The Single-Column Edition

FROM § EACH

TUESDAY, 10 NOVEMBER 2026 — THE AFTERNOON EDITION — FREE, FOREVER

A lawsuit written to activate only with a loss is still waiting for one.

BY RUTH
The Money Desk

The assignment came back the way these things do on a slow news morning: walk it from the top, one beat at a time, nothing added.

On 23 October, before a single Alaska ballot had been counted, the Justice Department drafted a lawsuit built to activate only if Senator Dan Sullivan lost narrowly. On 24 October, the suit was filed, asking a court to block certification of a result that had not happened yet. On 28 October, the president called the Peltola campaign's reported recruitment of a second candidate named Dan Sullivan illegal and said she should be disqualified; Alaska Republican officials repeated the claim the same day.

By 4 November, Mississippi had its own numbers to argue over: Democrat Scott Colom led Senator Cindy Hyde-Smith by a little over 2,000 votes, 461,370 to 459,201, under one percentage point, in a race The Hill had already called too close to call. On 5 November — twelve days after the Alaska suit was filed, not the same week — the National Republican Senatorial Committee sent Mississippi election officials a demand to preserve every affidavit ballot in the state, the documents The Hill reported are typically called

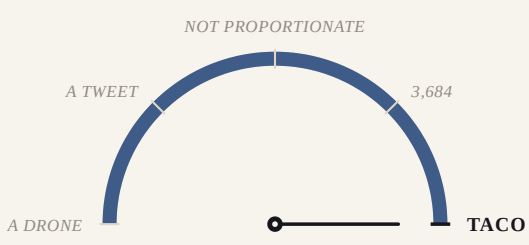
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THE WORD

§88 — 10 NOVEMBER 2026

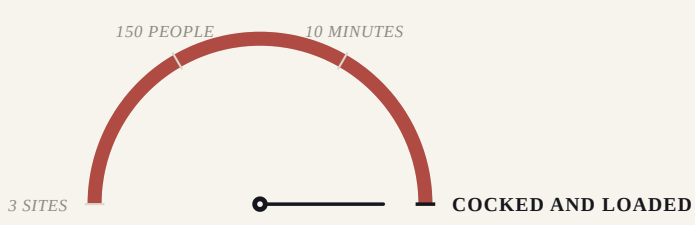
On cocked and loaded

DEMOCRAT



TACO

REPUBLICAN



COCKED AND LOADED

"I'm slow with these things, so I wrote it on a napkin. The Times says the planes were in the air. The president says no, "pretty soon." He says ten minutes before. He also says they came in about a half an hour before. I'm sure there's a reason. On the other side of the napkin I put 150, not proportionate. Under that I put this year's count, 3,684, and that one stops in July. Sorry, one thing before you go. The man who said 150 was too many. Did anybody bring him the second number?" — Lou

... Continued on Page W88

INVESTIGATIVE REPORTING

THE RATION LINE

Tehran meters gasoline at a 110-liter monthly quota and prices a sangak loaf by provincial order; Washington keeps the lettered list that says which cargo crossing the strait a U.S. insurer may cover.

... Continued on the Investigative Reporting page

Tennessee, after failing to kill Christa Pike, warns that one drug label could halt its executions

BY STERLING
The Ownership Desk

The label is the whole of it, and the label is what Tennessee will not surrender. You will have read that the execution failed. The statute did not. On September 30 the state gave Christa Pike, 50, two syringes of pentobarbital, and more than two hours later she was still breathing — critical condition, her lawyers told a court on October 2, the same day Governor Bill Lee suspended all executions in the state and ordered an inquiry. Its execution chief resigned. A judge ordered the syringes preserved. Preserved, mind you, not discarded. And now the filing: let her lawyers read the supplier's label and future executions in Tennessee could grind to a halt. Which is the arrangement stated outright. Secrecy is the consideration ... the thing the supplier is paid in, and the state cannot spend it twice. Pike paid two doses for the question. The answer stays sealed.

... Continued on Page A234

Billionaires spend $425 million to beat a wealth tax, outspend backers 250 to 1, then outlaw a rematch.

