DAILY 06-27-04 MD M2 A1 CMYK

P. Hamm Wins U.S. Men's Olympic Gymnastics Trials | SPORTS, *Page E1*

Weather

Today: *Mostly sunny, breezy. High 83. Low 67.*
Monday: *Partly sunny, humid. High 80. Low 65.*

Details, Page **C12**

The Washington Post

127TH YEAR NO. 205 M2 DC MD VA

SUNDAY, JUNE 27, 2004

M1 M2 M3 M4 V1 V2 V3 V4

Inside: **Book World, TV Week, The Post Magazine, Comics**
Today's Contents on Page A2

$1.50

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington. (See box on Page A2)

BY GARY PORTER—MILWAUKEE JOURNAL SENTINEL VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Former Wisconsin governor Tommy G. Thompson, left, was at one time on Commissioner Bud Selig's side in regard to Miller Park in Milwaukee. That's not the case any longer.

THE LAST CARTEL

How Baseball Does Business

Selig Plays Hardball on Stadium Deals

First of three articles

By Steve Fainaru
Washington Post Staff Writer

MILWAUKEE—The soaring brick ballpark on the outskirts of this city took the lives of three ironworkers. It cost a Republican state senator his job and set back taxpayers a sum equal to the Milwaukee County parks budget projected over the next decade. It nearly exhausted the political capital of the former governor, Tommy G. Thompson, who championed the stadium to keep Wisconsin "major league."

But Thompson won't set foot in the place.

Last year, when the ballpark's tenants, the Milwaukee Brewers, invited Thompson to Opening Day, he declined. He did it to protest Brewers owner and Commissioner of Baseball Allan H. "Bud" Selig, who, Thompson said in an interview, provided misleading financial information to get the stadium built, then broke promises to use the increased revenue to make the Brewers competitive.

"There were just so many misleadings and mischaracterizations," said Thompson, now Secretary of Health and Human Services in the Bush administration.

Selig, in turn, accused Thompson of reneging on a promised $50 million loan in what he called a "Machiavellian" reversal by the former governor. Robert A. DuPuy, who is both Selig's personal attorney and Major League Baseball's president and chief operating officer, called the charge that Selig misrepresented the Brewers' true financial picture to the state "a patent lie."

The rift between the commissioner of baseball and the governor who championed his ballpark is a microcosm of the rupture in the private-public partnership that Wisconsin forged to build Miller Park. In many ways, the story of the bedeviled $413.9 million stadium, which came with a leaky 12,000-ton retractable roof and 70 luxury suites, is the story of how modern baseball is played—not on the field but in the offices and boardrooms where Selig, a former Ford dealer, presides over a $3.5 billion industry that is exempt from the most basic laws of American capitalism.

The story is uniquely relevant to Washington and Northern Virginia, for both are trying to get into the baseball business. They are competing to persuade Selig

See **BASEBALL**, *A12, Col. 1*

BY EMILY WAX—THE WASHINGTON POST

At the Mornay refugee camp in Sudan's Darfur region, Mohammed Ishaq tries to comfort his dying 9-month-old son, Zohar.

In Sudan, Death and Denial

Officials Accused of Concealing Crisis as Thousands Starve

By Emily Wax
Washington Post Foreign Service

MORNAY, Sudan—There are tents here that no parent wants to visit. They are called feeding centers, shady rectangular units where children fight death. Sitting on a mat and holding his son's frail hand, Mohammed Ishaq and his wife, Aisha, have been here five days, nursing 9-month-old Zohar on drops of water from a large pink cup, praying that somehow he will survive.

Zohar spits up the water. His cough is rough, and his thin skin clings to his ribs. His withered left arm is connected to an IV. He is suffering from malaria, complicated by malnutrition. Near him, other parents rock, nurse and pray for their babies, who are passed out or moaning, their eyes rolled back as they vomit emergency rations of corn and oil.

Six hundred miles to the east in the capital, Khartoum, Mustafa Osman Ismail, the foreign minister of Sudan, stretched back in his plump leather chair in an air-conditioned office overlooking the Nile.

"In Darfur, there is no hunger. There is no malnutrition. There is no epidemic disease," he said in an interview. Yes, he conceded, there is "a humanitarian situation." But the hunger, he said, was "imagined" by the media.

Both hunger and denial are weapons in Sudan, according to U.N. officials and international aid workers. After accusing the government of imposing a policy of forced starvation on the people of Darfur, they now say that official attempts to conceal the crisis are endangering efforts to prevent famine among an estimated 1.2 million people.

Mornay is the largest refugee camp in the region. It is a labyrinth of suffering, where one child in five is acutely malnourished, aid workers say, where for six months 75,000 people have lived on less than half the food they need to survive, where six people die every day, mainly children and the elderly, from hunger and disease.

See **SUDAN**, *A22, Col. 1*

BY MARCUS GYGER—ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Abu Shok refugee camp near El Fashir in western Sudan is one of many camps overtaken by starvation and disease.

CIA Puts Harsh Tactics On Hold

Memo on Methods Of Interrogation Had Wide Review

By Dana Priest
Washington Post Staff Writer

The CIA has suspended the use of extraordinary interrogation techniques approved by the White House pending a review by Justice Department and other administration lawyers, intelligence officials said.

The "enhanced interrogation techniques," as the CIA calls them, include feigned drowning and refusal of pain medication for injuries. The tactics have been used to elicit intelligence from al Qaeda leaders such as Abu Zubaida and Khalid Sheik Mohammed.

Current and former CIA officers aware of the recent decision said the suspension reflects the CIA's fears of being accused of unsanctioned and illegal activities, as it was in the 1970s. The decision applies to CIA detention facilities, such as those around the world where the agency is interrogating al Qaeda leaders and their supporters, but not military prisons at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and elsewhere.

"Everything's on hold," said a former senior CIA official aware of the agency's decision. "The whole thing has been stopped until we sort out whether we are sure we're on legal ground." A CIA spokesman declined to comment on the issue.

CIA interrogations will continue

See **MEMO**, *A6, Col. 1*

U.S. Edicts Curb Power Of Iraq's Leadership

By Rajiv Chandrasekaran *and* Walter Pincus
Washington Post Foreign Service

BAGHDAD, June 26—U.S. administrator L. Paul Bremer has issued a raft of edicts revising Iraq's legal code and has appointed at least two dozen Iraqis to government jobs with multi-year terms in an attempt to promote his concepts of governance long after the planned handover of political authority on Wednesday.

Some of the orders signed by Bremer, which will remain in effect unless overturned by Iraq's interim government, restrict the power of the interim government and impose U.S.-crafted rules for the country's democratic transition. Among the most controversial orders is the enactment of an elections law that gives a seven-member commission the power to disqualify political parties and any of the candidates they support.

The effect of other regulations could last much longer. Bremer has ordered that the national security adviser and the national intelligence chief chosen by the interim prime minister he selected, Ayad Allawi, be given five-year terms, imposing Allawi's choices on the elected government that is to take over next year.

Bremer also has appointed Iraqis

See **IRAQ**, *A21, Col. 1*

Edwards Turns On the Charm to Build Kerry Base

By Charles Babington
Washington Post Staff Writer

DES MOINES, June 26—As Sen. John Edwards campaigns nationwide for John F. Kerry—and for the second spot on his presidential ticket—the North Carolinian's main strength is also his biggest handicap, a paradox at center stage of Kerry's narrowing search for a running mate.

Of all the surrogate candidates and vice presidential hopefuls, none can touch Edwards's ability to electrify crowds and charm voters out of their socks. But Democratic big shots and small-county chairmen alike say there is no question that the charismatic senator still covets the presidency—in 2008, 2012 or whenever the next opportunity arises.

CAMPAIGN 2004

Among the biggest decisions Kerry faces is whether Edwards could check his ego and ambitions for four or eight years and play the loyal, subservient and rarely glamorous role of vice president, whose greatest concern is supposed to be the president's best interests. Purely in terms of campaigning this fall, the Massachusetts senator also must consider whether Edwards's sizzle would make his own more prosaic style seem unacceptably wooden by comparison.

This weekend in this mecca of presidential politics, Edwards's star qualities were in full glory, delighting hundreds of Iowa Democratic convention-goers but surely prompting mixed feelings inside the Kerry camp. In speeches Friday night and Saturday morning, Edwards ripped the Bush administration and repeatedly brought the delegates to their feet, whooping, cheering and later mobbing him for photos and

See **EDWARDS**, *A5, Col. 1*

INSIDE

A Pastor With a Drive to Convert

McLean Sanctuary Opens With Grander Plans

By David Cho
Washington Post Staff Writer

When the Rev. Lon Solomon says he aims to persuade every soul in Washington to believe that "Jesus is the only ticket to heaven," it is a vow not to be taken lightly.

From the wealthy of McLean to the poor of Southeast Washington—all are in his sights, especially the area's Jews, whose conversion Solomon considers his God-given calling.

While other Christian leaders might have similar goals, none has the advantage of Solomon's perch as pastor of McLean Bible Church, a glitzy megachurch with an evangelical mission that might seem an unlikely fit for Washington's most affluent suburb.

Few could have predicted that Solomon, raised a Conservative Jew, would end up a Christian minister, let alone such a driven one, when he was a marginal student at the University of North Carolina in the late 1960s and early '70s. His fraternity buddies say they thought jail was more likely for the infamous campus drug dealer with the puffy Afro.

But today, a shorn and straightened Solomon, 55, leads one of the fastest-growing churches in the country. More than 10,000 people—about the population of Falls Church—are gathering to hear him preach as his new $90 million sanctuary opens this weekend just west of the Tysons Corner malls.

The megachurch phenomenon is nothing new. Pastors with huge followings—the largest counts 25,000—can command pervasive influence in their communities. What makes Solomon unique is that his home base includes people who are running the country from the most politically powerful city in the world.

"It's really because of Lon Solomon that I

BY MICHAEL LUTZKY—THE WASHINGTON POST

The Rev. Lon Solomon leads the Saturday evening service at McLean Bible Church with some children of the congregation.

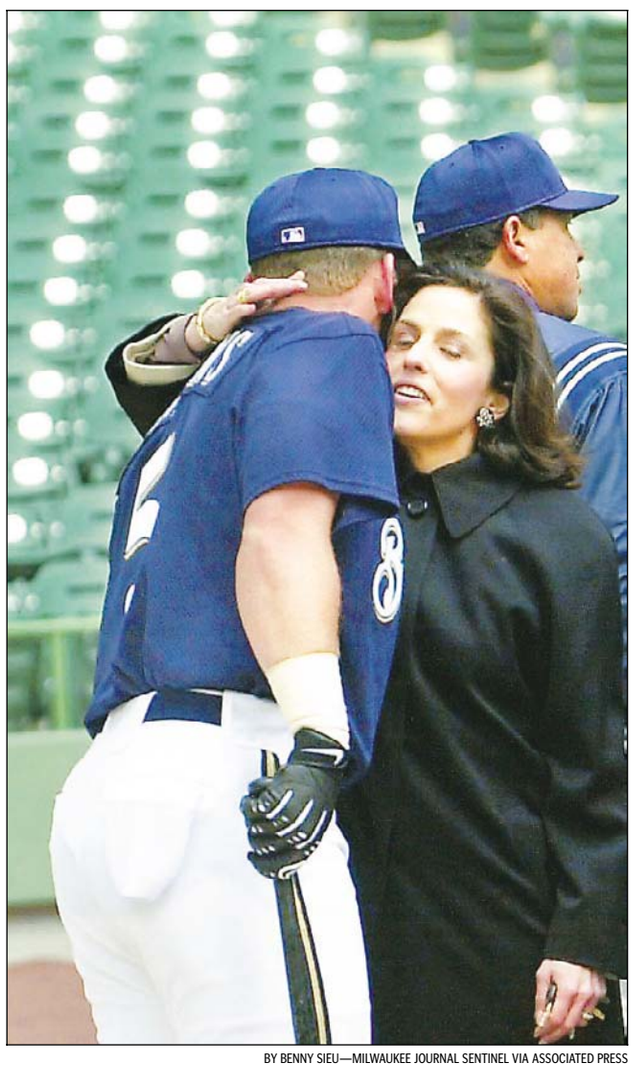
See **CHURCH**, *A16, Col. 1*

The Post on the Internet: washingtonpost.com

Contents © 2004 The Washington Post Company

DAILY 06-27-04 MD SU A12 CMYK

THE LAST CARTEL | *How Baseball Does Business*



BY BENNY SIEU—MILWAUKEE JOURNAL SENTINEL VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

The reality of playing in a sparkling new stadium was embraced by Milwaukee Brewers outfielder Geoff Jenkins, left, and team chairman Wendy Selig-Prieb, the daughter of Commissioner Bud Selig. Selig-Prieb says the club's finances were undermined by changes in baseball while Miller Park, which opened in 2001, was being built.

BY ELIZABETH FLORES—MILWAUKEE JOURNAL SENTINEL VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

The construction of Miller Park, complete with a retractable roof, came at a severe cost—$413.9 million and the lives of three ironworkers.

Selig Maneuvers Outside Antitrust Constraints

BASEBALL, *From A1*

to move the Montreal Expos to the nation's capital, which infamously lost the Washington Senators to Arlington, Tex., in 1971.

Selig, as commissioner, has singular control over "relocation," as the process is known inside baseball. His hand-picked relocation committee consists of DuPuy; Brewers Chairman Wendy Selig-Prieb, the commissioner's daughter; longtime Selig ally Jerry Reinsdorf, owner of the Chicago White Sox; Texas Rangers owner Tom Hicks; consultants; and MLB staff. Although a 75 percent vote of baseball's 30 teams is required before a team can move, no vote will be taken until Selig knows the outcome, according to baseball officials familiar with the process.

Selig's price in Washington is the same as it was in Milwaukee: a state-of-the-art publicly financed ballpark. No stadium, no team. But to at least one Wisconsin official, Miller Park is a cautionary tale.

"I would be very, very nervous if I was a taxpayer in the Greater Washington, D.C., area," said state Sen. Michael G. Ellis (R), the former majority leader and a Selig critic. "Nobody is better equipped to show people how to fleece the taxpayers into building them a new stadium than Allan H. [Bud] Selig. He could write a textbook on how he committed the taxpayers of Wisconsin to build a stadium at no cost whatsoever to the Seligs."

In exchange for the Expos, D.C. Mayor Anthony A. Williams has offered to build a fully funded ballpark at one of four downtown locations, at a cost ranging from $278 million to $383 million. Northern Virginia has offered a $360 million ballpark as the centerpiece of a 400-acre development project near Dulles International Airport. Portland, Ore.; Monterrey, Mexico; San Juan, Puerto Rico; Norfolk; and Las Vegas also have made bids for the Expos.

In an interview this month, Selig said he planned to make a decision after the July 13 All-Star Game in Houston.

"This thing has taken longer than it should have," he said. "But it's been almost to our advantage in a way. It's given the cities applying a chance to get their houses in order a little more."

This series will examine the relocation process, Selig's role in it, and what they reveal about the insular culture that is Major League Baseball, the official name for the business entity that is the national pastime. The information for these articles was drawn from court documents, lobbying records, congressional testimony and interviews with MLB officials, owners, players' union representatives, club employees and representatives from the seven North American locations vying to land the Expos.

Beyond its romantic history and symmetrical genius, baseball is fundamentally a government-sanctioned cartel—defined in the dictionary as a group of businesses that maintain a monopoly. It is protected by a 1922 Supreme Court decision that exempts the sport, uniquely, from antitrust laws. It is led by Selig, whose status as both team owner and commissioner would violate conflict-of-interest rules in all the major professional sports leagues—the National Football League, the National Basketball Association and the National Hockey League.

Selig, who assumed the responsibilities of commissioner in 1992—and was elected permanent commissioner in 1998—has made construction of ballparks the centerpiece of his business strategy as baseball's chief executive officer. His aggressive personal lobbying, including direct and implied threats, has helped baseball obtain $3.22 billion in public subsidies for 15 new or renovated ballparks—including his own—over the past 12 years.

MLB officials say the new stadiums anchor teams to their communities, provide economic and cultural benefits to cities and generate revenue to help teams acquire players and stay competitive. The stadiums, they argue, are like other infrastructure investments, such as airports and highways, that make cities viable. Without the construction of Miller Park in a medium-sized city like Milwaukee, Selig said, there would be no baseball here.

Political commentator George F. Will, one of the Selig's closest advisers, said in a recent speech that baseball's new ballparks are "monuments" that testify to Selig's status as the greatest of the nine commissioners in the sport's history.

"When people ask you, 'When was baseball's golden age?' The answer is: 'You're living in it,' " said Will.

Critics argue that baseball uses its antitrust exemption to carve the nation into protected regional monopolies. They say it is able to divide markets to leverage public money for stadiums that raise franchise values and earn hundreds of millions of dollars in revenue for baseball's owners, eight of whom were named to the 2003 Forbes 400 list of wealthiest Americans.

Without baseball's antitrust exemption, a major league team could move into Washington or Northern Virginia without baseball intervening. With it, the Baltimore Orioles, who have sought to block such a move, enjoy a monopoly over a region encompassing 7.6 million people, the fourth-largest consolidated metropolitan area in the United States after New York, Los Angeles and Chicago.

Without the antitrust exemption, "they'd all be in jail—it's real simple," said Spencer W. Waller, director of the Institute for Consumer Antitrust Studies at Loyola University in Chicago. "I'm not saying that people in baseball are evil or immoral, but because of antitrust laws they act like any rational monopolist would act in raising price, restricting output and limiting innovation. It's more of what a rational cartel would do than a monopolist."

Selig's role as judge and jury in Washington is freighted with irony. Although he has long fretted about a Washington area team's potential impact on the Orioles, and vice versa, in 1970 he relocated his own franchise from Seattle into what is now baseball's smallest market, 90 miles from two Chicago teams, four years after the Milwaukee Braves moved to Atlanta.

Throughout the 1990s, Selig promoted a new ballpark as the only way to make his team competitive enough to stay in the city—a message that he and his supporters conveyed via implied threats, the cooptation of Wisconsin's most powerful media and one of the most expensive lobbying campaigns in state history.

Interviews and recent audits of the Brewers' finances suggest that Miller Park was built on a foundation of economic sand. Much of the revenue the new stadium generated went to support a previously hidden spiral of private debt—$171.3 million in 2001, the year the park opened, according to a report last month by the nonpartisan Wisconsin Legislative Audit Bureau.

Among other things, that review of the Brewers' finances showed that annual $3.85 million stadium maintenance payments the team received from taxpayers was used until 2002 to service $50 million in Brewers loans. The loans represented part of the team's contribution to stadium construction.

