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Bankrupt Steward targeting de la Torre

Aims to claw back funds from ex-CEO and others

By Jessica Bartlett
GLOBE STAFF

Steward Health Care is gearing up to claw back money that its current owners claim former investors and then-CEO Dr. Ralph de la Torre siphoned out of the company in the years leading up to its disastrous 2024 collapse.

In a filing with federal bankruptcy court on Friday, internal investigators for Steward Health Care flagged potentially fraudulent transactions involving the Dallas-based company's previous private equity owner, Cerberus Capital Management, and payouts to de la Torre and other former executives.

While preliminary, the filing sets the stage for bankruptcy trustees to sue de la Torre and others to pay back any ill-gotten gains, and it comes as they seek to develop a plan to pay back the large number of creditors still owed money.

The report's findings are consistent with reporting by the Globe, which detailed the cozy relationship between Steward and its landlord, Medical Properties Trust, that many experts likened to a Ponzi scheme. Members of Congress have previously criticized the millions of dollars private equity owners took out from the system even as it staggered to insolvency.

STEWART, Page A10

As Boston development slows, playing the blame game

Critics point to Wu on housing but her backers see harsh business climate

By Andrew Brinker
and Catherine Carlock

GLOBE STAFF

Just a few years ago, Boston's skyline was dotted with cranes, the visual manifestation of a building boom reshaping the city.

Today, those cranes are all but gone. And construction has fallen sharply. Amid a shortage that has driven rents skyward and pushed some residents from the city, 2023 and 2024 were the slowest years for housing construction since 2011, city data show. Nationally, Boston is building fewer homes than many other peer cities, including Seattle and Washington, D.C.

It is a difficult reality for Mayor Michelle Wu, who, as a candidate, made tackling the city's housing crisis a top priority. Four years later, development has slowed, and rents have gone up by roughly 12 percent.

Wu's detractors point to her policies as the root cause of the slowdown — specifically, her affordable housing requirements. But what's

HOUSING, Page A10

A NEW FACE



PAT GREENHOUSE/GLOBE STAFF

Amari Williams, the Celtics' second pick in the NBA Draft and the 46th overall, greeted kids on Tuesday at the Huntington Avenue YMCA. **C1.**

More than 400 waste collection workers walked off the job, disrupting garbage pickup across more than a dozen Massachusetts towns. **B5.**

The woman accused of posing as a teenager to enroll in Boston Public Schools scrapped a plea deal as she continued to discuss the terms. **B1.**

GOP has just enough on bill

By Tal Kopan, Jim Puzanghera,
and Sam Brodey

GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON — Moments before the Senate began its final votes to pass Republicans' sweeping tax and spending legislation Tuesday morning, Republican West Virginia Senator Jim Justice drove his motorized scooter around in an effort to stay awake after the chamber's all-nighter.

He was aware of a last-minute deal, but not exactly what was in it.

"I really don't know," he said. "But we'll find out here in just a few minutes."

Inside the chamber, legislative staffers spread papers before the parliamentarian, the Senate's

A long night in the Senate resulted in the 50 votes needed to send Trump's big plan to the House

procedural referee, who was making judgment calls on whether the freshly cut deals handwritten into the bill complied with the rules.

In the end, the last-minute changes were enough to win over the key Republican holdout, Alaska Senator Lisa Murkowski, who cast the decisive 50th vote allowing Vice President JD Vance to break the tie.

"This is probably the most difficult and agonizing legislative 24-hour period that I have encountered," Murkowski, who has served since 2002, told reporters after the vote. "And I've been here quite a while, and you all know I've got a few battle scars."

BUDGET, Page A7



JOHN TLUMACKI/GLOBE STAFF

Diana Cortes's daughter Layla (right) needed a life-saving liver transplant. All of it was covered by MassHealth.