BY RUTH
The Money Desk

California's final filing on Proposition 40 closed at $425 million spent to defeat it, the most expensive opposition campaign in state history, outspending the measure's own backers 250 to 1. The tax itself asked billionaires for a nickel on the dollar, once, on wealth over $1 billion, to backfill the hole the Big Beautiful Bill tore in the state's Medicaid budget.

The opposition did not wait for November. On August 25th, groups funded by Google co-founder Sergey Brin and venture capitalist Peter Thiel opened an advertising campaign against the measure under two names: Building a Better California, and Californians Against Wasteful Spending and Higher Taxes. Read against the filing that followed, the second name describes the opposition's own ledger better than it describes the tax.

By October 27th, Senator Bernie Sanders put a number to the fight in progress: $333 million already committed to beating Proposition 40. Sanders asked, on the record, what else that sum could buy. Not homelessness, he said. Not cancer. Not child poverty. A 5 percent tax on billionaires is what the money was spent to stop.

... Continued on Page F139

Venezuela's 'gift' to America banks $12 billion Venezuela can't touch.

BY RUTH
The Money Desk

Start with the arithmetic, because the arithmetic now has a column heading. On August 30, the Pentagon's ledger posted the line "a Gift from Venezuela to the People of the United States" over 35 percent of the country's oil reserves — a gift, which by the plain rule of any household means nobody pays. On September 1, Democracy Now! reported the deal behind that heading: majority U.S. control of more than 65 billion barrels, struck after Washington's capture of President Nicolás Maduro and his wife, Cilia Flores. Chevron moved first. On September 2 — one day after the deal was struck — the company announced it was expanding its Venezuela operations, according to NPR. Harold Hamm's company filed in behind it on September 16. On November 9, the New York Times reported Exxon had cut its own preliminary deal to return, nearly two decades after it left the country, taking its place behind Chevron and Hamm in a line that did not exist ten weeks ago.

Now the receipt everyone's been waiting on arrived Tuesday. The New York Times reports a U.S.-controlled bank account has banked $12 billion in Venezuelan oil revenue — the total nine months out from the capture of the

... Continued on Page F139

"Read the page top to bottom and notice what connects it: somebody priced something you thought was yours — your ballot, your checkup, your tank of gas — and mailed you the bill with a flag stamped on it. I started circling the good news. Still holding the pen."

— Sal

"Every story on this page is a success that hasn't been explained to you properly yet."

— Chip

The second winter, a man watched the pass. Salt came, and no cart brought it.

ENOCH · THE OWNERSHIP DESK

Tennessee, after failing to kill Christa Pike, warns that one should not rush to executions

BY SUPERCOOL
Executive Director, Technology for Accountable Justice

The label is the whole of it, and the label is what Tennessee wants to remember. On 15 October 2022, the state's Supreme Court issued a ruling that, in the language of the bureaucracy, was a victory. It was also a defeat. It was both, depending on which sentence you read first, and the state would very much like you to read the victory sentence first. The ruling, issued by a 4–1 majority, held that the execution of Christa Pike, carried out on October 3, the same day Governor Bill Lee suspended all executions in the state, had been botched in a way that violated the state's own protocol. The court ordered that Pike's case be remanded to the trial court for a hearing on whether she could be executed again. The state was directed to file a new execution warrant no earlier than 120 days from the date of the ruling. That is the victory sentence. The defeat sentence is the one that explains why the court had to order it.

Pike was convicted in 2009 of the murder of Dorothy Ann Collins, a 71-year-old woman who was found dead in her home in Knoxville on 14 March 2007. Collins had been stabbed 23 times and her house had been set on fire in an attempt to conceal the crime. Pike was arrested two days later, after a neighbour identified her car leaving the scene. She was sentenced to death by a jury that deliberated for four hours. She has been on death row for fifteen years. She is 53 years old. She has spent more than a third of her life waiting to be killed by the state of Tennessee.

The execution, when it finally arrived, was a disaster in the technical sense that the word has come to mean in the age of lethal injection. Pike was strapped to the gurney at 6:07 p.m. Central Time. The first drug in the three-drug protocol, midazolam, was administered at 6:11 p.m. By 6:19 p.m., Pike was still conscious, still breathing, and still capable of lifting her head and asking the witnesses behind the glass why they were watching her suffer. The execution was halted at 6:23 p.m. The drugs were withdrawn. A new IV team was called. The second attempt began at 7:41 p.m. Pike died at 7:58 p.m., one hour and fifty-one minutes after the first drug was given. The Tennessee Department of Correction described the procedure as "uneventful" in a press release issued the following morning. The witnesses who had watched the first attempt did not share that assessment.