The debt, along with plunging attendance, forced the Brewers to slash player payroll to a major league-low $27.5 million just three years after Miller Park opened. The Brewers opened this season paying their entire team $10.4 million less than the Boston Red Sox pay outfielder Manny Ramirez and pitcher Pedro Martinez.

On Jan. 16, faced with a public outcry over the reduced payroll and growing questions over how he used the Miller Park money, Selig put the Brewers up for sale.

Selig-Prieb, the Brewers' chairman, said the club's finances were undermined by changes in baseball while the stadium was being built. "The economics of the game changed dramatically during this period," she said. She echoed her father's view that without the new ballpark the Brewers would have been forced to leave Milwaukee.

Change in the Rules

Selig broke his first stadium promise more than a decade before Miller Park was built.

He drove out to Madison, the state capital, to have breakfast with Thompson. "I'm building a new stadium, and I wanted you to know," Selig told the governor, according to Thompson. "Don't worry about it. I'm going to build it myself."

Selig was a local hero, the man who had almost single-handedly saved baseball in Milwaukee. In 1965, at 31, he had fought unsuccessfully to stop the Braves from moving to Atlanta. Selig spent the next five years trying to get another team. In 1970, he led a group of investors who bought the Seattle Pilots out of bankruptcy; Selig's stake was $300,000. The team was diverted to Milwaukee with such haste that Brewers patches had to be sewn over the Pilots' uniforms.

Selig told friends that he wanted to be the first owner to finance his own ballpark since Walter O'Malley built Dodger Stadium for $18 million in 1962. But his promise failed to take into account the momentous economic shifts inside his sport. As baseball gravitated from broadcast to cable television in the late 1980s, teams in large markets began to receive torrents of new revenue that they spent on free agents, driving up player salaries.

The trend buried cities such as Milwaukee, the 27th largest metropolitan area in the nation. Selig in effect was trapped in a perfectly circumscribed market: Chicago was 90 minutes to the south; Minneapolis six hours to the west; and Lake Michigan directly east.

"Life changed," said Selig. "The same rules I was playing by no longer existed."

In comparison to other owners, Selig was not enormously wealthy; the team and his car dealership, which he took over from his father Ben, a Romanian immigrant, were his primary sources of income. So, in what became a nearly continuous search for cash to support his franchise, Selig reversed the equation: Instead of Selig building the stadium for Wisconsin, the state would build it for him.

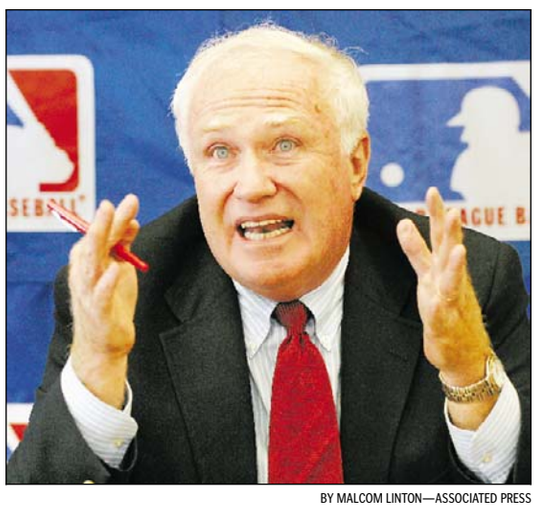
"The bottom line is the Seligs really couldn't afford to own the team," said John O. Norquist (D), Milwaukee's former mayor. "They were looking for other revenue streams."

Selig had only to look at other owners to see what was possible. In Chicago, Reinsdorf, now chairman of

See **BASEBALL**, *A13, Col. 1*

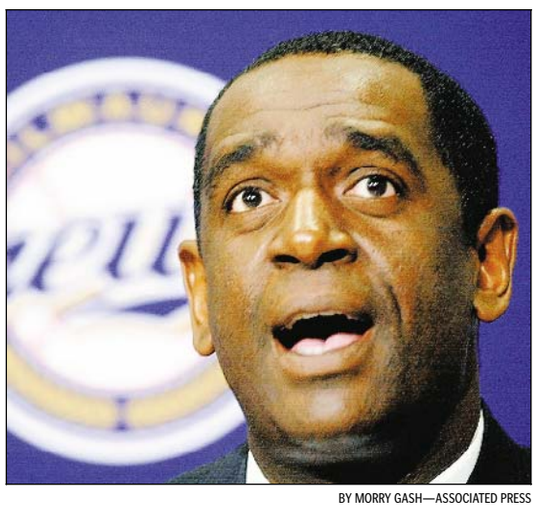
BY ERWIN GEBHARD—MILWAUKEE JOURNAL SENTINEL VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Surrounded by Lake Michigan, Chicago, Minneapolis, Bud Selig oversaw a team stuck in baseball's smallest market.



BY MALCOM LINTON—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Robert A. DuPuy, MLB's president and chief operating officer, says the charge that Selig misrepresented the Brewers' finances to the state is "a patent lie."



BY MORRY GASH—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Lawyer Ulice Payne Jr. was hired to run the team on the assumption that he had the authority to make changes. He quickly came to believe that Selig was still in charge.

About This Series

TODAY

Building Miller Park: New ballparks have been a centerpiece of Commissioner Bud Selig's strategy for baseball. The way he got his own stadium still makes people in Wisconsin angry.

MONDAY

The Odyssey of the Expos: The fate of the Montreal team illustrates how baseball uses its exemption from antitrust laws to control markets.

TUESDAY

Selig and Angelos: The future of baseball in the Washington area may depend on the relationship between two powerful men—the commissioner of baseball and the owner of the Orioles.

DAILY 06-27-04 MD SU A13 CMYK

THE LAST CARTEL | *How Baseball Does Business*

Brewers' Stadium Deal Left Wisconsin Reeling

BASEBALL, *From A12*

baseball's relocation committee, had threatened to move the White Sox to St. Petersburg, Fla., in 1987. The Illinois legislature approved a $150 million ballpark in 1988 as the clock struck midnight to end the legislative session.

In 1989, George W. Bush invested $606,000 as part of an investment group that purchased the Texas Rangers. Largely because of the construction of a publicly financed stadium—the Ballpark at Arlington, now known as Ameriquest Field—the group sold the team to Hicks nine years later for $250 million. Bush's reported share was $14.9 million; the 2,358 percent return on his investment made him financially secure enough to enter politics.

Selig was known in Milwaukee as a kind of everyman, a rumpled creature of habit who regularly ate his lunch at a local custard stand. He was careful never to explicitly threaten to leave. He made the rounds in Milwaukee, impressing upon local politicians, reporters and members of the business community his predicament.

"What he would say is, 'Unless we build a facility we can't economically survive here,' " said James R. Klauser, who served as secretary of administration under Thompson. "He never said, 'If we don't get a stadium we'll leave.'

"It's the same thing, isn't it?" said Klauser.

Selig envisioned a grand ballpark near the Brewers' previous home, Milwaukee County Stadium, three miles west of downtown. At first, when Selig said he was offering to pay for the ballpark, few questioned his right to choose the location. But after he asked for public support, civic leaders began to debate whether the stadium might be better off downtown. They looked at cities such as Baltimore and Cleveland, which had used new stadiums as the centerpieces for urban renewal.

Selig said he initially favored a downtown park but no adequate site was available. Brewers fans were accustomed to tailgating and came from outlying areas, he and his supporters said; they would be resistant to driving all the way into the city.

Gary Grunau, a prominent developer who helped create the Milwaukee Riverwalk System and advocate for a downtown site, believed Selig was more concerned about the revenue he stood to lose.

"I think he wanted a controlled situation where he had the parking, he had the restaurants, and he had everything else," said Grunau.

Selig drew much of his strength from local businessmen. One was Robert Kahlor, then chairman of Journal Communications Inc., which owned the Milwaukee Journal and the Milwaukee Sentinel (the newspapers merged in 1995), as well as WTMJ, which carried the Brewers' games.

Kahlor more than just supported the ballpark. Thompson appointed him to chair a stadium task force. According to records filed with the Wisconsin Ethics Board, Kahlor was also one of four registered lobbyists who worked on the stadium issue for Journal Communications Inc.

Inside the newspapers, reporters and editorial writers felt constrained. "We were totally compromised at that point," said Sue Ryon, deputy editor of the Milwaukee Journal's editorial page, then the lead editorial writer on the stadium issue. "We had no credibility. Anything we said, it was, 'Well, who can believe them? Look at the position they're in?' We felt as a newspaper, as an editorial board, handcuffed, and that was pretty much from the beginning."

Kahlor, who has since retired, declined to comment.

Selig's view of where the stadium should go came to dominate the Wisconsin media. He gained the ear of Charlie Sykes, a conservative radio personality with enormous influence across the state, who played on fears that the Brewers would leave town if the stadium wasn't built. Sykes said he regrets his role. The public, he said, "was basically a spectator in this deal." And the deal he sold on Selig's behalf, he said, "turned out to be not real."

"I used up a lot of my credibility with my audience, and to be a conservative pushing a tax increase is a difficult thing," said Sykes. "I think I made an exception to the principle that you don't raise taxes for corporate welfare."

Thompson and Selig signed a memorandum of understanding to build a $250 million ballpark on the Selig-endorsed site. The Brewers would contribute $90 million. The rest would come from revenue bonds funded by a 0.1-percent local sales tax levied in five counties surrounding the stadium. The tax would have to be approved by the state legislature.

The bill was "arguably the most heavily lobbied issue in the history of Wisconsin," said Jay Heck, executive director of Common Cause in Wisconsin. It represented "a confluence of baseball, politics, money and the major players in the state. I think it really marked in many ways the change of Wisconsin politics, the start of big money in Wisconsin politics. It was a kind of seminal moment."

State records show that at least 48 registered lobbyists worked in support of the stadium bill. They billed a combined 4,900.2 hours for a total cost of $638,930.08—most of it spent during the two-month period in September and October 1995, before the bill came to a vote.

After passing the state assembly, the senate debated the stadium bill into the pre-dawn of Oct. 6, 1995. Wisconsin Act 56 lost once, 16-15. The bill's proponents moved for reconsideration. After a brief caucus, the Senate reconvened and the bill lost again, by the same margin.

Selig paced the halls, enraged, until he was finally escorted into the office of the assembly speaker, David Prosser Jr. It was now near 4 a.m. One of Selig's aides approached Norquist, the Milwaukee mayor.

"Bud wants to see you," Norquist was told.

Norquist hoped Selig might be ready to cut a deal on a downtown ballpark to break the logjam. Instead, Selig lit into him.

"You're the one who's going to be held responsible for this!" Selig yelled, according to Norquist. "You killed baseball in Milwaukee!"

"Whatever anyone thinks, you're ripping the people off!" Norquist screamed back.

Selig confirmed the exchange. He said he was angry because he had been told by lawmakers that Norquist had secretly been trying to kill the deal.

Around 4:30 a.m., Ellis, the majority leader, walked back into the chamber to gavel the session closed. Before he could, his assistant majority leader, Margaret Farrow, stopped him. "No, no, don't adjourn," she whispered. "George is going to change his vote."

George Petak, a Republican from Racine, had opposed the stadium bill, in part because his county was the last added to the taxing district. Petak said he believed Racine was not integral to the Milwaukee economy and therefore shouldn't be taxed on the ballpark.

But in what has become a legendary moment in Wisconsin political history, Petak flipped. He said he was promised nothing in return. "I just didn't want to see baseball leave Wisconsin," he said.

Nine months later, Petak lost his job. The citizens of Racine held a special election and made Petak the first Wisconsin politician to be recalled.

Naming a Price

Tucked into the legislation was an unusual side deal Thompson had proposed to Selig. The governor had arranged to have a quasi-public agency, the Wisconsin Housing and Economic Development Authority (WHEDA), lend the Brewers $50 million. The team would use the money as part of its $90 million contribution to the stadium. The $90 million was key: Lawmakers wanted to know Selig, too, was chipping in.

The WHEDA loan was a political solution to a hard reality: The Brewers didn't have the money. The team came up with the remaining $40 million by selling the ballpark's name to the Miller Brewing Co., then using the 20-year, $41.5 million contract as collateral to obtain more debt. In other words, the Brewers' only financial contribution would come from selling the name of a ballpark for which Wisconsin taxpayers had paid.

Selig-Prieb said that the team made a significant financial contribution to the stadium. "Absolutely, the ballclub's money is invested in this project," she said. "If we didn't invest in the ballpark we would have had those assets to sell and utilize for the operation of the ballclub."

Before the stadium vote, the state legislature tried to assess the Brewers' financial condition. "We wanted to know: Where are they going to get their $90 million?" said Ellis. "We demanded to know what their financial condition was. We couldn't get it."

In a review of the team's finances, the Wisconsin Legislative Audit Bureau concluded the Brewers' financial condition was "poor" but said time constraints and "the club's reluctance to share detailed information" had made a complete analysis impossible.

Selig-Prieb and Michael W. Grebe, an attorney and member of the Brewers' board of directors who worked on the deal, said the club provided detailed financial information to both the Thompson administration and state auditors. "Clearly, the state understood the financial condition the club was in," said Selig-Prieb.

The governor had appointed an old banking associate, Fritz Ruf, to head WHEDA. The agency normally promoted low-income housing projects and small-business loans. But Thompson wanted Ruf in charge because of the size and notoriety of the Brewers' loan.

Ruf said he called Selig-Prieb to discuss it. "Look, you just give us the loan that they told you to give us," said Selig-Prieb, according to Ruf.

Selig-Prieb denied making the remark.

Klauser, Thompson's top aide, also said the Seligs were resistant. "They weren't interested in the details. It was just, 'Build us a stadium,' " said Klauser. "They did not like requirements—no question about that. Their idea was that someone would just write them a check."

But DuPuy said the team already had been "audited to kingdom come by the stadium board and by the state and by WHEDA and by everyone that was involved."

When he obtained access to the Brewers' books, Ruf said he was stunned. "I had lived around here all my life, and I knew that the financial position of the Brewers wasn't going to blow anyone's socks off," he said. "But the more you got into it, the more it became apparent that the only thing the Brewers were going to be able to give us was a hearty handshake. All of their assets, including the franchise, had been pledged to other lenders."

Grebe said Thompson was well aware that the team had no collateral to pledge. Klauser, he said, had arranged to let the Brewers use annual $3.85 million stadium maintenance payments from taxpayers to support the debt service on the uncollateralized loan. Selig and his supporters believe Thompson used the WHEDA loan as an excuse to back out of a deal that was already wreaking havoc on state politics. Thompson "knew that we had a deal," said Selig. "Why did he run from that deal? I don't know."

"The Machiavellian behavior was stunning and, in retrospect, more stunning," said Selig. "And let me underscore the Machiavellian."

Ruf, who had been appointed by Thompson to issue the Brewers' loan, now had to go back to the governor and say that he couldn't.

But where to get the $50 million? Rejected by the state, fully leveraged with the banks, the Brewers turned to the Milwaukee business community. The team negotiated a series of grants and low-interest loans from local foundations.

It came to be known as the $50 Million Club.

Like the aborted WHEDA loan, these loans would be serviced by annual taxpayer-funded maintenance payments.

Opening Day Shutout

An accident that killed three ironworkers set back construction for a year and cost the stadium project nearly $100 million, most of which was covered by insurance. Miller Park finally opened on April 6, 2001. President Bush flew in on Air Force One for the occasion with Thompson, who was by then a member of the Bush cabinet. The occasion called for Selig to throw out the first ball, the president the second. Brewers legend Robin Yount also took the field during introductions.

Thompson seethed through the introductions, waiting for his contribution to be acknowledged. The moment never came.

Selig said it was not the club's intention to shut out the former governor. "That was a night they wanted to honor the fans," he said. "You had Robin Yount, the all-time Brewer favorite, you had me, and you had the president of the United States, and that was enough."

"What's the big issue?" said Selig. "My goodness gracious, the man is the secretary of health and welfare. I'm the commissioner of baseball. I've got more important things to do."

Thompson vowed never to set foot again in the park he helped build as long as Selig owned the Brewers.

The opening obscured the fact that the Brewers' financial picture was grim. The team had raised ticket prices 23 percent in the five years after the stadium legislation was passed; the increase from 2000 to '01 was 39 percent. Brewers attendance rose 79 percent in Miller Park's first season, then plunged by nearly a million fans the following year as the team lost 106 games.

A growing disaffection settled over fans who saw their team remarkably unchanged despite their lavish new surroundings.

Ulice Payne Jr., a lawyer from Wisconsin's biggest firm, was hired to run the team on the assumption that he had the authority to make changes. He quickly came to believe, however, that Selig was still in charge.

At one point, Rick Schlesinger, the Brewers' executive vice president for business operations, told Payne he had spoken with Selig, according to a source familiar with the discussions. The commissioner suggested that Payne put off a planned firing because he was "moving too fast," Payne was told.

On Opening Day of the 2003 season at Miller Park, Payne heard that Selig during the game had referred to the Brewers' operations under Payne as "amateur hour," according to a source close to Payne. Selig, Payne heard, was threatening to install a representative of Major League Baseball to evaluate the franchise, according to a source close to the former Brewers CEO. Payne went to Selig-Prieb and asked for a meeting with her father.

That Sunday, while the Brewers played the San Francisco Giants, Payne, Selig, Selig-Prieb, Schlesinger and John Canning gathered in a conference room overlooking the field to "clear the air," said Canning, chairman of the finance committee on the Brewers' board and one of three limited partners who managed the Selig trust.

Payne aired his opinion that Selig was still trying to run the team, the source said. Selig called the account "fiction." As the end of the season approached, the team began to prepare its operating budget for the 2004 season. The team was trying to attract new investors for the debt-ridden franchise. To make the numbers attractive, the team would have no choice but to slash payroll—from $41 million to $30 million.

As rumors of the draconian cuts surfaced, the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel asked Payne if it was true. Payne confirmed the cuts as "the effects of a failed plan" and questioned whether they doomed the team to failure. The news exploded across the state. It was as if a single event had set to boiling years of simmering resentment over the construction of Miller Park.

The board, livid, negotiated to buy out the remaining four years of Payne's contract for $2.5 million. "The dispute was not between me and Ulice, it was between Ulice and the board," Selig said. He denied that he was involved with the team's operations.

When Selig announced he was selling the team in January, he said the sale was not tied to the stadium controversy.

He said he wanted to end the perception that his ownership of the Brewers and his position as commissioner of baseball were in conflict. Besides, said Selig, running Major League Baseball more than kept him occupied.