In Mass., many have much to lose

Medicaid cuts would decimate patients — and could shake the whole health care system

By Jonathan Saltzman, Jason Laughlin,
and Jim Puzanghera

GLOBE STAFF

No one has to tell Diana Cortes how high the stakes are if Congress passes President Trump's "One Big Beautiful Bill," the controversial legislation that would make deep cuts in Medicaid to finance tax cuts.

Cortes's 3-year-old daughter, Layla, underwent a life-saving liver transplant in June 2023 at Boston Children's Hospital. MassHealth, the state's Medicaid program, paid for the operation, which Cortes said cost nearly \$1 million. Today, Layla is a rambunctious toddler who loves to dance and get licks from her beloved goldendoodle, Lu-na.

But the Methuen girl still has expensive medical needs, including frequent blood tests, imaging scans, and medication that keeps her body from rejecting her new liver, said Cortes, 41, a single mother and paralegal. MassHealth covers it all, as it does for the expenses of close to half of Massachusetts children.

Roughly 2 million Massachusetts residents, including more than 700,000 people 20 and younger, depend on the federal health insurance program for the poor. But tens of thousands could lose coverage as Congress races to pass legislation — perhaps by the end of the week — that would slash Medicaid spending.

About 250,000 people in Massachusetts would lose coverage under a version of the

legislation passed by the House, Governor Maura Healey estimated. A Senate bill that passed with a tie-breaking vote by Vice President JD Vance on Tuesday appears more draconian, state officials said. The legislation now goes back to the House for a final vote.

The Senate plan would increase the number of uninsured in the country by almost 12 million, primarily through Medicaid cuts, according to the Congressional Budget Office. The House bill would eliminate health coverage for about 11 million people nationwide.

Health care providers said the impact of the cuts would reach beyond those covered by Medicaid. In Massachusetts, hospitals

MEDICAID, Page A6

With a no vote, Collins tries to thread the needle once again

By Sam Brodey, Tal Kopan,
and Jim Puzanghera

GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON — It's a familiar scene in the Senate chamber: Susan Collins of Maine stepping onto the floor and casting a vote with major implications for the country.

But when Collins delivered a thumbs-down on Tuesday to Republicans' marquee domestic policy package, she did so as the only GOP senator representing a Democratic-leaning state who could face voters in 2026. (North Carolina Senator Thom Tillis announced this weekend

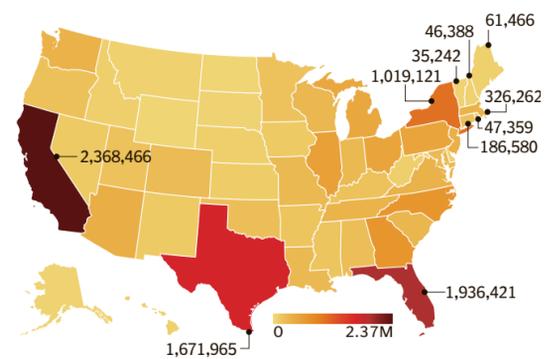
that he would not run again next year.)

Unlike some of her memorable past stands, Collins's vote against President Trump's "One Big Beautiful Bill" was not decisive: it passed anyway, with Senator Lisa Murkowski of Alaska providing the pivotal support to allow Vice President JD Vance to break a tied Senate.

Collins is well-accustomed to the high-wire act of a Republican moderate in a blue state. Perhaps the best case politically may be that this vote allows her to continue to walk that

COLLINS, Page A6

Hundreds of thousands in N.E. could lose Medicaid coverage



SOURCE: Congressional Joint Economic Committee Democrats
ANDREW NGUYEN/GLOBE STAFF

Hammocking it up

Wednesday: Clearing, some sun. High 82-87. Low 68-73.

Thursday: Hot, thunderstorms. High 89-94. Low 66-71.

Weather and Comics, G6-7.

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Jimmy Swaggart, who became one of the most popular and polarizing Christian evangelists of his generation, died at 90. A sex scandal eventually consigned him to obscurity. **C9.**

There's a lot more than you think to choosing the perfect watermelon. Or maybe there's not. **G1.**