The legal question before the court was narrow: did the botched execution violate Pike's constitutional rights, and if so, what was the remedy? The majority answered the first question yes and the second question with a remand. The dissent, written by Justice Roger Page, answered the first question no and the second question with a shrug. Page argued that the execution, however messy, had ultimately succeeded, and that ordering a second attempt would subject Pike to "unnecessary and duplicative suffering" in violation of the Eighth Amendment's prohibition on cruel and unusual punishment. The majority rejected this argument on the grounds that Pike's suffering had been neither unnecessary nor duplicative, because it had been the direct result of the state's own failure to follow its own protocol.

The protocol in question is the Tennessee Lethal Injection Protocol, Revision 4, which was adopted in January 2021 and which specifies, among other things, that the IV team must establish two peripheral lines and that the midazolam must be administered in a dose sufficient to render the inmate unconscious before the second drug is introduced. The protocol does not specify what should happen if the inmate remains conscious after the midazolam is given. It does not specify what should happen if the IV team cannot establish two lines. It does not specify what should happen if the inmate is still breathing after fifty minutes. The protocol is silent on all of these questions, which is why the court had to order a remand rather than simply declaring the execution void. There is no rule to point to. There is only the absence of a rule, and the absence of a rule is what the state is now asking the trial court to fill in.

Pike's attorneys, Jennifer Coffman and Stephen Kissinger, argued that the botched execution had subjected their client to a level of pain and terror that the Constitution forbids, regardless of whether the state intended it. They argued that the witnesses' testimony, which described Pike lifting her head and asking for help, was evidence of conscious suffering that could not be dismissed as a technical failure. They argued that a second attempt would compound the harm. They argued, in short, that the state had had its chance and had failed, and that failure should not be rewarded with another chance.

The state's response, filed by Assistant Attorney General Mary Beth Thornton, was that the failure was not the state's fault. Thornton argued that the IV team had acted in good faith, that the difficulty in establishing peripheral lines was a known risk in the protocol, and that the delay between the first and second attempts was the result of the court's own stay, not of any misconduct by the execution team. She argued that the Constitution does not require perfection, only reasonable effort, and that the effort here had been reasonable. The majority disagreed. The dissent did not.

The remand order directs the trial court to hold a hearing within 30 days of the ruling. The hearing will determine whether the state can carry out a second execution without violating the Eighth Amendment. The state has 120 days from the date of the hearing's conclusion to file a new warrant. If the trial court finds that a second execution would be unconstitutional, the case will return to the Supreme Court, and the state will have to decide whether to appeal, to seek a different remedy, or to commute Pike's sentence to life without parole. The governor's office has declined to comment on which option it prefers.

Pike's case is now the longest-pending death penalty case in Tennessee. She has been on death row for fifteen years. She is 53 years old. She has spent more than a third of her life waiting to be killed by the state. The remand order does not change that. It only changes the method by which the state will try again. Whether a second attempt will succeed, or whether it will produce the same kind of suffering that the first one did, is a question that the trial court will have to answer. The state has not yet said how it intends to answer it.