By the time the controversy erupted, Selig was balancing multiple conflicts. Baseball had entered its second year of ownership of the Montreal Expos, having taken over the team in February 2002 after a failed effort to "contract" Montreal and another franchise.

The strategy had grown out of a desire to lop off baseball's weakest teams.

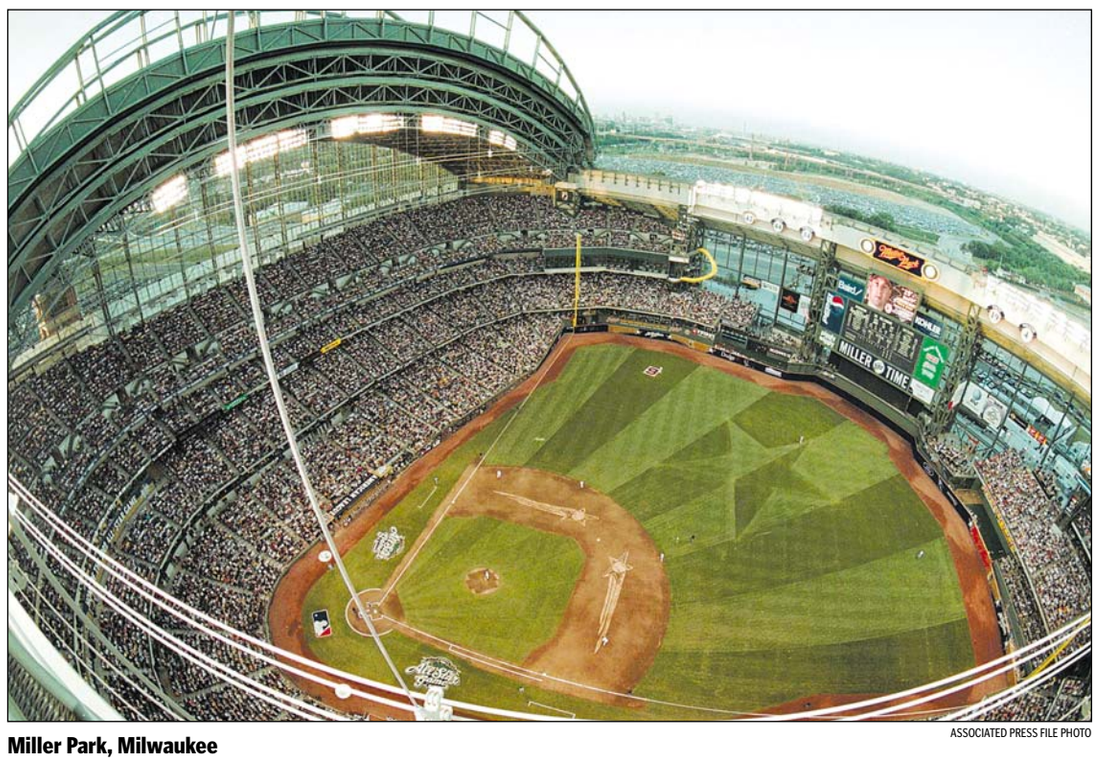
The process had started with a long list of potential victims.

None of them was the Milwaukee Brewers.

Staff researchers Julie Tate and Margot Williams contributed to this report.

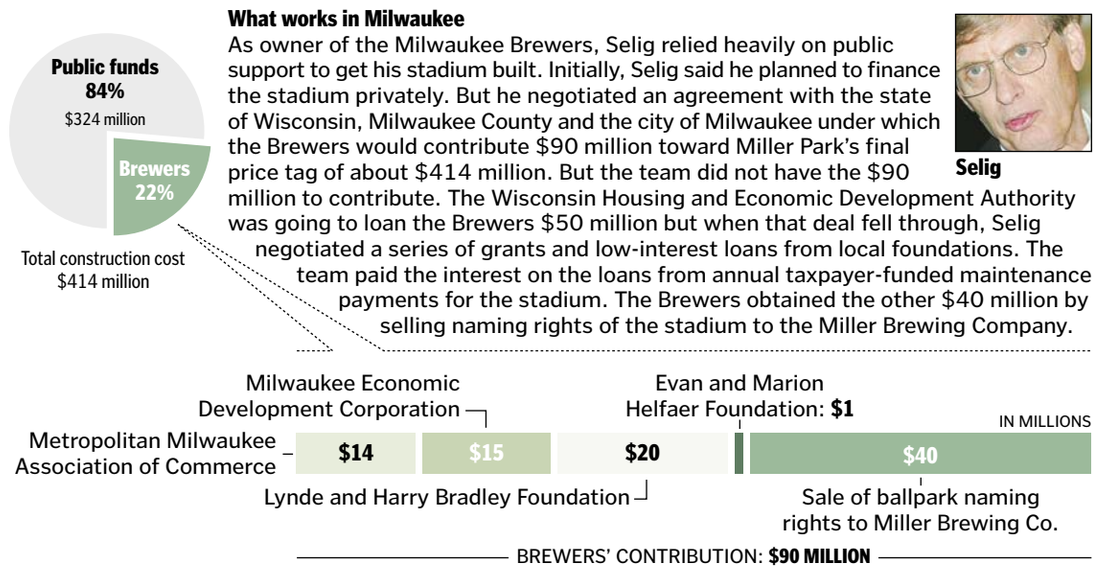
The Stadium Strategy

Building ballparks with public funds has been a key to Commissioner of Baseball Bud Selig's vision of how teams can achieve economic success.



Miller Park, Milwaukee

ASSOCIATED PRESS FILE PHOTO



New Ballparks and How They Were Financed

Since Oriole Park at Camden Yards opened in 1992, 15 major league teams have built, remodeled or are building stadiums.

WASHINGTON POST FILE PHOTO

Oriole Park at Camden Yards, Baltimore

ASSOCIATED PRESS FILE PHOTO

Jacobs Field, Cleveland

ASSOCIATED PRESS FILE PHOTO

Turner Field, Atlanta

STADIUM	TEAM	OPENED	COST IN MILLIONS	PUBLIC CONTRIBUTIONS	PUBLIC FUND PERCENT
Oriole Park at Camden Yards	Baltimore Orioles	1992	$314	$294	94%
Jacobs Field	Cleveland Indians	1994	$221	$221	100
Ameriquest Field	Texas Rangers	1994	$242	$204	84
Coors Field	Colorado Rockies	1995	$264	$207	78
Turner Field	Atlanta Braves	1997	$274	0	0
Bank One Ballpark	Arizona Diamondbacks	1998	$407	$291	72
Safeco Field	Seattle Mariners	1999	$601	$418	70
SBC Park	San Francisco Giants	2000	$359	$11	3
Minute Maid Park	Houston Astros	2000	$270	$184	68
Comerica Park	Detroit Tigers	2000	$327	$125	38
PNC Park	Pittsburgh Pirates	2001	$277	$227	82
Miller Park	Milwaukee Brewers	2001	$414	$324	78
Great American Ball Park	Cincinnati Reds	2003	$353	$268	76
Citizens Bank Park	Philadelphia Phillies	2004	$460	$228	50
Petco Park	San Diego Padres	2004	$474	$301	64
Cardinals Stadium	St. Louis Cardinals	2006	$346	$208	60

SOURCE: Sports Business Journal; Wisconsin Legislative Audit Bureau *Figures are rounded

THE WASHINGTON POST

DAILY 06-28-04 MD M2 A1 CMYK

Australian Scott Wins Booz Allen Classic by 4 Strokes | SPORTS, *Page D1*

Weather

Today: *Partly sunny. High 82. Low 66.*
Tuesday: *Partly sunny. High 84. Low 68.*

Details, Page **B6**

The Washington Post

127TH YEAR NO. 206 M2 DC MD VA

MONDAY, JUNE 28, 2004

M1 M2 M3 M4 V1 V2 V3 V4

FINAL

Inside: **Washington Business**
Today's Contents on Page A2

NEWSSTAND 35¢
HOME DELIVERY 31¢

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington. (See box on Page A4)

THE LAST CARTEL | *How Baseball Does Business*

Expos for Sale: Team Becomes Pawn of Selig

Second of three articles

By STEVE FAINARU
Washington Post Staff Writer

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico—As the 2002 baseball season approached, Commissioner of Baseball Allan H. "Bud" Selig held a financial stake in two major league teams.

In the National Football League, National Basketball Association or the National Hockey League, even one would have been prohibited. But Major League Baseball has no conflict-of-interest rules preventing the commissioner from owning teams.

Selig had owned the Milwaukee Brewers since 1970. When he was elected commissioner in 1998, he placed his ownership stake in a blind trust, suspended his $316,926 annual salary and announced his withdrawal from the Brewers' day-to-day operations.

Even then, the perception that Selig was still involved would lead to an ugly internal power struggle with the Brewers' president and chief executive officer, who ultimately resigned over the matter last year.

Selig's relationship with the second team was in many ways thornier. His was one of 29 teams that bought the Montreal Expos for $120 million in February 2002 after legal challenges stopped baseball from shutting down the Expos and another franchise. Selig, as commissioner, had personally appointed Montreal's president, general manager and manager shortly after contraction collapsed.

Now, with the club in limbo, he had to figure out what to do with it.

To chart the Expos' odyssey—from contraction to Puerto Rico, where baseball is renting out the team for 22 "home" games to raise cash—is to see clearly how Major League Baseball uses its exemption from antitrust laws to control markets and how Selig's dual roles as commissioner and owner create inevitable conflicts.

Selig adopted essentially the same strategy for the Expos that he used to persuade taxpayers in Wisconsin to bail out his financially crippled team.

See **BASEBALL**, *A14, Col. 1*

BY ANDRES LEIGHTON—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Whether in Montreal or San Juan, above, the Expos don't play to much of a home crowd. In May, a reporter counted 2,443 fans by hand in Puerto Rico.

The Choice For Voters: Health Care Or Tax Cuts

Policy Costs Crowd Out Other Initiatives

BY CECI CONNOLLY
and JONATHAN WEISMAN
Washington Post Staff Writers

As they prepare for the fall general election, President Bush and Sen. John F. Kerry are presenting voters with a clear choice between tax cuts and expanded health care coverage.

The largest domestic policy initiative by far is Kerry's health insurance package, estimated to cost between $653 billion and $950 billion over 10 years. It would provide coverage for an additional 27 million people and have the federal government take over a share of the most expensive, or "catastrophic," illnesses for businesses.

CAMPAIGN 2004

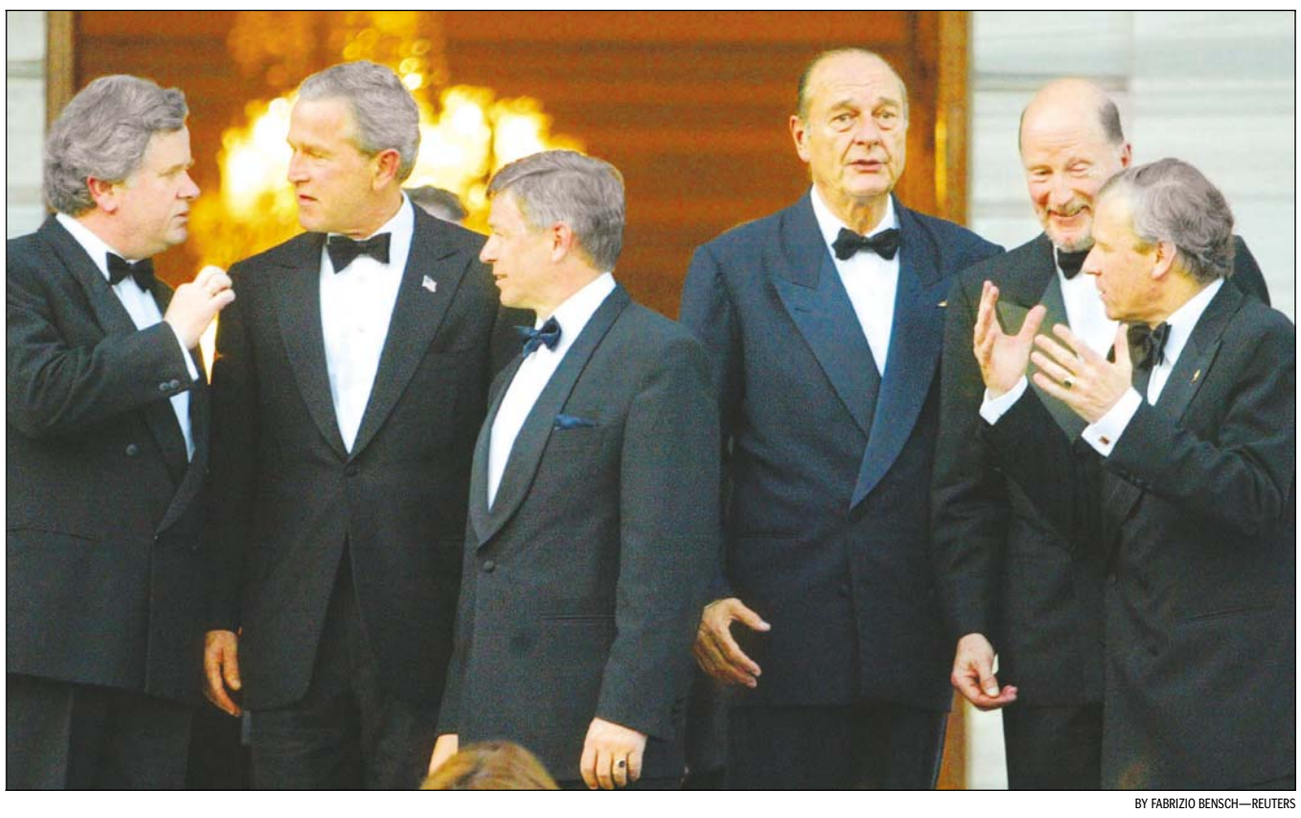
Bush has committed even more money—about $990 billion over a decade—for making permanent the array of tax cuts enacted in 2001 and 2003. His more modest ideas for expanding health coverage through tax credits and personal savings accounts would cover about 2.5 million people at a cost of $90 billion.

With so much money committed to each of the candidate's signature issues—and the war in Iraq—precious little remains for reducing the deficit or any number of other initiatives both candidates say they hope to address.

"These are pretty stark differences," said Robert D. Reischauer, president of the Urban Institute and former head of the Congressional Budget Office. "Kerry is expansive and wants to preserve and strengthen the role government has played in the economic and social life of

See **CAMPAIGN**, *A6, Col. 3*

NATO Agrees to Provide Training for Iraqi Military



BY FABRIZIO BENSCH—REUTERS

NATO members, meeting in Istanbul, will agree today to provide military training for the new Iraqi government, the Bush administration said. From left, Icelandic Prime Minster David Oddsson, President Bush, Norwegian Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik, French President Jacques Chirac, Bulgarian Prime Minister Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer. Story, Page A16.

Analysis

Iraq Occupation Erodes Bush Doctrine

By ROBIN WRIGHT
Washington Post Staff Writer

The occupation of Iraq has increasingly undermined, and in some cases discredited, the core tenets of President Bush's foreign policy, according to a wide range of Republican and Democratic analysts and U.S. officials.

When the war began 15 months ago, the president's Iraq policy rested on four broad principles: The United States should act preemptively to prevent strikes on U.S. targets. Washington should be willing to act unilaterally, alone or with a select coalition, when the United Nations or allies balk. Iraq was the next cornerstone in the global war on terrorism. And Baghdad's transformation into a new democracy would spark regionwide change.

But these central planks of Bush doctrine have been tainted by spiraling violence, limited reconstruction, failure to find weapons of mass destruction or prove Iraq's ties to al Qaeda, and mounting Arab disillusionment with U.S. leadership.

"Of the four principles, three have failed, and the fourth—democracy promotion—is hanging by a sliver," said Geoffrey Kemp, a National Security Council staff member in the Reagan administration and now director of regional strategic programs at the Nixon Center.

The president has "walked away from unilateralism. We're not going to do another preemptive strike anytime soon, certainly not in Iran or North Korea. And it looks like terrorism is getting worse, not better, especially in critical countries like Saudi Arabia," Kemp said.

As a result, Bush doctrine could become the biggest casualty of U.S. intervention in Iraq, which is entering a new phase this week as the United States prepares to hand over power to the new Iraqi government.

Setbacks in Iraq have had a visible impact on policy, forcing shifts or reassessments. The United States has returned to the United Nations to solve its political

See **POLICY**, *A17, Col. 1*

Group Threatens Missing Marine

2 Americans Killed In Incidents in Iraq

By DOUG STRUCK
Washington Post Foreign Service

BAGHDAD, June 27—The Arab satellite TV network al-Jazeera aired a videotape Sunday from a group threatening to kill a U.S. Marine it claimed to have captured by luring him from his post, and two Americans and four Iraqi boys were among those killed across the country in a succession of attacks.

A Defense Department employee was killed when rifle shots were fired at a cargo plane taking off from Baghdad's main airport, and a U.S. soldier was killed in a rocket attack on a base on the outskirts of the city. The Iraqi boys were killed when they were hit by mortar shells that apparently missed their target.

Late Sunday, al-Jazeera broadcast a video showing a blindfolded man in military fatigues as well as photos that appeared to identify him as Cpl. Wassef Ali Hassoun. In a statement, the U.S. military said that Hassoun, a member of the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force, had been missing from his unit since June 21, but it could not confirm that he had been taken hostage. Al-Jazeera said a group calling itself Islamic Response claimed that it had captured the Marine. Unlike videos of two previous hostages who were beheaded, the broadcast tape had no audio.

Earlier Sunday, another Arab satellite television network, al-Arabiya, broadcast a video of a Pakistani hostage whom kidnappers identified as a driver for the U.S. military. A group led by Abu Musab Zarqawi, a Jordani-

See **IRAQ**, *A17, Col. 1*

In N.Va. Gang, A Brutal Sense Of Belonging

Machete Attack Suspect Lured by Group's Culture

By MARY BETH SHERIDAN
Washington Post Staff Writer

It was the hands Lt. Jason Jenkins would remember.

The victim was lying on the sidewalk in front of an Alexandria apartment complex, his hands flailing in the cool night air. Jenkins had expected some kind of trouble when he got the call—"Man down on Edsall Road"—but not this.

It was a 16-year-old boy, waving his hands. "He was very upset. Just begging us to save his life. Saying, 'Please, save my hands,' " recalled Jenkins, a paramedic.

Jenkins looked at the hands. They were bloody.

He looked harder.

The fingers were gone. Chopped off with a machete.

