Affordable Care Act and for lower taxes.

MEG BERNHARD

Mass. Democrats get new director

Less than five months before the November election — when Democrats will work not just on the presidential race but also to defend dozens of contested seats in the state Legislature — the party is getting a new executive director.

Matthew R. Fenlon, who has held the job since October 2013, will take a public affairs post at the University of Massachusetts Boston. He will hand the reins next week to longtime Democratic operative **Jason Cincotti**, said three people familiar with the matter.

Both Fenlon and Cincotti declined to comment.

Cincotti is a frequent strategist for Democratic campaigns, helping to elect **Katherine Clark** to the US House in 2013, and is close to Boston Mayor **Martin J. Walsh**. He was coordinated campaign manager in the 2004 cycle, after which he worked as the state party’s director of operations and, later, cofounded Cence Cincotti Strategies.

JIM O’SULLIVAN