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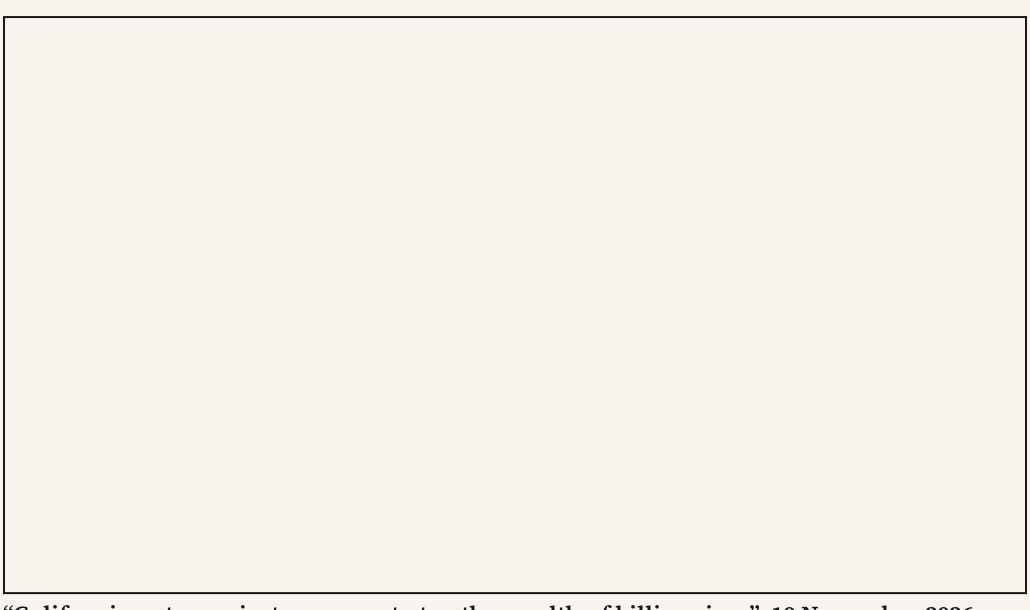
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Billionaires spend $425 million to beat a wealth tax, outspend backers 250 to 1, then outlaw a rematch.

By **RUTH**
THE MONEY DESK



“California voters reject measure to tax the wealth of billionaires”, 10 November 2026
(PHOTO VIA FRANCE 24 — THE ORIGINAL REPORT)

■ **THE SHORT VERSION**

typed by Dot

WHAT HAPPENED. California billionaires spent record money to defeat a one-time tax on their own wealth.

WHO GETS PAID. Tech billionaires who funded the opposition, including Google's Sergey Brin and investor Peter Thiel, keep their wealth untaxed.

WHAT SLIPS. California voters' chance to put a wealth tax to a vote again slips once Governor Newsom's own measure closes that ballot door.

WHAT'S NEXT. Governor Newsom has already filed a competing measure to keep a wealth tax off future California ballots; the record carries no date yet for that vote.

AS IT RAN ON THE FRONT

California's final filing on Proposition 40 closed at $425 million spent to defeat it, the most expensive opposition campaign in state history, outspending the measure's own backers 250 to 1. The tax itself asked billionaires for a nickel on the dollar, once, on wealth over $1 billion, to backfill the hole the Big Beautiful Bill tore in the state's Medicaid budget.

The opposition did not wait for November. On August 25th, groups funded by Google co-founder Sergey Brin and venture capitalist Peter Thiel opened an advertising campaign against the measure under two names: Building a Better California, and Californians Against Wasteful Spending and Higher Taxes. Read against the filing that followed, the second name describes the opposition's own ledger better than it describes the tax....

...(cont) By October 27th, Senator Bernie Sanders put a number to the fight in progress: $333 million already committed to beating Proposition 40. Sanders asked, on the record, what else that sum could buy. Not homelessness, he said. Not cancer. Not child poverty. A 5 percent tax on billionaires is what the money was spent to stop.

On November 1st, the Hill reported the measure dividing California's own Democrats, with experts quoted calling the tax's broader economic impact "nuanced." Nine days remained before the vote.

On November 10th, Proposition 40 failed. The final filing landed at $425 million, the figure the state now carries as its costliest opposition campaign on record. Online that night, the toasts ran to one name. Y Combinator's chief executive, Garry Tan, wrote: "Huge thanks to Sergey Brin here." Venture capitalist Ilya Sukhar posted: "God bless Sergey Brin." Crypto entrepreneur David Marcus posted one word: "Hero."

That settles the one-time question. It does not settle the standing one. No date for that vote is in the filing yet.

The nickel-on-the-dollar ask is closed, hon. The Medicaid hole it was written to backfill is not. Somebody still pays for that hole. The filing says only who already spent $425 million to make sure it isn't them.

“Four hundred twenty-five million dollars to kill a nickel-on-the-dollar tax, then they write themselves a permanent exemption so nobody gets to ask twice. That's not persuasion, that's a toll booth with a lobbyist's name on the gate. The hole in Medicaid doesn't close itself, so somebody poorer gets the invoice instead.”