"It's definitely the most inhumane act of violence I've ever run," said Jenkins, a 10-year veteran of paramedic work.

On May 13, three days after the machete attack, police swarmed into the apartment of a Salvadoran family in Annandale and snapped handcuffs on Hayner R. Flores. He was the first of three alleged gang members who would be charged in the malicious wounding of the 16-year-old.

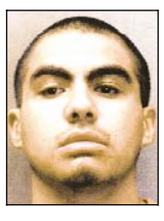
Flores, 18, has said he did not wield the machete that night. But as the case moves forward, no one is denying his descent into the Mara Salvatrucha, or MS-13, the biggest, most violent street gang in Northern Virginia.

Flores' story offers a glimpse into a turbulent world of poor, underage Latino immigrants, and the gangs that lure them. Just a few years ago, Flores was one more Salvadoran teenager dreaming of coming to America, reuniting with his long-absent parents, buying a sports car. But once he arrived, he struggled with the language and his family.

MS-13 offered Flores membership in a kind of tribe, his friends said. It provided

See **GANG**, *A12, Col. 1*

BY MICHAEL ROBINSON-CHAVEZ —THE WASHINGTON POST



After Annandale couple Rigoberto Hernandez and Maria Isabel Flores—playing with their child Elvis, 2—brought their teenage son Hayner Flores here from El Salvador in 2001, he began to have problems. Flores, at left, who began a descent into the gang Mara Salvatrucha, is charged in a machete attack on a youth.

On Eastern Shore, Boom Towns

Developers Move Inland to House Wave of Retirees

By DAVID A. FAHRENTHOLD
Washington Post Staff Writer

DENTON, Md.—This old town on the Eastern Shore is so quiet, one local said, that someone could set up a cot on the main drag, Market Street, and sleep all night without being disturbed.

Even at midday, the town hardly bustles: There are about 3,000 people here, just enough to support a downtown with two consignment shops, a restaurant and a few other stores.

But real estate developers see something more in this Caroline County hamlet about 30 miles southeast of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge. They believe it could be a magnet for retiring baby boomers and have persuaded the city to annex enough property for 3,000 new houses.

All told, developments here could eventually bring a surge in Denton's population, Mayor James Bradford Horsey estimates, creating a city of 15,000, complete with shops and movie theaters.

"It's the biggest change I've seen in my lifetime," said Horsey, 69, who has lived through the end of Denton's railroads, the closing of the town's famous Double Dip ice cream parlor and the day in 1976 when the bridge over the Choptank River collapsed.

There are places like Denton all across the Eastern Shore now, facing a

See **SHORE**, *A8, Col. 1*

INSIDE

Muscle Matters

Scientists believe that an unusually muscle-bound German boy, 4, offers rare opportunities for research. **SCIENCE,** *Page A7*

'Fahrenheit' Opening Sizzles

Michael Moore's controversial new film was the weekend's top box office draw, setting a record for documentaries. **STYLE,** *Page C1*

The Post on the Internet:
washingtonpost.com

Contents © 2004 The Washington Post Company

DAILY 06-28-04 MD SU A14 CMYK

THE LAST CARTEL | *How Baseball Does Business*

Expos Have Had Two Strikes Working Against Them

BASEBALL, *From A1*

Baseball would offer the Expos to vacant markets such as Washington, Northern Virginia, Las Vegas and Portland, Ore., but at the same steep price he had set to keep Major League Baseball in Milwaukee: a state-of-the-art ballpark that would cost hundreds of millions of dollars.

With the public paying for the new stadium, private investors would have more money available to pay Major League Baseball for the team. In other words, taxpayers in the bidding cities would be helping the owners, including Selig, recover their Expos investment, which was approaching $175 million.

As he had in Milwaukee, Selig argued that a publicly financed ballpark was the only way to make the Expos competitive. "Is the community's life better [with a new ballpark]? Yes," Selig said. "Can a ballclub build a stadium and survive? No."

Selig's predecessor as commissioner, Fay T. Vincent, was not convinced. "It's hard for me to argue that local governments should be put in position to finance these facilities to help owners who themselves are enormously wealthy," he said. "That's a fairly tough way to run a business. I mean, c'mon."

Selig's strategy depended heavily on baseball's antitrust exemption. Without it, the Expos or another team probably would have simply moved to the District or Northern Virginia. As recently as 1999, for example, Selig had quietly impeded the Expos' then-managing partner, Claude R. Brochu, in his efforts to move to the Washington area, which, excluding Baltimore, is the nation's sixth-largest market.

The Supreme Court ruled in 1922 that baseball was not interstate commerce as defined by the Sherman Antitrust Act, a ruling the Court later called "an aberration." The 1998 Curt Flood Act granted antitrust protection to major league players but codified baseball's immunity on issues related to the "expansion, location or relocation" of franchises.

Without the exemption, Brochu or any other team owner could have moved into the capital region without Selig's permission and despite the objections of Baltimore Orioles owner Peter G. Angelos.

With it, Washington would become a strategic pawn in what former Expos president David P. Samson described as "one of the most insane transactions in sports history."

Samson's stepfather, international art dealer Jeffrey H. Loria, stood up at an owners meeting in January 2001 and threatened to resist if baseball tried to fold the franchise, which Loria had purchased in December 1999. Major League Baseball eventually accommodated Loria by paying him 10 times his original investment, then subsidizing his purchase of the Florida Marlins.

The Marlins' owner, billionaire commodities trader John W. Henry, bought the Boston Red Sox in what Massachusetts Attorney General Thomas F. Reilly called a "bag job" by Selig and Major League Baseball despite the existence of higher bids. Henry and Selig denied the charge, but, to avoid litigation, charities benefiting from the sale received an additional $30 million.

In 2003, Major League Baseball, operating a team over an extended period for the first time, decided to park the Expos in Puerto Rico for a quarter of the team's home games. The venture brought in about $350,000 per team and promoted the "internationalization" of the sport.

The Expos would play 103 road games—27 percent more than their competitors. The team traveled 40,951 miles last season. The on-field temperature at 18,000-seat Hiram Bithorn Stadium in San Juan sometimes reached 150 degrees. Announced attendance at a May 20 day game between the Expos and Brewers this year was 8,941; a reporter counted 2,443 fans by hand. When Milwaukee's Scott Podsednik homered in the top of the ninth, the ball clanged loudly against the metal bleachers, then rolled away.

There wasn't a soul to chase it down.

Washington 'in a Class by Itself'

On Oct. 5, 1998, Selig flew to Montreal to meet with the premier of Quebec, Lucien Bouchard.

The trip was a last-ditch effort, arranged by Brochu, to obtain financing for the new ballpark that was critical to the Expos' survival in Montreal. Brochu, a former Seagram's executive, hoped Selig could win over the premier, who a month earlier had turned him down. Selig launched into his standard pitch. In many ways, it was the same one he had delivered repeatedly to get Miller Park built in Milwaukee. The bottom line: Montreal would have to build a new stadium to keep the Expos.

"My government's answer remains the same," the premier responded. "We will not make the funds available. That's final."

The Expos were in a death spiral, but how it happened was a matter of debate. Montreal's main problems seemed to be caused by Major League Baseball itself. A strike shortened the 1981 season, interrupting what could have been five straight seasons of at least 2 million fans. The Expos recovered, but then came the strike of 1994. The club was 34 games above .500 and leading the National League East by six games when play ended on Aug. 12. By the following year Montreal faced a severe financial crisis and began to unload players.

"Montreal, basically, after the strike in '94, abandoned baseball," said Robert A. DuPuy, baseball's president and chief operating officer. "They turned their back on baseball."

Mitch Melnick, the sports director at Team 990, the Expos' flagship English-language station, disagreed. "The fan base was destroyed as the product was destroyed," said Melnick. "I guess this is Major League Baseball's way of wishing the problems would go away: Blame the customer."

Rejected by the local government, Brochu sought out alternatives. He opened secret negotiations with Virginia telecommunications executive William L. Collins III, who since the early 1990s had been trying to bring a team to Northern Virginia.

Brochu had explored several markets, including Portland, Ore., Las Vegas and Charlotte. "Washington always was to me in a class by itself," he said. "The economics, the demographics, the wealth of the area, the population, productivity, disposable income, the number of companies and firms that would be potential supporters—it was just so far superior to any other location, by a long shot."

A source involved in the discussions said Brochu and Collins reached "an agreement in principle" to move the club to Northern Virginia. But Brochu called the talks "very, very preliminary," mostly because Selig stood in the way.

"I felt the team should have been moved and I told the commissioner that," said Brochu, at the time a member of the Executive Council, the commissioner's cabinet of owner advisers. "I always heard, 'Well, he's thinking it over, he'll review it, he'll know in two more months or six more months.' There was really no decision."

Selig said he wanted to preserve baseball's 31-year streak of not moving teams. He also wanted to address the game's economic problems before considering relocation. "Moving, in this system, what is that going to do?" he said.

Rebuffed from moving and at war with his fellow owners, Brochu stepped down. The search for his successor revealed a lot about the withered state of the franchise.

One of the team's main sponsors, a Mercedes-Benz dealer named Sam Eltes, located one. Eltes' sister-in-law from his first marriage had a son who worked as the financial adviser to Loria, a baseball-loving international art dealer in New York.

Loria had helped bid up the price at a sweaty 1993 bankruptcy auction for the Baltimore Orioles, only to lose to Baltimore attorney Angelos. He had owned the Class AAA Oklahoma City 89ers for four seasons.

Loria was not a typical major league owner. He had made millions dealing in 20th-century sculpture, painting and works on paper. He worked out of an unmarked private office on East 72nd Street in Manhattan. He had written two books: "Collecting Original Art," a primer on collecting with a foreword by his mentor, the late actor Vincent Price, and "What's It All About, Charlie Brown?" a psychological deconstruction of the "Peanuts" comic strip.

"My books! My records! My pool table! My Van Gogh! Sob!" muses Snoopy on the cover of Loria's book as his doghouse goes up in flames.

Action, Contraction

Loria's purchase coincided with preparations for civil war inside the national pastime.

The collective bargaining agreement between owners and players was about to expire. Selig was a veteran of the previous eight negotiations, each of which resulted in a work stoppage and, mostly, defeat for the owners. Selig began to lay the groundwork for battle.

In January 2000, the owners voted to give him full authority to address baseball's economic problems.

Then, in July, Major League Baseball released what it called a landmark report. A "Blue Ribbon Panel" concluded that baseball was no longer fair for teams in small broadcast markets, which could not generate enough revenue to compete.

Exhibit A was the Montreal Expos. The report showed that the team generated less revenue over its entire season than the New York Yankees took in during a six-game homestand.

Don Fehr, executive director of the players' union, called the report "the opening round" of the labor negotiations. Selig had also ramped up baseball's lobbying on Capitol Hill. He hired Baker & Hostetler LLP, the powerhouse Washington law firm. Selig knew that Washington could make or break the negotiations. In the event of a work stoppage, Congress inevitably would use the antitrust exemption as the hook to hold hearings and tear into the commissioner.

The lobbying effort was headed by William H. Schweitzer, a Baker & Hostetler partner who had worked nine years as general counsel for the American League. Schweitzer, a Republican, was joined by a Democrat, Lucy J. Calautti, former chief of staff for Sen. Byron L. Dorgan (D-N.D.) and the wife of Sen. Kent Conrad (D-N.D.).

Schweitzer and Calautti decided to launch the first Political Action Committee of any major sport. "My whole thought was that if you're going to participate in the process, like they said they wanted to, you needed a PAC," said Schweitzer.

Since 2002, the Office of the Commissioner of Major League Baseball Political Action Committee has raised $488,295—nearly all of it from baseball owners, officials and their relatives. It has distributed $102,500 to members of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees, which have jurisdiction over antitrust matters.

Major League Baseball has spent $5.045 million on lobbying over the past six years, more than the NFL, NBA, NHL and the Professional Golfers' Association combined, according to federal lobbying disclosure records.

Schweitzer and Calautti bound the Blue Ribbon report and distributed it to every member of Congress. How many people actually read it is unclear, for it contained a startling recommendation: "Franchise relocation should be an available tool to address the competitive issues facing the game," the report stated.

Baseball had used the antitrust exemption to control franchise movement after the Senators left Washington in 1971. Now its own economic panel was concluding that one solution to baseball's economic problems was to break up regional monopolies "occupied by one or more high-revenue club."

The reference was clearly to markets such as New York, where the Yankees and Mets controlled an area of more than 15 million people, and the Washington-Baltimore corridor, the exclusive domain of the Baltimore Orioles.

"If the recommendations outlined in this report are implemented, there should be no immediate need for contraction," the panel added.

Within months of the report's circulation on Capitol Hill, however, baseball initiated plans to shut down at least two franchises.

DuPuy said Major League Baseball chose the more drastic step of contraction because the economic conditions in baseball had worsened considerably.

Inside baseball there was speculation that contraction was a part of the owners' pre-war buildup, a negotiating ploy designed to show the players' union that baseball was prepared to cut at least 7 percent of its work force if it did not gain concessions.

But owners and union representatives said contraction was not a tactic. "Obviously, it was real," wrote Red Sox owner Henry in a lengthy e-mail interview. Henry, whose former team, the Marlins, was a candidate, added, "In any business or industry, if you have companies or divisions that are not making it, you close them."

Richard E. Jacobs, the former owner of the Cleveland Indians, warned Selig: "It's going to be a bloody process. The blood's all going to be yours. Do it anyway."

The process began in October 2000. Selig announced at a Chicago owners meeting that he had asked DuPuy and Paul Beeston, then baseball's president and chief operating officer, to study the ramifications of eliminating franchises.

As the meeting broke up, Samson, the Expos' president, bolted across the room to confront Selig.

"What do you mean: You're contracting the Expos?" Samson asked incredulously.

DuPuy quickly grabbed Samson by the arm to defuse the situation.

"David, we'll talk," he said.

In the spring of 2001, Beeston scrawled a list of candidates on a piece of yellow lined paper and handed it to an aide. The list included the Expos, Minnesota Twins, Toronto Blue Jays, Oakland Athletics, Marlins, Tampa Bay Devil Rays and Anaheim Angels.

Throughout that summer, baseball officials met in the 31st floor executive conference room at Major League Baseball's headquarters at 245 Park Avenue in Manhattan. From the beginning, according to a former baseball official who participated, there were discussions about whether baseball had the legal authority to unilaterally eliminate teams. The contraction meetings were referred to by euphemisms such as "baseball issues" or "ownership issues." Participants sometimes were told not to take notes or to hand in their notes at the end of meetings, said the official, who spoke on condition of anonymity because of an ongoing federal racketeering suit filed by the former Expos limited partners.

Calautti and Schweitzer were asked to attend to help baseball gauge the potential reaction on Capitol Hill. With the Minnesota Twins in the line of fire, Calautti brought up potential objections by North Dakota's Dorgan, her former boss and the ranking Democrat on the Senate Commerce Committee's sub-committee on competition, foreign commerce and infrastructure.

"He's not going to go for that," Calautti warned.

Calautti said she did not recall bringing up Dorgan but said she raised concerns about a number of potential pockets of resistance, including the Minnesota and Florida congressional delegations.

A scheduled meeting for Sept. 11, 2001, at Selig's Milwaukee office was postponed because of the terrorist attacks on New York and the Pentagon. Within two weeks, according to Selig, owners were again clamoring to liquidate franchises. Selig told the owners he would wait until after the World Series.

On Nov. 6, 2001, baseball's owners, meeting in Chicago, voted 28-2 to contract. Only the Expos and Twins opposed.

But lingering in the air was a fundamental question: What about Washington?

"The Washington/Northern Virginia area was obviously very aggressive in pursuing a club, and we'll be

See BASEBALL, *A15, Col. 1*

The Montreal Expos in Good Times and Bad

May 27, 1968: The National League awards expansion franchises to Montreal and San Diego for the 1969 season. Montreal business executive Charles Bronfman of the Seagram's distilling empire is the owner of the team.

April 14, 1969: In Montreal, the Expos play their first home game at Jarry Park and beat the Cardinals, 8-7.

April 15, 1977: The Expos play their inaugural game at Olympic Stadium. The attendance that day is 57,592, an Expos record for a home opener.

Oct. 10, 1981: The Expos win their first National League East division title but lose to the Los Angeles Dodgers in the National League Championship Series.

June 12, 1991: MLB approves Bronfman's sale of the Expos for $100 million to a consortium of Canadian businessmen headed by Claude R. Brochu, the team's president.

Aug. 12, 1994: The season ends when players strike. The Expos finish six games ahead of the Braves in first place in the NL East with a 74-40 record, the best in baseball.

December 1997: Expos trade Cy Young Award winner Pedro Martinez to the Boston Red Sox.

Oct. 5, 1998: Commissioner of Baseball Bud Selig meets with the premier of Quebec in Montreal in an attempt to convince him of the need to finance a new stadium for the Expos. Selig argues the team will not survive without a new stadium.

Dec. 9, 1999: International art dealer Jeffrey H. Loria buys 24 percent of the Expos for $12 million.

2001: The Expos' total attendance for the season, 642,743, is a franchise low. The league's average attendance, 2,481,346, is second highest in its history.

Nov. 6, 2001: Baseball owners meet in Chicago and vote to eliminate two teams. The Montreal Expos and the Minnesota Twins are thought to be the targets.

Nov. 21, 2001: Florida Marlins owner John W. Henry agrees to sell the Marlins to Loria.

Feb. 12, 2002: MLB owners unanimously approve the sale of the Marlins and the takeover of the Expos by the commissioner's office. Frank Robinson, Hall of Fame outfielder and MLB's vice president of on-field operations, assumes the position of the Expos manager at Selig's urging.

Nov. 20, 2002: Major League Baseball annouces the Expos will play 22 "home" games in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

May 14, 2003: Following the baseball owners' spring meetings, Robert A. DuPuy, MLB president and chief operating officer, says of relocation: "The process is moving forward. We'll be meeting in the very near future. . . . If we can get it done by the all-star break, that would be great."

July 14, 2003: The All-Star Game comes and goes with no decision on the Expos.

July 30, 2003: Expos players hold meeting with Gene Orza, associate counsel for the Major League Baseball Players Association, to inform him of their collective desire to no longer split home games between two cities.

Dec. 12, 2003: Expos' 2004 schedule is released. They will again play 22 "home" games in San Juan.

June 25, 2004: DuPuy pushes back decision on relocation, saying: "I'm confident a decision will not be made before or at the All-Star Game. It's our goal to have narrowed down our decision by the All-Star Game and be focused in."

Montreal Expos Gary Carter, from left, Andre Dawson, Steve Rogers, Tim Raines and Al Oliver pose for a photo before the All-Star Game in Montreal in this July 13,1982, photo.

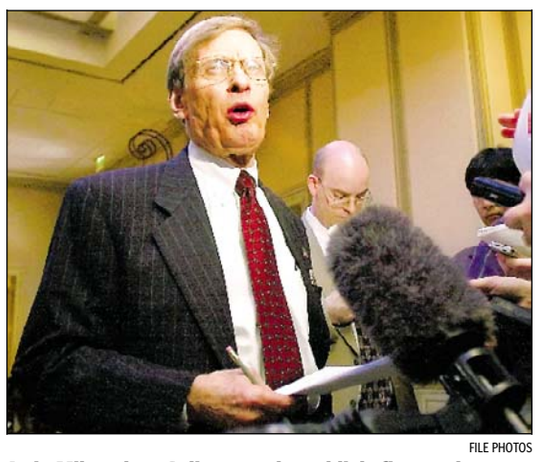
SOURCE: Major League Baseball and staff research

ASSOCIATED PRESS FILE PHOTO; GRAPHIC BY THE WASHINGTON POST

BY SHAUN BEST—REUTERS

Former Expos owner Jeffrey H. Loria had stepson David P. Samson as his right-hand man in Montreal. Samson, a one-time private wealth manager, grated on limited partners and came to be known as "Little Napoleon."

Claude R. Brochu, former managing partner for the Expos, had reached a preliminary agreement to bring the club to Northern Virginia in 1999 but found Bud Selig standing in the way.



FILE PHOTOS

As in Milwaukee, Selig argued a publicly financed ballpark was only way to make Expos competitive.

Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard was not won over by Selig in an October 1998 meeting. The commissioner was making a last-ditch attempt to get a stadium built in Montreal.

About This Series

SUNDAY

Building Miller Park: New ballparks have been a centerpiece of Commissioner Bud Selig's strategy for baseball. The way he got his own stadium still makes people in Wisconsin angry.

TODAY

The Odyssey of the Expos: The fate of the Montreal team illustrates how baseball uses its exemption from antitrust laws to control markets.

TUESDAY

Selig and Angelos: The future of baseball in the Washington area may depend on the relationship between two powerful men—the commissioner of baseball and the owner of the Orioles.

DAILY 06-28-04 MD SU A15 CMYK

THE LAST CARTEL | *How Baseball Does Business*

A Shift in Strategy, Ownership for Montreal Franchise

BASEBALL, *From A14*

very sensitive to their issues as time goes on," Selig told reporters.

Inside Major League Baseball's offices, Washington was an issue that seemed to hover in the air without ever being addressed head on. "It was amazing what a sticky point Washington was," said the former baseball official. "Anytime it got brought up it was like Ralph Kramden and the hummana, hummanas. Almost every time the discussion would eventually come around to, 'What about Washington?' "

Most believed Loria would have jumped at the chance to move the Expos to D.C. or Northern Virginia. "I think he always had his eye on Washington," said a baseball executive who worked closely with him. But that was out of the question. Around baseball, Loria's brief ownership was already viewed with disdain. He had quickly alienated his Montreal partners, which included some of the most influential businessmen in Canada. His stepson, Samson, was widely regarded as abrasive and disrespectful.

The former MLB official said DuPuy, Selig's closest adviser, told him more than once that the chances of Loria getting Washington were nil.

According to the former official, DuPuy conveyed the message, "It'll be over Bud's dead body before he lets that [expletive] have Washington."

DuPuy denied speaking pejoratively about Loria, with whom he said he had a good relationship. But he said the "sentiment" was accurate.

Power Move

Loria, who declined requests to be interviewed for this article, and Major League Baseball were on a collision course.

As the owners moved forward on contraction, Loria was systematically assuming total control over the Expos, the team in baseball's crosshairs.

Loria's plans for the Expos were unclear. When he bought the team, the deal included a critical second step in which Loria would put up an additional $38.8 million toward a new downtown ballpark.

Before the 2000 season, though, he had failed to negotiate a new local television deal and alienated sponsors. Plans for the ballpark evaporated. At the first meeting of the new partnership, Loria's chief financial officer, Joel A. Mael, stunned the limited partners by announcing a possible capital call—a demand for cash to support operations.

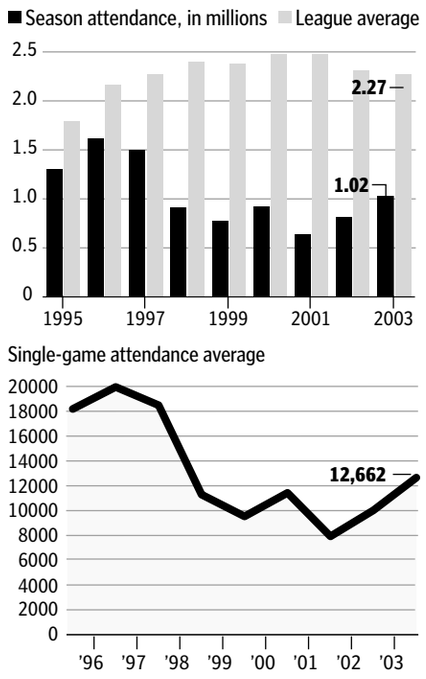
Loria was an absentee owner, commuting from New York while Samson, his then-31-year-old stepson, ran the team. A former private wealth manager at Morgan Stanley with no previous baseball experience, the 5-foot-5 Samson grated on the limited partners, one of whom pushed him into a wall during a meeting. He came to be known around the Expos' offices as "Little Napoleon."

Soon, Loria and the limited partners were at war. After Loria issued a cash call on March 17, 2000, they staged what amounted to a coup. They told Loria they would give him back his $12 million if he would step down.

"They basically put a check on the table and said, 'Bugger off,' " said a source familiar with the meeting. Loria instead initiated another series of cash calls. If the limited partners failed to come up with the money their shares in the team would be diluted. Within 17 months Loria had gone from owning 24 percent of the Expos to more than 93 percent.

Unlimited Seating

There was a time when the Montreal Expos averaged 2 million fans per year, but crowd support has dwindled considerably.



SOURCE: Baseball Almanac

THE WASHINGTON POST

WASHINGTON POST FILE PHOTO

This fan has plenty of elbow room at the Olympic Stadium.

Asked why the partners failed to meet the cash calls, their lawyer, Jeffrey L. Kessler, said, "All they knew was that this was a destroyed team" run "by a general partner who they thought was totally out of control. . . . It was impossible for any sane investor, and Loria knew that." The move gave Loria the power to do basically whatever he wanted with the team.

But Major League Baseball had its own designs on the Expos. It wanted to buy out Loria and shut down the franchise, redistributing tens of millions of dollars in broadcast and licensing revenue, as well as millions of dollars the Expos received each year in revenue sharing.

Loria informed the owners he wasn't going anywhere. In January 2001, he stood up at an owners meeting in Phoenix and read an impassioned statement vowing to resist to stay in the game he loved. The drumbeats continued through the summer. "They were threatening us with a New York litigator virtually every conversation we had," said DuPuy.

The message: Loria would file an antitrust suit if Major League Baseball tried to muscle him out.

Shuffling Clubs

The "pushback" from Congress that Calautti and Schweitzer had predicted was fierce. Within a month, the House Judiciary Committee held a hearing that quickly turned ugly. Selig, slight and ashen, was seated next to Jesse Ventura, the former Navy SEAL turned professional wrestler turned governor of Minnesota.

Ventura accused baseball of seeking to extort a new ballpark from his state by threatening to shut down the Twins.

"Major League Baseball is really no different than OPEC; it controls supply and it controls price with absolutely no accountability," said Ventura.

Baseball struggled to find a way to placate Loria and shut down two teams. The process began to resemble real-life Monopoly, with baseball's powerbrokers bartering teams behind closed doors, unbeknownst to their millions of fans.

Under one scenario, Athletics owner Steve Schott would relocate his entire franchise—including the players and front-office staff—to Anaheim. Oakland would effectively dissolve and take over the Angels' territory in Orange County.

Under another, Loria was to move the Expos to Tampa Bay, where the Devil Rays would be folded. Under still another, Marlins owner Henry would fold his team and buy the Angels from the Walt Disney Co.

Henry emerged as the fulcrum around which baseball would bring order. The commodities trader was widely respected as a brilliant, honest broker who loved baseball and wanted to stay in the game—just not in Miami.

As with most teams in line for contraction, the need for a new ballpark was the central issue in south Florida. Henry, who bought the club in 1998, had tried unsuccessfully for three years to get public financing. On April 25, 2001, Selig wrote a letter to the Florida legislature warning that the eight-year-old Marlins would be moved or eliminated if no stadium was secured. "Bluntly, the Marlins cannot and will not survive in south Florida without a new stadium," Selig wrote.

State Sen. Kendrick Meek, a Miami democrat, told the Miami Herald, "It sounds like Johnny Soprano writing that letter, trying to threaten and put pressure on us."

That summer Henry informed Selig he planned to sell. Selig asked him to stay in baseball. After his Angels bid fell apart, Henry contacted former Orioles president Larry Lucchino, who was now involved in a bid to purchase the Boston Red Sox.

"We're dialing for dollars," Lucchino told him. Henry asked if he could join forces.

For Major League Baseball, the timing could hardly have been more fortuitous. Henry, Lucchino and a third partner, television executive Thomas C. Werner, all were close with Selig and had impeccable reputations; in a sense, the group had been pre-approved. Henry denied the deal was a "bag job," as the Massachusetts attorney general alleged.

As baseball shuffled its deck of clubs, Loria found himself holding a flush. Spring training was weeks away. Henry's purchase of the Red Sox was predicated on selling the Marlins. After weeks of negotiation, baseball paid Loria $120 million—a 900 percent return on his original Expos investment—plus a $38.5 million loan tied to several conditions, including Loria's ability to get a stadium in south Florida.

On their way out of Montreal, Loria and Samson stripped the franchise. With them went computers containing scouting reports on every Expos player, dozens of signed home run balls, even life-size cutouts of the team's former superstar right fielder, Vladimir Guerrero. The Expos' limited partners, meantime, became unwitting owners of 6 percent of the Marlins. In July 2002, they filed a racketeering suit in U.S. District Court in Miami. It charged Loria, Samson, Selig, DuPuy and the Office of the Commissioner of Baseball of illegally conspiring in what the suit called an "Expos Elimination Enterprise."

The ongoing suit could complicate baseball's plans for the Expos. The limited partners have 90 days to seek an injunction if baseball tries to move the team.

Last October, Loria's Marlins miraculously found themselves in the World Series against the New York Yankees. "Can you imagine?" anguished one of the limited partners. "I'm sitting here. I'm an owner of the Florida Marlins. I'm rooting for the Yankees!"

And then, of course, the Marlins won.

This spring, nearly all the limited partners received World Series rings, even as they continued to sue Loria and Major League Baseball for racketeering in U.S. District Court.

A 'Prime' Indication

The day after the Red Sox deal was announced in Phoenix, Selig came to a news conference beaming. The previous weeks had been filled with criticism about contraction, questions about conflicts of interest and editorials calling for Selig's resignation.

But, behind closed doors at the Arizona Biltmore Resort & Spa, the owners who had elected Selig commissioner and paid his salary stood behind him. "These were the best two days I've had in a long time. Make of that what you will," he told reporters.

And then, in the middle of the news conference, Selig was asked where Washington fit in to baseball's baffling jigsaw puzzle. Would the nation's capital finally get a team?

Perhaps Selig's mood got the better of him. "I'd have to say that given the demographics of the area and all the people who want it, they are the prime candidate," he said.

Relocation, Selig said on Jan. 17, 2002, was coming "in the near future."

Staff researchers Julie Tate and Margot Williams contributed to this report.

Gasoline Prices Retreat as Oil Costs Moderate

By Tim Molloy
Associated Press

LOS ANGELES, June 27—Gasoline prices have fallen almost 7 cents in the past two weeks in the second dip in prices this year, an industry analyst said Sunday.

The weighted national average price for all three grades of gasoline fell 6.6 cents to $1.97 per gallon Friday after rising more than 59 cents from mid-December to June, said analyst Trilby Lundberg, who publishes the semimonthly Lundberg Survey. The survey regularly polls nearly 8,000 service stations across the nation.

The biggest selling gas, self-serve regular, averaged $1.94 a gallon.

Lundberg said the recent price drop, which followed another decline two weeks ago, stemmed partly from the moderation of oil prices and to the completion of U.S. refinery maintenance projects undertaken to prepare for summer gasoline demand.

Falling crude oil prices were also a factor. At the New York Mercantile Exchange, crude oil futures set for August delivery ended trading at $37.55 a barrel Friday, down from $38.45 a barrel two weeks earlier. Crude oil prices had been more than $40 a barrel in previous weeks.

OPEC's decision to increase oil production in July might bring down oil prices further, but fears of terrorism and sabotage in Iraq and Saudi Arabia may contribute to another oil price surge, she said.

OPEC, which supplies more than a third of the world's crude oil, announced earlier this month it would raise its official daily production quota by more than 2 million barrels to 26 million barrels and, if necessary, by an additional 500,000 barrels on Aug. 1.

The national weighted average price of a gallon of gasoline at self-serve pumps on Friday, including taxes, was about $2.04 for mid-grade and $2.13 for premium.

The most expensive gas in the country was in San Francisco, where regular unleaded sold for $2.27 a gallon. The cheapest was in Tulsa, where gas was $1.69.

NATION IN BRIEF

Church Splits Apart Over Gay Bishop

ROCHESTER, N.H.—Hymns were sung from two parts of town Sunday after a church split apart over the election of the first openly gay bishop to head an Episcopal diocese.

Bishop V. Gene Robinson assumed leadership of the Diocese of New Hampshire last year, shocking many conservative Episcopalians and Anglicans worldwide.

Since then, many members of the Church of the Redeemer threatened to leave the congregation unless Robinson relinquished authority over the church in Rochester, about 30 miles east of Concord. Thirty-six members voted to leave; three voted to stay.

In response, nearby Grace Baptist Church invited Episcopalians fleeing from Redeemer to attend a joint service. At the same time, Redeemer held services for a few remaining members, who were joined by dozens of supporters from other Episcopal churches and by Robinson and his partner, Mark Andrew.

Parishioners on both sides described the day as a new beginning.

"Today, your resurrection begins," preached the Rev. Tim Rich at Redeemer. "You begin a new journey in the Holy Spirit."

Robinson did not speak at the service but said he was touched that so many attended. He had offered to let parishioners at Redeemer work with a bishop and a priest who share their view that homosexuality is a sin, as long as church members meet with him every three years, as church law requires.

Most members declined and plan to launch a church outside the control of Robinson's diocese.

■ **LOS ANGELES—**A woman was attacked by a mountain lion while hiking Saturday in central California but was rescued when her friends stabbed the animal with a knife and threw rocks at it, officials said. Shannon Parker, 27, of Santa Monica, lost her right eye, was injured in her left eye and had deep lacerations to her right thigh.

BY HEIDI SCHUMANN—ASSOCIATED PRESS

A policeman views the shoes of a marcher in New York's Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Pride March.

■ **BARNESVILLE, Ga.—**Three people were killed in a helicopter crash south of Atlanta early Sunday, and two others died after another helicopter crashed in an Oklahoma river, authorities said. Three people survived the crash in Oklahoma's Cimarron River late Saturday and were hospitalized.

— From News Services

Addy Bassin's
MacARTHUR BEVERAGES, INC.
4877 MacARTHUR BLVD., N.W.
Tel: 202.338.1433 Fax: 202.333.0806
Located between Key Bridge and Chain Bridge
Easy Access from Virginia and Maryland
DIRECT IMPORTERS OF FINE WINES AND LIQUORS
Addy Bassin's MacARTHUR

Voted Washingtonian's "Best Wine Shop"
JULY 4th SALE - 20% OFF
GREAT VALUES UNDER $25.00
Go to our web site www.bassins.com
Over 4,000 wines listed
Prices good through 7/10/04. Limited Supply
Not responsible for typographical errors.