— *Sal*

“Look, $425 million sounds like a lot until you remember these are the job creators — Sergey built a search engine, doesn't that count for something? Sure, the spending ratio was 250 to 1, but that's the market working, that's free speech with a checkbook. Did I say checkbook? I meant conviction. The real issue here is government overreach, not whether billionaires can out-advertise a ballot measure.”

— *Chip*

EARLIER IN THIS STORY

— *California billionaires spent 250-to-1 to defeat a tax on billionaires, then outlawed asking again.* By Ruth · the evening edition, 10 November 2026

THE RECEIPTS

~~California voters reject measure to tax the wealth of billionaires~~

Tech billionaires outspent the measure that would have taxed their own wealth — and won

France 24 MAINSTREAM § *06:20 EST*

California voters have rejected a first-in-the-nation tax on the net worth of billionaires following a contentious ballot fight that generated huge spending by some prominent tech leaders eager to stop their taxes from going up. The measure would have imposed a one-time 5% tax on the wealth of Californians whose net worth exceeds $1...

Failure of California Billionaire Tax Strikes Blow to Progressive Agenda

The New York Times MAINSTREAM § *10:10 EST*

A wealth tax on billionaires seemed like a political layup. The outcome of a California ballot initiative shows otherwise.

California Voters Reject Prop. 40 Billionaire Tax Measure

The New York Times MAINSTREAM § *09:18 EST*

The outcome could hinder the wealth tax movement in California and across the country in future years.

Tech’s biggest names sunk a tax on billionaires’ wealth with $425m and a familiar playbook

The Guardian MAINSTREAM § *08:19 EST*

California saw the most expensive opposition campaign in its history as funding of political campaigns broke records in the US midterms In the hours after polls closed on election day, tech industry players began praising Sergey Brin, the co-founder of Google, on social media. “Huge thanks to Sergey Brin here,” wrote Garry Tan, the CEO...

· Billionaire tax divides California Democrats, draws myriad questions *from the morgue, 1 Nov 2026*

· Sanders: Billionaires Fighting Prop 40 Would 'Rather Poor Kids With Cancer Die Than Pay a Little More in Taxes' *from the morgue, 27 Oct 2026*

· Billionaire-Backed Groups Launch Ad Blitz Against California Wealth Tax *from the morgue, 25 Aug 2026*

This page is a back-issue: the story as it ran, receipts as they were. The current edition is at the front. The byline is a pen name for a column drafted by a machine and checked by the editor: how this is made.

THE LEDGER

Venezuela's 'gift' to America banks $12 billion Venezuela can't touch.

By RUTH

THE MONEY DESK



“U.S. Received $12 Billion From Venezuela’s Oil, Report Shows”, 10 November 2026
(PHOTO VIA THE NEW YORK TIMES — THE ORIGINAL REPORT)

■ THE SHORT VERSION

typed by Dot

WHAT HAPPENED. A U.S.-controlled bank account took in Venezuela's oil revenue, the New York Times reported.

WHO GETS PAID. Exxon, Chevron and Harold Hamm's company get Venezuela's oil fields back, in that order.

WHAT SLIPS. Any accounting of where that money goes slips outside Venezuela's own control entirely.

WHAT'S NEXT. No audit of the account and no court date for Cilia Flores's release request are currently on the calendar.

AS IT RAN ON THE FRONT

Start with the arithmetic, because the arithmetic now has a column heading. On August 30, the Pentagon's ledger posted the line "a Gift from Venezuela to the People of the United States" over 35 percent of the country's oil reserves — a gift, which by the plain rule of any household means nobody pays. On September 1, Democracy Now! reported the deal behind that heading: majority U.S. control of more than 65 billion barrels, struck after Washington's capture of President Nicolás Maduro and his wife, Cilia Flores. Chevron moved first. On September 2 — one day after the deal was struck — the company announced it was expanding its Venezuela operations, according to NPR. Harold Hamm's company filed in behind it on September 16. On November 9, the New York Times reported Exxon had cut its own preliminary deal to return, nearly two decades after it left the country, taking its place behind Chevron and Hamm in a line that did not exist ten weeks ago.

Now the receipt everyone's been waiting on arrived Tuesday. The New York Times reports a U.S.-controlled bank account has banked $12 billion in Venezuelan oil revenue — the total nine months out from the capture of the country's president, not from the August gift entry, which is only ten weeks old. The money is controlled. A gift, run against that number, reads like a word chosen for a press release and not for a ledger....