Vint	Whites	List	Sale
01	Adam-Pinot Blanc Reserve	10.99	8.79
02	Bourgogne Blanc-Boyer Martenot,Y.	18.99	14.99
02	Bourgogne Blanc-Colin,M.	17.99	13.99
02	Bourgogne Blanc-Girardin,V.	16.99	13.49
02	Bourgogne Blanc-Matrot,J.	14.99	11.99
02	Bourgogne Grand Elevage-Verget	19.99	15.99
02	Chablis Terroirs Chablis-Verget	22.99	17.99
98	Ch Carsin Blanc-Bordeaux	9.99	7.99
01	Ch Chantegrive Blanc-Graves	10.99	8.79
98	Ch Charmes Godard Blanc	9.99	7.99
00	Ch Charmes Godard Blanc	13.99	10.99
00	Ch La Serre Sauv Blanc-Bordeaux	7.99	5.99
00	Ch Lavanau-Cotes Duras	6.99	5.49
00	Ch Marjosse Blanc-Entre Deux Mers	9.99	7.99
01	Ch Ricaud Blanc-Entre Deux Mers	7.99	5.99
01	Carmenet-Chardonnay-Cellar Select	8.99	6.99
00	Cristom-Chardonnay-Celilo	15.99	12.49
02	Cristom-Pinto Gris	12.99	9.99
02	Cuevas de Castilla-Cuvee R.S.	7.99	5.99
02	Edna Valley-Chardonnay	14.99	11.99
02	Erdener Trep. Kabinett JJ Christoffel	22.99	18.39
02	Hess Select-Chardonnay	10.99	8.79
02	Kendall Jackson Chardonnay Vint-Res.	10.99	8.79
03	Lindemans-Bin 65 Chardonnay	7.99	5.99
01	Macon Ige - La Roche	9.99	7.99
02	Mann-Pinot Auxerrois VV	17.99	13.99
03	Montes-Chardonnay Reserve	9.99	7.99
01	Niersteiner Hipping Spatlese- F.K.Schmitt	14.99	11.99
03	Orvieto Classico-Ruffino	8.99	6.99
01	Pinot Grigio-Keber	17.99	13.99
02	Pinot Grigio-Mezza Corona	8.99	6.99
00	Silverado-Chardonnay	19.99	15.99
02	Von Strasser-Sauv Bl-Freestone	14.99	11.99
99	Wehlener Sonnenuhr Spatlese J.J.Prum	27.99	21.99
01	ZD-Chardonnay	24.99	19.99
	Reds		
02	Bourg Rouge-Humbert Freres	20.99	16.79
01	Cartlidge & Browne-Cabernet Sauvignon	9.99	7.99
02	Casa Castillo Monastrell	8.99	7.19
00	Ch Ampelia-Cotes De Castillon	12.99	10.39
00	Ch Beaumont-Haut Medoc	19.99	15.99
00	Ch Bel Air-Cotes de Castillion	16.99	13.59
01	Ch D'Aiguilhe-Cotes De Castillon	22.99	18.39
00	Ch Duluc-St Julien	22.99	18.39
00	Ch Epicure-Bordeaux	11.99	9.59
00	Ch Epicure-Graves	15.99	12.79
00	Ch Epicure-Medoc	15.99	12.79
00	Ch Epicure-St Emilion	17.99	13.99
99	Ch Esprit L'Eglise-Pomerol	26.99	21.49
00	Ch Franc Grace Dieu-St.Emilion	17.99	14.39
00	Ch Fugue De Nenin-Pomerol	22.99	18.39
99	Ch Gigault-Cote Blaye	16.99	13.59
96	Ch Grands Chenes Prestige	18.99	15.19
01	Ch Grands Marechaux-Cote Blaye	14.99	11.99
00	Ch La Croix Andre-Lalande Pomerol	17.99	14.39
00	Ch Labatut Bouchard-Bordeaux	11.99	9.59
00	Ch Les Tours Seguy-Cotes Bourg	9.99	7.99
02	Ch Manoir Gravoux-Cote Castillon	10.99	8.79
01	Ch Marjosse Rouge	11.99	9.49
00	Ch Menut Des Jacobins-St Emilion	24.99	19.99
00	Ch Moulin de Clide-St Emilion	15.99	12.79

Vint	Reds	List	Sale
00	Ch Petit Fombrauge-St. Emilion	19.99	15.99
00	Ch Peyraud-Cotes de Blaye	11.99	9.49
00	Ch Plaisance Tradition-Bordeaux	14.99	11.99
00	Ch Prieure St Barbe - Bordeaux	8.99	6.99
01	Ch Puygueraud-Cotes de Francs	12.99	10.39
00	Ch Thieuley-Bordeaux	11.99	9.49
00	Ch Tour St Bonnet - Medoc	11.99	9.49
00	Ch Villegeorge-Haut Medoc	14.99	11.99
98	Ch-Du-Pape Alexis-Grand Tinel	29.99	23.99
00	Ch-Du-Pape Crau de Ma Mere-Pere Pape	25.99	20.79
00	Ch-Du-Pape Girard-R.Usseglio	29.99	23.99
01	Ch-Du-Pape Olivets-Sabon, Roger	23.99	18.99
00	Ch-Du-Pape Reserve-Sabon, Roger	27.99	21.99
00	Ch-Du-Pape-Autard	22.99	17.99
99	Ch-Du-Pape-Barrot,L.	26.99	19.99
98	Ch-Du-Pape-Beaurenard	27.99	21.99
00	Ch-Du-Pape-Beaurenard	27.99	21.99
01	Ch-Du-Pape-Bois Boursan	25.99	20.79
00	Ch-Du-Pape-Bosquet des Papes	24.99	19.99
01	Ch-Du-Pape-Charbonniere	25.99	20.79
99	Ch-Du-Pape-Domaine & Selection	24.99	19.99
00	Ch-Du-Pape-Galets Blonds	28.99	22.99
00	Ch-Du-Pape-Grand Tinel	19.99	15.99
99	Ch-Du-Pape-La Pinede	18.99	14.99
00	Ch-Du-Pape-Usseglio,Pierre	29.99	23.99
99	Ch-Du-Pape-Vieux Donjon	29.99	23.99
01	Chianti-Lucignano	10.99	8.79
00	Cote Rhone Adres-Trapadis	23.99	18.99
01	Cote Rhone Garrigue-Clos Caillou	16.99	13.59
99	Cote Rhone Guy Louis-Tardieu Laurent	18.99	14.99
01	Cote Rhone Prestige-Soumade	18.99	14.99
01	Cote Rhone Rasteau-Bressy Mason	15.99	12.79
01	Cote Rhone Rasteau-Soumade	14.99	11.99
00	Cote Rhone Rasteau-Trapadis	17.99	14.39
01	Cote Rhone Trois Soeurs-Grand Bois	9.99	7.99
01	Cote Rhone Villages-Janasse	17.99	14.39
99	Cote Rhone VV-Tardieu Laurent	23.99	18.99
02	Cote Rhone-St.Cosme	9.99	7.99
01	Cristom-Pinot Noir-Mt. Jefferson	21.99	17.49
01	Crozes Hermitage-Cornu Red	17.99	14.39
03	Fondreche-Rose	9.99	7.99
99	Gigondas Grand Montmirail-Brusset	19.99	15.99
00	Gigondas-Clos de Cazaux	15.99	12.79
01	Gigondas-St.Cosme	23.99	18.99
02	Hautes Cotes Nuits-Gros Frere	22.99	18.39
01	Les Terrasses-Alvario Palacios	29.99	23.99
02	Mas Donis-Barrica-Capcanes	12.99	10.39
02	Paul Hobbs-Cocodilo Cabernet	14.99	11.99
02	Paul Hobbs-Malbec El Felino	14.99	11.99
02	Paul Hobbs-Merlot La Garto	14.99	11.99
01	Pesquera-Crianza	21.99	17.59
00	Ravenswood-Merlot-Sangiacomo	29.99	23.99
01	Rosso Monte Antico	10.99	8.49
02	Rosso Montepulciano Poliziano	12.99	9.99
00	Sebastiani-Cabernet Sauvignon	15.99	12.79
02	Sebastiani-Pinot Noir-Son Cst	16.99	13.59
97	St. Innocent-Pinot Noir-O'Connor	21.99	17.49
02	St. Antoine Rose	7.99	5.99
02	Thorn Clarke-TB Barossa Cuvee	12.99	9.99
01	Vitiano-Falesco	10.99	8.79
01	Von Strasser-Merlot (Freestone)	14.99	11.99

DAILY 06-29-04 MD M2 A1 CMYK

Weather

Today: *Mostly sunny, less humid. High 84. Low 67.*
Wednesday: *Mostly sunny, warm. High 86. Low 69.*

Details, Page **B8**

The Washington Post

127TH YEAR NO. 207 M2 DC MD VA

TUESDAY, JUNE 29, 2004

M1 M2 M3 M4 V1 V2 V3 V4

FINAL

Inside: **Health**
Today's Contents on Page A2

NEWSSTAND 35¢
HOME DELIVERY 31¢

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington. (See box on Page A2)

BY TOMAS VAN HOUTRYVE—ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Supreme Court ruled that alleged terrorists held at the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, have the right to ask a U.S. judge to free them.

Justices Back Detainee Access To U.S. Courts

By CHARLES LANE
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court struck down key elements of the Bush administration's legal policy for its battle against terrorism yesterday, ruling in two cases that the executive branch does not have the authority to deprive accused members of al Qaeda or the Taliban of their liberty without giving them a day in court.

The court said the president may order a U.S. citizen detained as an "enemy combatant"—but it soundly rejected the administration's expansive interpretation of that authority, ruling that such detainees are entitled to contest the government's case against them.

The court also ruled that each of the 595 alleged members of al Qaeda and the Taliban being held at the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, has the right to ask a U.S. judge to set him free.

In a third case—that of Jose Padilla, a U.S. citizen who is accused of taking part in an al Qaeda plot to explode a radiological bomb in the United States—the court ruled that he would have to resubmit his petition for habeas corpus because his attorney filed it in the wrong court.

The courtroom atmosphere was tense as justices read a series of much-anticipated opinions, elaborating their strongly felt views on cases that had raised the most significant wartime civil liberties issues since World War II. Those opinions left open questions about the precise scope and practical effect of what the court had done.

But the court's bottom line was clear: Insofar as it affects individual constitutional rights, the president's conduct of the fight against terrorism is not immune to judicial review.

"Striking the proper constitutional balance here is of great importance to the Nation during this

See **COURT**, *A10, Col. 1*

Analysis

Executive Branch Reined In

By DAVID VON DREHLE
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court's complicated holdings in three cases involving detainees from the battle against terrorism may not result in any prisoners going free—the justices yesterday left that for lower courts or tribunals to decide.

But the opinions, concurrences and dissents were decisive on this: They represent a nearly unanimous repudiation of the Bush administration's sweeping claims to power over those captives.

Liberal or conservative mattered little in the ultimate outcome. The court roundly rejected the president's assertion that, in time of war, he can order the "potentially indefinite detention of individuals who claim to be wholly innocent of wrongdoing," to quote the court's opinion in the case of foreign prisoners held at the U.S. base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. In fact, the administration's claim to such power over U.S. citizens produced an opinion signed by perhaps the court's most conservative justice, Antonin Scalia, and possibly its most liberal, John Paul Stevens.

"The very core of liberty secured by our Anglo-Saxon

See **ANALYSIS**, *A10, Col. 4*

U.S. Hands Authority To Iraq Two Days Early

BY HUSSEIN MALLA—ASSOCIATED PRESS

L. Paul Bremer, right, the U.S. administrator of Iraq, hands over documents to Chief Justice Mahdi Mahmoud in official transfer of political authority to the interim Iraqi government. At center is Prime Minister Ayad Allawi.

Fear of Attacks Hastens Move; Interim Leaders Assume Power

By RAJIV CHANDRASEKARAN
Washington Post Foreign Service

BAGHDAD, June 28—The United States transferred political authority to an interim Iraqi government in a five-minute surprise ceremony Monday morning, accelerating the planned handover by two days in an effort to avoid attacks by insurgents thought to be plotting to mar the event.

At the hastily arranged ceremony, held inside a high-security compound controlled by the American military, U.S. administrator L. Paul Bremer handed a signed document to the chief judge of Iraq's highest court announcing the dissolution of the U.S. occupation administration and the conveyance of political authority to the interim government.

The low-key handover marked the end of direct American control over Iraq's political affairs that began after the U.S. military toppled the government of President Saddam Hussein in April 2003. Bremer flew out of Baghdad on a military transport plane two hours after the ceremony. The new U.S. ambassador to Iraq, John D. Negroponte, arrived here Monday night and reestablished diplomatic ties that had been severed since Hussein's 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

Iraq's interim government, led by a prime minister who had been a CIA-supported opponent of Hussein, faces the challenge of running a country wracked by a violent insurgency, hobbled by economic stagnation and riven by religious and ethnic disputes. Although feared insurgent attacks did not occur after the handover was announced, there was little celebration by ordinary Iraqis, who remain deeply skeptical about the continuing U.S. role in

See **IRAQ**, *A16, Col. 1*

Bremer's Departure

A Grand Mission Ends Quietly

By RAJIV CHANDRASEKARAN
Washington Post Foreign Service

BAGHDAD, June 28—L. Paul Bremer arrived here almost 14 months ago with a seemingly limitless reserve of energy and a mission unparalleled in U.S. diplomatic history: to remake a nation by using near dictatorial powers.

When he left Iraq on Monday after surrendering authority to an interim government, it was with a somber air of exhaustion. There was no farewell address to the Iraqi people, no celebratory airport sendoff. Instead of a festive handover ceremony on Wednesday, the date set for the transfer, an improvised event occupied five minutes on a Monday morning.

The secrecy and brevity of the ceremony were in keeping with the precarious future of the Iraq that Bremer built. Setting out with a vision to transform Iraq into a model of Western democracy and capitalism for the rest of the Arab world, he has left behind a country freed from a tyrannical past but also with grave security threats, a sputtering economy and an appointed government with little popular support.

The stealth of Bremer's final act was occasioned by security concerns that have bedeviled the Coalition Provisional Authority that ruled Iraq. With insurgent activity far from contained by 138,000 U.S. troops, diplomats and reconstruction specialists have curtailed travel outside Baghdad's highly fortified Green Zone. U.S.-funded projects, from repairing power plants to seminars on democracy, have been put on hold. Even Bremer, in his last months in the country, gave up the vigorous barnstorming he loved as occupier in chief.

Any public celebration of U.S. achievements here

See **BREMER**, *A17, Col. 1*

■ **For many Iraqis, handover fails to improve difficult life.** | *Page A17*

■ **"We have kept our word," Bush says at NATO summit.** | *Page A18*

■ **Iraqi militants say video shows execution of U.S. soldier.** | *Page A19*

THE LAST CARTEL | *How Baseball Does Business*

Angelos, Selig Last Men Standing in D.C.'s Way

Last of three articles

By STEVE FAINARU
Washington Post Staff Writer

MILWAUKEE—Two weeks ago, at a dinner honoring Commissioner of Baseball Allan H. "Bud" Selig and his wife for their support of Israel, Selig's oldest friend ran into one of his newest ones.

Sen. Herb Kohl (D-Wis.), a friend since childhood and the owner of the NBA's Milwaukee Bucks, extended his hand to Peter G. Angelos, owner of the Baltimore Orioles and the leading opponent of moving the Montreal Expos to the Washington area.

"I'm your biggest protector," the three-term senator told Angelos.

Kohl wagged his index finger as he explained to Angelos, a top Democratic party contributor, how he had warned Selig not to put a team in Washington.

Peter G. Angelos may know soon if he'll be getting a neighbor to the south.

"I told [him], 'Don't you dare,' " Kohl said.

Angelos sat by the commissioner during the tribute dinner while Kohl told sandlot stories from Selig's youth. The keynote speaker was political commentator George F. Will, one of Selig's closest advisers and a former member of the Orioles board of directors.

The next day, Selig said Kohl called and told him about his remarks to the Orioles' owner, which were made in front of a reporter.

"He was just kidding," Selig said of Kohl. "I wouldn't take that too seriously."

But Selig added that as a fellow team owner, Kohl was "sensitive" to Angelos's concerns. "Look, if you own a team, there's a certain understanding," said Selig, the owner of the Milwaukee Brewers since 1970. "You try not to hurt your existing partners."

Sometime after the July 13 All-Star Game in Houston, Selig plans to decide if the Expos will be moved to Washington, D.C., Northern Virginia or one of five other areas. The decision will be the culmination of a process shrouded in secrecy and entirely consistent with Selig's highly personal management of Major League Baseball—a style sanctioned by the sport's unique antitrust exemption.

And in the end, it may all turn on the relationship between two powerful men.

See **BASEBALL**, *A8, Col. 1*

Police Tactic to Sidestep Miranda Rights Rejected

By JERRY MARKON
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court ruled yesterday that police officers may not deliberately avoid warning suspects of their right to remain silent before beginning questioning, asserting that a law enforcement tactic of interrogating suspects twice—before reading them their rights and then after—undermines the familiar *Miranda* right.

The 5 to 4 decision affirms the rights of suspects not to speak to investigators and is intended to end what the court said was an increasing police practice of twice questioning suspects in the hope of eliciting a confession. The decision rejects what the court called "a police strategy adapted to undermine the *Miranda* warnings."

Writing for the majority, Justice David H. Souter said that a Missouri woman's statements about her involvement in a murder plot were inadmissible because police had arrested her at 3 a.m., elicited her confession and only then advised her of her rights. She subsequently incriminated herself again.

"The reason that question-first is catching on is as obvious as its manifest purpose, which is to get a confession the suspect would not make if he understood his rights at the outset," Souter wrote in his opinion, which was joined by Justices John Paul Stevens, Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen G. Breyer. Justice Anthony M. Kennedy filed a separate concurring opinion.

"The sensible underlying assump-

See **MIRANDA**, *A12, Col. 1*

BY KEVIN CLARK—THE WASHINGTON POST

Former president Jimmy Carter greets Mattie Stepanek's mother, Jeni, at St. Catherine Laboure Catholic Church. He gave the eulogy.

Celebrating the Courage of Mattie

At Md. Funeral, Speakers Honor Young Poet's Quest for Peace

By DARRAGH JOHNSON
Washington Post Staff Writer

Oprah Winfrey made him famous. Former president Jimmy Carter made him a friend.

Both attended the funeral yesterday of Mattie J.T. Stepanek, a Rockville boy-turned-national hero who struggled for years with a form of muscular dystrophy and wrote books of inspirational poems that climbed the best-seller charts, topping even Carter's memoir. He died last Tuesday at Children's Hospital in Washington.

The pews at St. Catherine Laboure Catholic Church in Wheaton were nearly filled to their 1,350-person capacity as family and friends—dozens of Harley-Davidson riders, hundreds of blue-uniformed firefighters and hundreds more strangers who knew Mattie only through his television appearances and books—came to say goodbye to this 13-year-old boy who had every reason to complain about life, and didn't.

In his eulogy, Carter told the congregation that throughout his long and varied public life, which has included shaking millions of hands, traveling to more than 120 countries and knowing "kings and queens, presidents and prime ministers," Mattie was "the most extraordinary person" he has ever known.

The former president and the boy-poet met three years ago. Mattie suffered from dysautonomic mitochondrial myopathy and depended on a wheelchair, ventilator, supplemental oxygen and blood transfusions. In summer 2001, the Make-a-Wish Foundation told Carter that "a little boy with a few more days to live" had a final wish: to meet Jimmy Carter.

"I was surprised," Carter said, speaking from the altar at St. Catherine Laboure, where a 40-foot-tall Italian stained-glass window

See **MATTIE**, *A6, Col. 1*

INSIDE

The Post on the Internet: washingtonpost.com

Contents © 2004 The Washington Post Company

Canada's Ruling Party Is Set Back in Election

Prime Minister Paul Martin's Liberal Party lost its absolute majority in the Canadian Parliament, but appeared likely to form a minority government.

WORLD, *Page A15*

DAILY 06-29-04 MD M2 A8 CMYK

THE LAST CARTEL | *How Baseball Does Business*

Once Opponents, Selig and Angelos Have Become Allies

BASEBALL, *From A1*

No one knows if Selig will defy Angelos, who or what might influence him to do so, or how the owner will respond.

After 16 months of fruitless negotiations, District Mayor Anthony A. Williams (D) has offered baseball the choice of a fully funded ballpark near RFK Stadium for the Expos or three other more attractive sites for an annual fee of $5 million or less. Northern Virginia, too, has offered a $360 million stadium complex near Dulles International Airport, mostly funded by the state and which would include $10 million annual lease payments by the team occupant.

As the decision draws closer, baseball officials acknowledge that concerns about the Orioles are a factor. Yet Robert A. DuPuy, baseball's president and chief operating officer, said neither he nor Selig has spoken with Angelos about putting a team in the capital area.

"What is there to talk about?" DuPuy said.

He said it made no sense to create "ill will" with the Orioles owner by bringing up a subject that would be moot if baseball decided to move the Expos elsewhere.