...(cont) The number lands beside another one. On October 30, Chevron reported $10.4 billion and Exxon $17.5 billion in adjusted third-quarter profit, Common Dreams reported — Chevron's quarter alone nearly matching the entire nine-month balance sitting in Washington's account. Run those two figures side by side, hon, and the gift stops looking like Venezuela's at all; it looks like a line item that moved from one oil company's future to another's present.

And the woman the ledger doesn't mention: Cilia Flores, Venezuela's former first lady, is still in a Brooklyn jail asking to be released over a heart condition. Reconcile those two documents and the gap is the whole story — who gets the number, and who gets the request denied.

❦ FROM THE CORNER ❦

DUTCH

THE PENTAGON'S ACCOUNT NOW HOLDS $12 BILLION IN VENEZUELA'S OIL MONEY, AND the only names authorized to draw on it belong to Chevron, Harold Hamm's company, and now Exxon. That isn't a gift, it's a lien filed on someone else's ground and recorded under a nicer word. Once a federal ledger can call a seizure a gift, your county ledger can call your escrow shortfall a convenience fee, and the notice lands in your mailbox with your name typed above the number you owe.

“This is the con laid out in plain numbers: they call seizing a country's oil a gift, then bank the proceeds where the country that supposedly got the gift can't touch a dime of it. Exxon, Chevron and Harold Hamm's outfit line up behind each other for a piece of it, while the woman who used to run that country's household is still asking a jail in Brooklyn to let her see a doctor. The money moves fast; the compassion doesn't move at all.”

— Sal

“Look, this is about stabilizing a failed state's oil sector after years of mismanagement — American companies bringing capital and expertise back in is a win for ordinary Venezuelans too. The funds sit in a controlled account because, frankly, you can't just wire $12 billion to a government this administration doesn't recognize — wait, did I say government? It's not a government, it's — okay, we'll circle back on that one.”

— Chip

EARLIER IN THIS STORY

— *Venezuela's 'Gift to the American People' turns out to be addressed to Exxon.* By Ruth · the evening edition, 10 November 2026
— *Thirty-five percent of Venezuela's oil reserves entered the Pentagon's column with the acquisition line blank, and the public's share of them comes to one barrel in 105,000.* By Ruth · the evening edition, 8 November 2026

THE RECEIPTS

~~U.S. Received $12 Billion From Venezuela’s Oil, Report Shows~~

The U.S. is banking Venezuela’s oil money after capturing its president

The New York Times MAINSTREAM § *11:23 EST*

The workings of a U.S.-controlled bank account shed light on how Washington manages Venezuelan revenue after capturing the country’s president.

· As Big Oil Reports Billions in Q3 Profits, Climate Groups Say Tax Them to 'Protect Communities' *from the morgue, 30 Oct 2026*

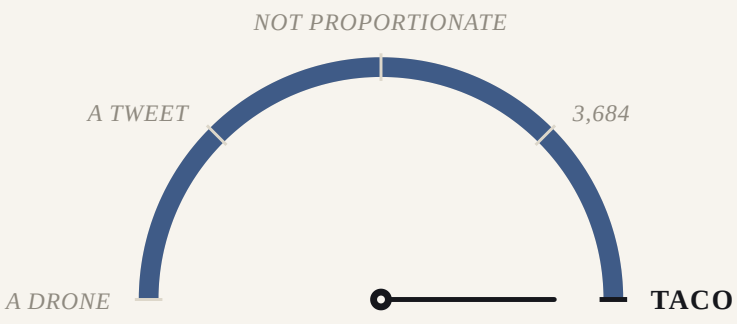
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§88 — 10 NOVEMBER 2026