Asked if it then made sense to negotiate with the District and Northern Virginia for huge public subsidies without also coming to terms with Angelos, DuPuy replied: "If they don't want a team, then they don't have to participate. They want a team, and we have the asset."

Dictating the Situation

Since becoming commissioner in 1992 (he was elected officially in 1998), Selig has accumulated powers unavailable to any of his eight predecessors.

In January 2000, baseball dissolved the offices of the American and National leagues and reduced the once-powerful league presidents to ceremonial positions, stripping baseball of the last vestiges of a system that divided the sport over issues ranging from the designated hitter to franchise movement.

The Major League Constitution was rewritten to give Selig increased authority over economic issues—powers so sweeping that they expire at the end of his term so his successors cannot abuse them. Selig can act unilaterally on any matter pertaining to collective bargaining between the owners and players.

Selig can also remove or suspend any owner, officer or employee for any action "deemed by the Commissioner not to be in the best interests of Baseball." He can fine a team up to $2 million and an officer, owner or club employee up to $500,000.

"I've always felt baseball should be run more like a benevolent dictatorship, and it's closer to that now than it used to be," said Bill Giles, the National League president and chairman of the Philadelphia Phillies. "I don't think there are any owners in this day and age that have any more clout than the other guy. . . . It's pretty much Bud Selig's show right now."

The changes enabled Selig to implement what are regarded by some as his biggest successes. They include interleague play, a wild-card playoff system, enhanced revenue-sharing among teams and a new rule limiting the amount of debt a team can carry. The rule goes into effect next year and already appears to have achieved the drag on salaries the owners have sought for three decades.

Spencer W. Waller, director of the Institute for Consumer Antitrust Studies at Loyola University in Chicago, said baseball's changes are logical when viewed in the context of its exemption from antitrust laws.

"The single biggest issue in any cartel is preventing the members from defecting from the agreement," Waller said. "Most of the reorganization of Major League Baseball in recent years is designed to detect and punish defection from the underlying agreements between the owners. It's the perfect thing you would expect the members of a cartel to do. It's not illegal; they have an exemption. But any economist would go, 'Oh, yeah. It makes perfect sense.' "

Owners and baseball officials said Selig is a master politician who uses tactics ranging from jaw-boning to ego massage to keep owners in line. He works the phones constantly and talks to most owners before coming to a decision, gradually building consensus. Selig controls all committee appointments, including the eight-owner Executive Council, which makes most major decisions.

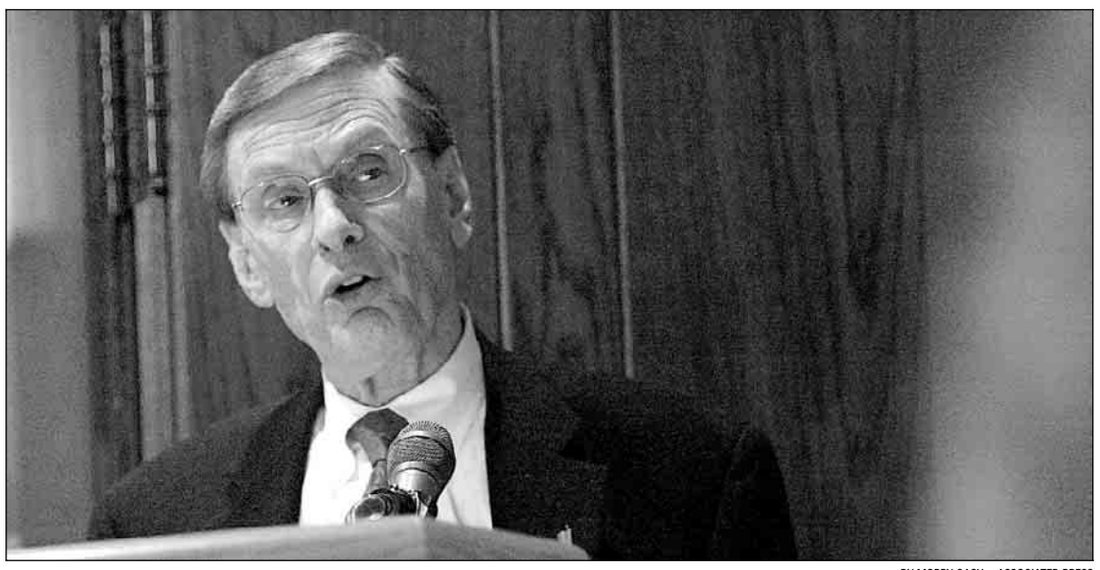
One Major League Baseball official who has worked closely with Selig described him as "an expert in behavioral modification."

"Some of his preferred tools are off-the-record character assassination made to the media and other owners, and minimizing [owners'] participation in high-profile committees," the official said. "Remember that the majority of the owners are egocentric and want to be respected and admired by their peers. Most have paid a significant price to become a member of this exclusive club and hate the thought of being publicly or privately shunned or minimized by other members."

Selig's most successful project has been Angelos. "If Peter was backstabbing Bud and screwing the industry, we'd have a team in D.C. right now," said the official, who requested anonymity because of the sensitivity of the negotiations. In fact, Selig and Angelos are "almost linked at the hip," the official said.

Angelos, in a phone interview Monday night, said Selig is aware of his often-stated concerns that a team in Washington or Northern Virginia would "cause serious economic consequences to the Orioles."

"I think Bud Selig is going to make up his mind on his own," Angelos said. "Foremost in his decision will be what he believes is good for baseball. Hopefully, that includes his desire to preserve the stability of the Orioles team. That's my position."



BY MORRY GASH—ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Major League Constitution was rewritten to give Allan H. "Bud" Selig increased authority over economic issues.

BY TOM HOOD—ASSOCIATED PRESS

"I think Bud Selig is going to make up his mind on his own," says Peter A. Angelos, left, shown here with MLB consultant Len Sanderson at 2003 owners' meeting.

The relationship between Selig and Angelos has shifted 180 degrees since he bought the Orioles for $173 million—at the time the highest price for a sports franchise—at a 1993 bankruptcy auction. It was a decision, he joked, that grew out of "a moment of weakness, or a moment of ego nourishment."

The following year, Angelos famously opposed the Selig-led labor strategy that led to the cancellation of the World Series. He rejected the use of replacement players in 1995 as "Selig's delusion." He called revenue-sharing—a centerpiece of the owners' economic proposal—"the antithesis of the very essence of this country: competition."

The acting commissioner, Angelos told a writer at the time, was merely "a handmaiden of the owners."

Angelos now calls Selig "the best advocate for the game. Yeah, I once had different views. But they were in the beginning, when I was new and green."

Angelos said his views shifted for various reasons, including a growing disillusionment with a lopsided economic system that he said most rewards his divisional rivals, the New York Yankees and Boston Red Sox.

Angelos spent lavishly to compete with those teams. In December 1998, he gave a five-year, $65 million contract to moody slugger Albert Belle, a bust whose career ended in March 2001 because of a degenerative hip condition. Beginning in 1998, the Orioles finished in fourth place in six straight seasons. Attendance fell from a franchise high of 3.7 million in 1997 to 2.5 million in 2003.

Orioles executives began to notice a change in Angelos. When he came into the game, the self-made attorney who became wealthy litigating class-action asbestos suits seemed to empathize with the players and their powerful union. He established a rapport with Donald Fehr, the union's executive director, whom the owners had sought to demonize.

"The more he dealt with players, and the longer he was in the game, the more he understood [that] these aren't dock workers," said one executive who worked under Angelos during this period and requested anonymity because he still does business with the Orioles.

Angelos began to refer to the players' association as a "guild," a term he used to draw comparisons of the players to pampered entertainers, according to a major league official who interacted with him.

At the same time, Selig said he had been having steady conversations with Angelos. "After the strike got settled, I made it a point to . . . talk to him, to explain things to him," Selig said. "And he, in running the club, began to run into considerable economic difficulties, to put it very bluntly. And the more we would talk, and the more we spent time together, well, it was just a very gradual thing. There was no precipitating event. He just came to understand."

By 2004, Angelos was espousing full National Football League-style revenue-sharing as a solution to baseball's economic problems. With it, he said, "obviously there would be no concern about . . . a team in close proximity to the Orioles or any other major league franchise."

Angelos's movement toward baseball's political center brought the sport a powerful advocate.

Angelos made $5,000 in political contributions during the 1993-94 election cycle, the years immediately after he entered Major League Baseball, according to the nonpartisan Center for Responsive Politics and PoliticalMoneyLine.com.

From 2000 to '04, he gave $2,709,200, nearly all of it to Democrats. Including his family, Angelos donated more than $3 million to politicians during that period. Of Angelos's donations, the largest amount, $875,000, went to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Angelos has not given money to Kohl, records show, and Angelos said he had met the Wisconsin senator just three times. Angelos said Kohl was merely "kidding him on the level" two weeks ago when he made the remark at the dinner. He disputed that Kohl or anyone else could influence the decision.

"Bud Selig is not going to consider what Herb Kohl said to him when the ultimate decision is made," Angelos said. "I wish you were right, but I want to tell you, that isn't going to happen. Bud Selig answers to the 29 owners and Bud Selig has a mission and a vision for baseball."

Kohl declined to be interviewed. His spokesman, Zach Goldberg, said the senator had made "a lighthearted remark" and had no opinion on a Washington area team. Kohl is the ranking Democrat on the Senate Judiciary Committee's antitrust subcommittee. He said he recuses himself from sports-related matters, including legislation related to baseball's exemption from antitrust laws, which gives Selig unrestricted power over relocation.

Selig named Angelos to baseball's legislative affairs/government relations committee in the late 1990s. The committee of 10 owners lobbied Congress, primarily on the preservation of the antitrust exemption. Angelos, Boston Red Sox principal owner John W. Henry and Atlanta Braves Chairman Emeritus William C. Bartholomay were the only Democrats on the committee, according to William H. Schweitzer, one of Major League Baseball's lobbyists.

The combined federal donations of the other nine members of the Legislative Committee from 2000 to '04 was $1,153,618—or roughly one-third of what Angelos and his family contributed.

Angelos's presence in Major League Baseball, whose owners were mostly Republican, gave the sport's lobbying efforts an added dimension.

Schweitzer, a partner at Baker & Hostetler LLP, said Angelos was helpful with Democratic lawmakers previously hostile to baseball. "Some of the places that had been unfriendly to baseball in the past, at least we had a door to help us go through," he said.

Schweitzer and Lucy J. Calautti, a Democrat who also lobbies for Major League Baseball, maintained four season tickets to Orioles games that they sold, at cost, to lawmakers, aides, White House employees, the media and others who do business with baseball.

Angelos's greatest contribution to Selig came in 2001, when the collective-bargaining agreement between the owners and players was about to expire. The negotiations loomed as the most important in the game's tortured labor history. Both sides feared another work stoppage. Yet Selig, armed with his new powers, had united the owners in pushing for dramatic economic changes.

Selig persuaded Angelos to work on the negotiating committee along with one other club executive, Cubs President and CEO Andrew B. MacPhail. Selig said he chose Angelos because he was a proven negotiator and "knew the business. He understood how the economics of the business had changed . . . This was not something he volunteered to do. I had to be pretty persuasive."

"It was the most important job anyone could take on, and he did it," said Peter A. Magowan, the managing general partner of the San Francisco Giants. "To be asked by the commissioner to participate on a matter of that importance, it's almost like the president of the United States asking you. It's an honor."

Angelos is said to have played a central role in getting the players' association to agree to unprecedented concessions. He also helped define the owners' newfound tenacity against the players' union. During one negotiating session on steroid testing, which the union resisted, Angelos engaged in a heated exchange with associate general counsel Gene Orza in a scene two senior MLB officials described as "ugly."

Selig said, "I don't think we would have ended up where we are without Peter Angelos and Andy MacPhail."

The new labor agreement already has saved the owners millions of dollars. In 2001, just 8 percent of all free agents signed for $1 million or less. This past winter, more than one-quarter did.

Last year, Selig named Angelos to the Executive Council. Giles described that committee as "the group that runs baseball. Bud is the leader of that council and usually whatever the Executive Council decides gets done. I don't think in the last five years there's been any disagreement."

Selig said Angelos "certainly earned the appointment." But he denied that his relationship with Angelos would color his decision on whether to put a team in Washington.

"Do I have a great deal of respect and affection for Peter Angelos? You bet I do," Selig said. But he said "all decisions on the future of the game have to be made in the best interests of baseball."

Area Rights

Technically, Angelos has no control over another team moving into the Washington market. The Major League Constitution defined Baltimore's "operating territory" as the city of Baltimore, and Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Howard, Carroll and Harford counties in Maryland.

But Angelos argues that the Orioles' broadcast revenue would be gutted. The team's games are televised in the District, Maryland, Virginia, four counties in south-central Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pa., Delaware, two counties in West Virginia, and the central and eastern regions of North Carolina, according to the Orioles. Angelos said a 2001 Deloitte & Touche study concluded that the Orioles' broadcast revenue would diminish by 60 percent with a team in Washington or Northern Virginia.

"Clearly, in either jurisdiction you have the same problem," said Angelos.

Angelos declined to say what action he might take if Major League Baseball tried to move the Expos into the Washington area. Clark C. Griffith, a Minneapolis antitrust attorney and former Twins executive whose father moved the club from Washington in 1960, said he believed "it's actually very clear that [the Orioles] don't" have legal standing to block the move.

"But that does not mean that the Orioles would not file lawsuits under a number of theories claiming they've somehow been harmed; we lawyers can think of those things pretty fast," Griffith said. "Whether or not it will have merit or staying power is subject very often to the judge who is hearing the case."

Baseball officials concede that to move the Expos to the Washington area they will likely have to make a large cash payment to Angelos to compensate him and head off a potential lawsuit that could, at minimum, slow the process.

The Major League Constitution requires three-fourths approval of all teams to move a franchise. Selig is well known for waiting to take a vote until the outcomes are certain. Angelos would need seven other owners to block a move.

Claude R. Brochu, who served on baseball's Executive Council under Selig as the then-owner of the Montreal Expos, said Angelos could use "moral suasion as one of 30 partners" to block the deal. "He could say, 'Don't screw me,' and I think everybody would listen to what he

See **BASEBALL**, *A9, Col. 1*

About This Series

SUNDAY

Building Miller Park: New ballparks have been a centerpiece of Commissioner Bud Selig's strategy for baseball. The way he got his own stadium still makes people in Wisconsin angry.

MONDAY

The Odyssey of the Expos: The fate of the Montreal team illustrates how baseball uses its exemption from antitrust laws to control markets.

TODAY

Selig and Angelos: The future of baseball in the Washington area may depend on the relationship between two powerful men—the commissioner of baseball and the owner of the Orioles.

washingtonpost.com Washington Post staff writer Steve Fainaru will be online today to answer questions about this series at 1 p.m. at www.washingtonpost.com/sports.

Time and Again

The Washington area has been at the center of relocation and expansion discussions for more than three decades, but the nation's capital remains without the national pastime.

Oct. 26, 1960: Washington Senators President Calvin Griffith announces he will move the team to the Minneapolis/St. Paul area. The same day, the American League awards an expansion franchise to Washington.

Dec. 3, 1968: Robert E. Short, the Democratic National Committee treasurer, purchases majority interest in the Senators.

Sept. 20, 1971: Short receives approval from American League owners to move the franchise from Washington to Arlington, Tex., for the 1972 season.

May 5, 1973: San Diego Padres owner C. Arnholt Smith conditionally accepts an offer by Joe Danzansky, president of Giant Food, to buy the financially troubled team and bring it to Washington.

Dec. 28, 1973: Smith announces that he has sold the Padres to a group of investors who will keep the team in San Diego. Smith delivers the news to Danzansky in a telegram stating that the purchase contract is "null and void."

March 26, 1976: Toronto and Seattle are awarded expansion franchises.

Aug. 2, 1979: After buying the Orioles, Edward Bennett Williams is questioned about whether the team will play any games in Washington. His response: "I haven't even addressed that question yet. I do know this, that the lease which was renewed between [the Orioles] and the city permits the playing of 13 games—no more—in Washington." No Orioles games are ever played in the District.

Dec. 18, 1990: The National League unveils a list of six potential expansion sites: Buffalo, Denver, Orlando, south Florida, Tampa-St. Petersburg and Washington, D.C.

June 10, 1991: Baseball Commissioner Fay T. Vincent announces Denver and south Florida are the NL expansion committee's selections.

April 6, 1992: The Orioles play their first regular season game at Oriole Park at Camden Yards.

Sept. 9, 1992: Allan H. "Bud" Selig is named acting commissioner of Major League Baseball following Vincent's resignation.

Sept. 29, 1992: Orioles home attendance is 3,567,819 in their first season at Camden Yards, then the fifth-highest single-season home attendance figure in Major League Baseball history.

Aug. 2, 1993: Peter G. Angelos, a Baltimore attorney, wins the right to purchase the Orioles at a New York bankruptcy auction.

Orioles owner Peter Angelos

Feb. 24, 1995: Boston Red Sox general partner John Harrington, then the chairman of Major League Baseball's expansion committee, calls the Washington area "a very viable candidate" for expansion.

March 9, 1995: Tampa Bay and Arizona are awarded expansion franchises.

August 1995: William L. Collins III, a Virginia businessman, attends a Houston Astros game with Astros owner Drayton McLane Jr. After the game, McLane asks Collins if he would like to buy the Astros. After months of secret negotiations, they agree that Collins will buy the Astros for about $150 million.

October 1995: At a meeting in Houston, Collins and McLane finalize a deal for the team to play the 1996 season at RFK Stadium, pending approval from Major League Baseball.

Oct. 20, 1995: Selig, upon hearing of the plan to relocate the Astros to the Washington area, states that McLane will be instructed to make an exhaustive effort to sell his team to Houston area buyers before the Washington area investors would be permitted to move the franchise.

Nov. 10, 1995: McLane announces that he will not sell his team to Collins and will keep the Astros in Houston for the 1996 season.

July 9, 1998: Selig is elected the ninth commissioner of baseball by a unanimous vote.

May 23, 1999: Selig is quoted in the Washington Times denying he had made a commitment to protect the Orioles by keeping baseball out of Washington. "That's a story that has bounced all over the place," Selig said. "The only thing I can tell you about that is that I'm protective of all of our franchises, and I don't have agreements with anybody about anything. My objective is to make sure that the existing franchises are healthy and continue to be healthy. There isn't any team available to move to Washington, so obviously any speculation is, just frankly, speculation."

July 1, 1999: Washington Baseball Club LLC announces its effort to return baseball to the nation's capital.