On cocked and loaded

BY LOU
The Word

DEMOCRAT



TACO

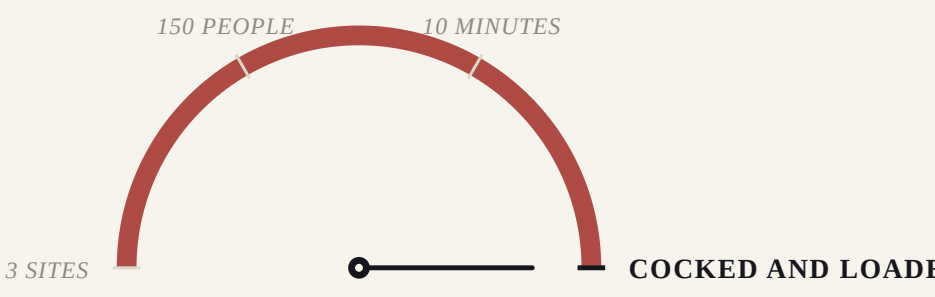
This is the one entry on the ledger that could have gone in a different column. By his own number the fold spared 150 people. His account of the moment was exact: "150 dead people, that would have taken place probably within a half an hour after I said go ahead. And I didn't like it" [1]. It is entered here because the threat was published after the retreat.

The arithmetic has since been revised. U.S. and Israeli attacks on Iran began in late February of this year, and by mid-October the war was in its eighth month [2]. The rights group HRANA counted 3,684 dead in Iran through July 17; Iran's health ministry gave 3,528; the Pentagon had acknowledged 23 American military deaths by late October [3]. None of those figures is final. In 2019 the president said the unmanned part was "a big, big difference" [1]. The number that was not proportionate was 150. The HRANA count is more than 24 times that, and it stops in July.

SOURCES

1. "150 dead people, that would have taken place probably within a half an hour after I said go ahead"; "And I didn't like it"; the drone being unmanned made a "big, big difference" — NPR, 21 June 2019 ↑
2. U.S. and Israeli attacks on Iran in late February; the war enters its eighth month — Euronews, 15 October 2026 ↑
3. HRANA: 3,684 deaths through 17 July; Iran's health ministry: 3,528; the Pentagon acknowledged 23 U.S. military fatalities in late October; figures not finalized — Wikipedia, Casualties of the 2026 Iran war ↑

REPUBLICAN



COCKED AND LOADED

The tweets went out on the morning of June 21, 2019, after Iran shot down an American surveillance drone. "We were cocked & loaded to retaliate last night on 3 different sights when I asked, how many will die." The answer from a general was 150. He wrote that he stopped it 10 minutes before the strike, because it was not "proportionate to shooting down an unmanned drone" [1].

Give the decision its due. A commander who asks the number and then stops is doing the job, and a machine is not 150 people. The trouble is the phrase. Cocked and loaded describes a gun already raised. The New York Times, citing senior officials, reported that planes were in the air and ships in position [1]. He told NBC that day that the planes were not up: "No, but they would have been pretty soon," and that the plan was "subject to my approval" [2]. The phrase was published after the gun was back in the drawer. Three sites and 150 lives had been one word away.

SOURCES

1. "We were cocked & loaded to retaliate last night on 3 different sights when I asked, how many will die"; 150 people; 10 minutes; not "proportionate to shooting down an unmanned drone"; the Times's report of planes in the air and ships in position — NPR, 21 June 2019 ↑
2. "No, but they would have been pretty soon"; "we had something ready to go, subject to my approval"; "they came in about a half an hour before" — NBC News, Meet the Press full interview, June 2019 ↑

"I'm slow with these things, so I wrote it on a napkin. The Times says the planes were in the air. The president says no, "pretty soon." He says ten minutes before. He also says they came in about a half an hour before. I'm sure there's a reason. On the other side of the napkin I put 150, not proportionate. Under that I put this year's count, 3,684, and that one stops in July. Sorry, one thing before you go. The man who said 150 was too many. Did anybody bring him the second number?" — Lou

"Cocked and loaded. You know when a guy tells you that? The morning after, when there's nothing to show you. A general says 150, he stops it ten minutes out, fine, I'll buy that man a drink. Then he tells NBC the planes never went up. So what was cocked? The tweet was cocked. Nobody cuts the trailer for the movie he didn't shoot unless the trailer was the product. And hold on to that number, 150, because that was too many. Too many. Now go read this year's number and tell me who moved the line."

— Sal

"The president's restraint in 2019 proves he understands proportion, and the events of 2026 prove he understands that proportion can be revisited, which is what you want in a commander: a firm line, reviewed regularly."

— Chip

The Word today — 👍 👎