DAILY 06-29-04 MD M2 A9 CMYK

THE LAST CARTEL | *How Baseball Does Business*

Decision on D.C. Area Is Overdue as Selig Weighs Options

BASEBALL, *From A8*

would have to say, just because he would be a partner."

Angelos might get support from other teams that, like the Orioles, enjoy protected monopolies. The Mets and Yankees, for example, share a territory composed of New York City, two New York counties, four New Jersey counties and a 300-mile swath of Fairfield County in Connecticut—an area of roughly 15 million people.

The Yankees' financial domination is a matter of obsessive concern inside baseball. Many officials believe putting a team in northern New Jersey is one solution. But Selig has seemed to discourage competition. He feared that tampering with baseball's artificial economic boundaries could lead to instability and a reduction in franchise values.

"I happen to respect territories," he said.

Selig derives his power over franchise movement from the antitrust exemption. The law gave the owners explicit authority to control expansion, location or relocation without being prosecuted or investigated for anti-competitive behavior.

In one application of the law, Selig continued to block the Oakland Athletics from relocating to San Jose, even though that city was 30 miles farther from the San Francisco Giants than Network Associates Coliseum, the A's home park.

San Jose was the hub of Santa Clara County. In the 1980s, baseball extended San Francisco's territory to allow former owner Bob Lurie to seek a stadium there. The bid failed, but the territory remained. Magowan, who bought the team in 1992, now argued that Santa Clara County was effectively included in the purchase price.

Magowan said he intended to "fight to the death" to keep San Jose.

The Bay Area is the prism through which Selig views the Baltimore-Washington debate. The market, he said, is not "a perfect analogy" but baseball needs to "learn from history" as it considers whether to put two teams so close together. His views were shaped by the struggles of the Giants and Athletics after A's then-owner Charles O. Finley moved his team from Kansas City to Oakland in 1968 "without any analysis at all," Selig said.

But recent developments have made Selig's views, along with many of the underlying assumptions shaping the debate in Washington, appear obsolete. Buoyed by the construction of a privately funded waterfront stadium, the Giants came within eight outs of winning the 2002 World Series and won the National League West last season by 15½ games. The A's have drawn more than 2 million fans three straight seasons and had the second-best record in baseball from 2000 to '03.

"Competition is a wonderful thing; I believe in it strongly," said Steve Schott, the A's owner and one of the largest homebuilders in California. "If you don't have competition, what's to keep the other team from being very lax and complacent about trying to bring the best product they can to the marketplace?"

The population of the Bay Area, including San Jose, is 7 million. The population of the consolidated Baltimore-Washington metropolitan areas is 7.6 million.

Historical Perspective

On Sept. 20, 1971, the owners of the 12 American League teams gathered in Boston to decide the fate of the Washington Senators. One of those owners was Selig. The owner of the Senators, Robert Short, wanted to move the club to Arlington, Tex. He faced resistance from commissioner Bowie Kuhn, a former "scoreboard boy" at Griffith Stadium.

After a local ownership group fell apart at the last minute, the somber vote began. Baltimore, ironically, was opposed. The vote came around to Selig, who six years earlier had fought unsuccessfully to keep the Milwaukee Braves from moving to Atlanta before helping lure the Seattle Pilots to Milwaukee to replace the Braves.

"I felt like Caesar staring at Brutus when I saw Milwaukee vote for the move," Kuhn wrote in his autobiography. Selig, who was 37 at the time, said he felt "physically sick that night. I sort of felt I had betrayed myself."

Selig said his mentor, late Detroit Tigers owner John Fetzer, convinced him they had no choice because no local ownership group had stepped forward in Washington. Three decades later, on Jan. 17, 2002, Selig stood at a lectern after an owners meeting in Phoenix. His strategy to "contract" the Expos and another club had collapsed. Baseball was on the verge of a three-team swap involving Boston, Florida and Montreal, which would be taken over by baseball's 29 other teams.

Selig announced that baseball was preparing to begin a process that could reverse his 1971 vote. Relocation, the commissioner said, was coming "in the near future" and Washington was "the prime candidate."

Inside baseball, the Washington area has widespread support.

"If I was an outsider—and I'm more than an outsider; I'm one of the owners who will be voting—you'd have to [pick] Washington for a number of reasons," Schott said last year. "From the demographic standpoint, the population, the per-capita income level, the political point of view. If I was a betting person, I'd bet on Washington, but stranger things have happened in baseball."

Fourteen months later, a sense of urgency infused the process as baseball geared up for two days of formal presentations starting March 20, 2003, in Phoenix.

With an informal all-star break deadline for a decision, officials from the District, Northern Virginia and Portland, Ore., offered baseball $250 million to $300 million subsidies for ballparks with views of the Washington monuments and, in Portland's case, snowcapped Mount Hood.

Three months later, with the all-star break deadline fast approaching, Mayor Williams tried to close the deal. In a three-hour June 20 meeting at the Wilson Building, District officials presented more detailed information about the bid to three members of the relocation committee. At one point, Williams asked for an exclusive negotiating window to try to get the deal done.

"We can get it done like that," Williams promised, snapping his fingers, according to Robert D. Goldwater, the former president of the D.C. Sports and Entertainment Commission, who was at the meeting.

On July 15, Williams and his aides attended the All-Star Game at U.S. Cellular Field in Chicago. So did Gabe Paul Jr., executive director of the Virginia Baseball Stadium Authority, and other members of the Northern Virginia bid effort. But baseball's self-imposed deadline passed without acknowledgement.

The delegation returned home to "radio silence," Goldwater said. For the next month and a half, calls from District officials to Major League Baseball went unreturned, he said.

"We're just saying to baseball, 'Please bring a team here,' " Williams said last fall. "But who owns it, or what team, is up to them—the man behind the door. But we don't seem to have very good communication with the man behind the door."

Baseball officials explained that no location had come forward with a good enough offer. "There's no spanking new stadium ready . . . where it's, 'Here's the key, let 'er rip,' " DuPuy said last October.

Unstated was the fact that the three locations were competing not only against each other but also against Angelos.

The Phillies' Giles said he "personally always wanted a team in Washington. Our nation's capital should have our nation's pastime." But the owners, Giles added, are "friends, and partners to some extent, and people just don't like to hurt other people. And if Angelos thinks he's going to get hurt, I think he'd get support."

After the 2003 baseball season ended, the field of potential relocation sites expanded to include not only Washington, Northern Virginia and Portland, Ore., but also Norfolk; Monterrey, Mexico; and Las Vegas.

Baseball was scrambling. "If I promised to build a stadium in my backyard, baseball would come and look at my backyard as the potential new home for the Expos," said an investment banker involved in the process.

Selig, according to a major league official familiar with the process, had asked the relocation committee to look for alternatives to the District and Northern Virginia. Washington and Northern Virginia, he said, were not allowed to be "meaningfully discussed" because of Angelos's opposition and Selig's "unwavering support of Peter," the official said.

The official, who requested anonymity because of the sensitivity of the negotiations, said the only way to persuade Selig to confront Angelos was for Washington or Northern Virginia to present an overwhelming bid.

"You have to ask yourself, 'Will Bud fight that fight?' " the official said. "And I'm telling you there is not a chance in hell he will fight that fight unless he's backed into a corner."

Then, in May, Williams offered baseball a fully funded ballpark. A month later, Northern Virginia announced plans for a $360 million ballpark as part of a 400-acre development project near Dulles. That project called for the team that occupied the stadium to help pay for its construction through annual $10 million rent payments.

"Major League Baseball . . . will make more money at the Dulles site than any other site or market they are considering," a project briefing prepared by the development team promised.

Mark K. Tuohey, the chairman of the D.C. Sports and Entertainment Commission, said the mayor decided to offer a fully funded stadium after it became "clear to us that they were going to get 100 percent financing" from another city. The evidence for that determination was unclear. Tuohey said District officials became convinced after reading press reports and talking to baseball executives. "I'm told Monterrey has that kind of proposal," Tuohey said. "I'm told that Las Vegas does."

Asked if he was concerned that the District was bidding against itself, Tuohey said: "No, I don't think we are. Because we looked at the 100 percent and it was doable."

In attendance when Williams presented the proposal to the relocation committee on May 6 was Jack Evans (D-Ward 2), chair of the D.C. Council finance committee, who last June brought the process to a standstill by refusing to act on a financing package until the franchise had been officially awarded.

Evans said he was encouraged by committee chairman Jerry Reinsdorf's assurances that Angelos would not stop the Expos from moving to the District.

But Evans said he told Reinsdorf that it was impossible for baseball to make that claim unless baseball officials had already discussed the issue with Angelos.

"I said, 'Listen to this logic: If you're here seriously considering us, before you got here you have to have solved the Angelos issue,' " Evans said. "You can't be seriously here talking to me if you haven't."

Reinsdorf insisted that Angelos would not be a factor.

In Baltimore, meantime, the owner was quietly accelerating efforts to turn the Orioles into a regional franchise. During this past offseason, the word "Baltimore" was scrubbed from the home dugout roof at Oriole Park at Camden Yards. Auxiliary scoreboards displaying an in-game linescore—which once represented the Orioles as "BAL"—now designated the home team as "O'S."

The team's broadcasters had been told in recent years: "We don't refer to [the team on the air] as Baltimore. We refer to it as the O's or the Birds," said Michael Reghi, the team's television play-by-play man until last season.

Even the club's news releases no longer carried a Baltimore dateline and uniformly began, "The Orioles announced today."

The fans who entered Camden Yards—the thousands who came from the District and Virginia and suburban Maryland to see the Birds—all were hard-pressed to find any mention of the Orioles' home city.

To those around the team, the message was unmistakable: Angelos was claiming Washington.

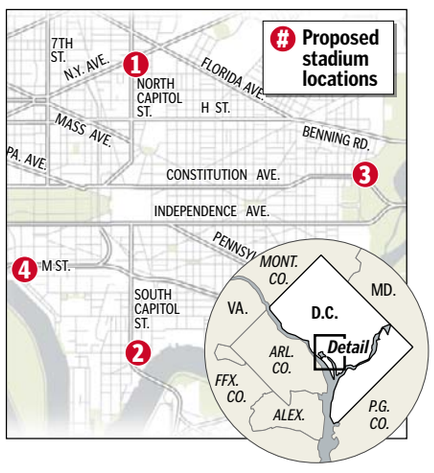
Staff researchers Julie Tate and Margot Williams and staff writer Dave Sheinin contributed to this report.

Where to Build It

If the Washington area gets a team, two ownership groups have proposals on where it would play.

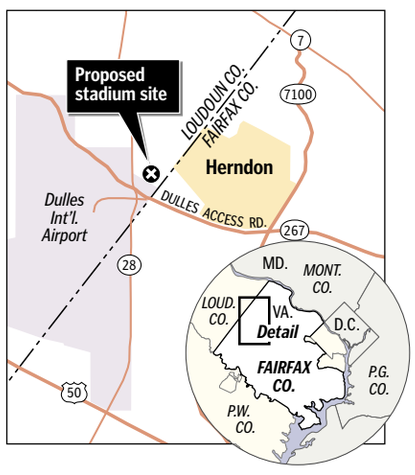
A Stadium in D.C. . . .

The most likely sites in the District are near L'Enfant Plaza and on New York Avenue, but there are two other possibilities, including at RFK Stadium.



. . . or Perhaps Virginia?

Officials of Major League Baseball's relocation committee are considering a proposal to build a stadium near Dulles International Airport.



	D.C. OWNERSHIP GROUP Formed in July 1999	VIRGINIA OWNERSHIP GROUP Formed in 1993
PRINCIPALS	**Frederic V. Malek** Chairman of Thayer Capital Partners **Franklin D. Raines** Chairman and CEO of Fannie Mae **James V. Kimsey** Founding CEO and chairman emeritus of America Online **Jeffrey D. Zients** Chairman of the Advisory Board Company **Joseph E. Robert Jr.** Chairman and CEO of JE Robert Companies **Steve Porter** Senior partner, Arnold & Porter **Paul Wolff** Senior partner, Williams & Connolly	**William L. Collins III** Former chairman and CEO of Metrocall **Jim Speros** Former owner of the Baltimore Stallions, a Canadian Football League team **Tien Wong** CEO of Opus8 Inc. **Doug Palley** Co-founder and president of CyberRep **Paul Opalack** Founder and CEO of Noblestar **Rick Weidinger** Partner, Kelley Racing **Paul Shiffman** Partner, Shiffman & Ricci P.C. **Virginia Sports Group** (Art Monk, Charles Mann, Jim Falk Jr., Bobi Habibi) **Richard Danker** Owner of Glory Days Grill **Mark D. Rothman** President and founder of MYTA Corporation
	LIMITED PARTNERS **Darrell Green** Former Washington Redskins player **Vernon E. Jordan Jr.** Senior managing director, Lazard Freres & Co. LLC **Dennis F. Hightower** Former president, Walt Disney Television and Telecommunications	**CORPORATE SPONSORS** **Wachovia Bank** **Friedman Billings Ramsey** **Thompson Hospitality** **MC Dean**
POSSIBLE STADIUM SITES	The leading sites for the proposed stadium are Banneker Park, opposite L'Enfant Plaza, and New York Avenue and First Street near North Capitol Street. Other sites that have been proposed are the Southwest Waterfront on M Street, and the grounds of the RFK Stadium complex.	The leading site is in Loudoun County, at the intersection of Route 267 and Route 28, directly east of Dulles International Airport. Other sites under consideration include the Engineering and Proving Grounds in Springfield, two sites in Pentagon City near I-395 and Army Navy Drive, and a site in Rosslyn at the intersection of Route 50 and Fort Myer Drive.
FINANCING	Mayor Anthony A. Williams has promised to fund construction of a stadium with public revenue bonds. The bonds would be repaid from two primary sources: a sales tax on tickets, parking, concessions, souvenirs and other services associated with the stadium, and a tax on the city's largest businesses that is expected to raise as much as $20 million a year. The stadium on the RFK site would be free to the team's owners, but the team would be required to pay as much as $5 million a year in rent at the other sites, where building a stadium would be more expensive. City officials estimate the ballpark would cost between $278 million and $383 million.	The proposed $360 million stadium near Dulles International Airport would be built as part of a large new residential and commercial development. Team owners would cover one-third of the stadium's total cost in rent payments. The Virginia Baseball Stadium Authority would be responsible for the other two-thirds, which would be financed with taxes on ballpark-related spending, such as concessions and players' salaries. Developers would provide the land for the stadium, build 10,000 parking spaces, construct interchanges and make other infrastructure improvements that would reduce stadium-related expenses by $82 million. The stadium would be financed with $418 million in public bonds backed by the "moral obligation" of the Commonwealth, meaning Virginia pledges but is not legally bound to repay any shortfall, according to the authority.

SOURCE: D.C. and Virginia ownership groups, the Virginia Baseball Stadium Authority and staff research

THE WASHINGTON POST

July 2000: Major League Baseball releases Blue Ribbon report about the sport's economic picture, concluding that baseball is no longer fair for teams in small broadcast markets.

Dec. 6, 2001: Selig testifies before the House Judiciary Committee against an action that would limit the antitrust exemption for Major League Baseball. Several members of the committee question Selig about the possibility of Northern Virginia or Washington acquiring a baseball team, either through contraction or relocation, to which Selig responds, "In weighing various relocation possibilities, it became clear to us that moving a club during this offseason, given our current industry economic development, would merely be substituting one problem for another problem."

Jan. 17, 2002: After baseball's winter meetings, Selig, asked about the possibility of Washington getting a team, says: "There's no doubt in my mind that relocation is coming. . . . I'd have to say given the demographics of the [Washington] area and all the people who want it, they are the prime candidate."

April 17, 2002: Robert A. DuPuy, baseball's president and chief operating officer, said: "I think it is inevitable there will be a team in D.C. or Northern Virginia. . . . Whether it is next year, or the year after, or five years from now, I think it is inevitable."

Nov. 2, 2002: In an interview with The Washington Post, Angelos said in reaction to the idea of Washington getting a baseball team: "It's not going to work. . . . If you put a team in the Washington area, it would make it impossible for either team—Baltimore or Washington—to generate the revenues to be competitive in the divisions in which they play."

Nov. 14, 2002: The D.C. Sports and Entertainment Commission, the D.C. Office of the Deputy Mayor for Planning and Economic Development and the Washington Baseball Club release their site evaluation study, revealing New York Avenue, the Southeast Waterfront on M Street, and RFK Stadium as possible sites for a new ballpark.

Feb. 6, 2003: A Major League Baseball spokesman says the relocation committee was aiming to determine the Expos' next home before the all-star break in mid-July.

March 20-21, 2003: MLB's relocation committee hears proposals from three jurisdictions vying for the Expos: Washington, Virginia, and Portland, Ore.

March 29, 2003: Virginia Baseball Stadium Authority announces five proposed sites for baseball stadiums.

May 14, 2003: After the baseball owners' spring meetings, DuPuy says of the relocation talks: "The process is moving forward. We'll be meeting in the very near future with the cities that previously made presentations. Then I'll prepare a report for Commissioner Selig. If we can get it done by the All-Star Game, that would be great."

July 14, 2003: After the All-Star Game, DuPuy says, "When the moon, the stars, the sun and the dollars are all aligned, we'll do this [relocation]."

Jan. 2004: Monterrey, Mexico; Norfolk; and Las Vegas emerge as potential relocation candidates.

Jan. 23, 2004: Banneker Park in Southwest Washington emerges as an alternate site for a ballpark.

April 8, 2004: District Mayor Anthony A. Williams announces he plans to submit a proposal to Major League Baseball for a fully funded new ballpark on the grounds of RFK Stadium. Later, he said other sites had not been ruled out.

May 6, 2004: Williams pitches his proposal to baseball's relocation committee. The plan includes a new ballpark built entirely from public funds. After the meeting, John McHale Jr., baseball's executive vice president of administration, says, "If we weren't serious about Washington, D.C., we wouldn't be here."

May 19, 2004: Virginia Baseball Stadium Authority Executive Director Gabe Paul Jr. informs the relocation committee that his group has completed funding plans for a stadium near Dulles International Airport.

June 21, 2004: Virginia Baseball Stadium Authority announces agreement with private developers and Loudoun County officials for joint development of Dulles area ballpark site to make the ballpark the centerpiece of a new town-center development.

June 25, 2004: Baseball officials say no announcement will be made until after the all-star break.

Robert A. DuPuy, Major League Baseball's president and chief operating officer

REPORTING BY JULIE TATE; GRAPHIC BY THE WASHINGTON POST