

## **Exhibit 5**

*Cockrum v. Donald J. Trump for President, Inc.*  
(No. 1:17-cv-1370-ESH)

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# In Hacked D.N.C. Emails, a Glimpse of How Big Money Works

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE and STEVE EDER JULY 25, 2016

Last October, a leading Democratic donor named Shefali Razdan Duggal emailed a sweetly worded but insistent list of demands to a staff member at the Democratic National Committee.

Ms. Duggal wanted a reminder of how much she had raised for President Obama and the Democrats (the answer: \$679,650) and whether it qualified her for the premium package of hotel rooms and V.I.P. invitations at the party's convention in Philadelphia. She asked whether she could have an extra ticket to Vice President Joseph R. Biden's holiday party, so she could bring her children. But most on her mind, it seemed, was getting access to an exclusive November gathering at the White House.

"Not assuming I am invited...just mentioning/asking, if in case, I am invited :)," wrote Ms. Duggal, who was appointed by Mr. Obama to oversee the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and is married to a San Francisco financial executive. "Might you have an intel?"

Ms. Duggal's note was among 19,000 internal Democratic Party emails released on Friday by WikiLeaks, setting off a frenzy on the eve of the party's quadrennial nominating convention and forcing the resignation of the party chairwoman, Debbie Wasserman Schultz. Some of the emails revealed internal discussion by committee

officials — obligated under party rules to remain neutral in the presidential primary — about how to discredit Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, enraging some of his supporters.

But the leaked cache also included thousands of emails exchanged by Democratic officials and party fund-raisers, revealing in rarely seen detail the elaborate, ingratiating and often bluntly transactional exchanges necessary to harvest hundreds of millions of dollars from the party's wealthy donor class.

The emails capture a world where seating charts are arranged with dollar totals in mind, where a White House celebration of gay pride is a thinly disguised occasion for rewarding wealthy donors and where physical proximity to the president is the most precious of currencies.

In a statement, Amy Dacey, the chief executive of the Democratic committee, said the party had “engaged a record number of people in the political process” and “adhered to the highest of standards.”

The emails reflect the struggles of midlevel staff members in a demanding environment, seeking to bring in money at a steady clip while balancing demands from donors and party officials.

Some messages suggest efforts by donors to gain access to prominent Democratic officials on behalf of clients. In May, Lester Coney, an executive at a Chicago-based financial services firm, emailed a party finance staff member seeking a contact with “clout within the administration.” Mr. Coney appeared to be referring to Gov. Mark Dayton, the governor of Minnesota.

“I have a very importance client/friend needed access with someone within the administration,” Mr. Coney wrote. “So I promise him I would investigate.”

The staff member appeared worried about the request, writing “No idea what to tell him here,” to the party's national finance director, Jordan Kaplan, an Obama campaign veteran with deep ties to Midwestern donors.

“I told him to call rt,” Mr. Kaplan replied, referring to R.T. Rybak, a Democratic committee vice-chairman and former mayor of Minneapolis.

Mr. Rybak, in response to questions from The New York Times on Sunday, said he never heard from Mr. Coney.

“I have no idea what this person wanted but the request was never made to me,” Mr. Rybak wrote in an email. “If it had been, I would not have made such a call.” Mr. Coney told The Times that he did not end up speaking to anyone in Minnesota about the query, which he said had been routine. He said he had sought the contact for a friend’s client, whom he declined to name.

The leaked emails span the period from January 2015 to late May of this year, during which Mr. Obama was the party’s chief fund-raising draw but the Democratic National Committee was beginning to raise money jointly with the party’s presumed future nominee, Mrs. Clinton. Many revolve around donors’ efforts to qualify for top packages at the convention that begins Monday in Philadelphia. Donors who raise \$1.25 million for the party — or who give \$467,000 — are entitled to priority booking in a top hotel, nightly access to V.I.P. lounges and an “exclusive roundtable and campaign briefing with high-level Democratic officials,” according to a promotional brochure obtained by The Times.

For some donors, Mr. Obama’s personal presence was most important. In an exchange in May, committee finance staff members debated how to preserve a \$350,000 fund-raiser to be hosted by Carol Goldberg, an artist, and her husband, Hank Goldberg, a real estate executive. The Goldbergs had been eager to host Mr. Obama at their home, in Chevy Chase, Md. But after White House officials concluded that the extra drive was not a good use of Mr. Obama’s time, aides discussed proposing to the family that they could instead host with other donors an event at the Jefferson Hotel, a luxury establishment near the White House.

Another staff member, given the task of letting the Goldbergs down, knew they would be disappointed. “I think the excitement of hosting at home was a big factor,” he wrote. The Goldbergs pulled out of the fund-raiser.

In some cases, the party offered donors the chance to join “roundtables” — meetings for major givers disguised as high-minded discussions of national economic and social policy, where wealthy givers are treated as savants and sages.

“Wonderful event yesterday,” Robert Pietrzak, a New York lawyer and top Obama fund-raiser, wrote to a committee fund-raiser after he participated in an event with Mr. Obama in May. “A lot of foreign policy, starting with my question on China. The President was in great form.”

As is common in national politics, Democratic staff members kept detailed track of every dollar contributed by targeted donors, aiming to get each of the wealthiest givers to “max out,” or contribute the maximum legal amount to each party account. The biggest national donors were the subject of entire dossiers, as fund-raisers tried to gauge their interests, annoyances and passions.

“Jon has an off and on again relationship with the DNC. He does not like DWS and feels we don’t invite him to enough things,” read one memo, about Jon Stryker, a prominent gay donor and heir to a medical supply fortune, referring to the committee’s chairwoman, Ms. Wasserman Schultz.

Few details of fund-raising events were too small to escape notice. Reviewing one seating chart, staff members debated whether to seat Philip Munger, the son of the Berkshire Hathaway billionaire Charles Munger Sr., next to Mr. Obama at a May round table. Mr. Munger was the largest donor to Mr. Obama’s political group, Organizing for Action, and a huge potential source of money for the committee.

The alternative was Sreedhar Potarazu, a Maryland ophthalmologist whose family members were already major Democratic donors, and who appears to have alienated some within the committee for his persistence. In his push to meet with Mr. Obama, Mr. Potarazu had apparently shared with party officials the story of his battle with cancer, a tactic that some of them viewed as crass.

“The Potarazu family has written \$332,250 to us since ’13. Munger has written \$100,600 (and that’s only if you reach back to 2008),” wrote a committee official in charge of mid-Atlantic fund-raising. “I don’t understand why we’d be rewarding someone for giving to OFA over us. I also don’t understand why everyone seems to hate Sreedhar so much.”

Mr. Kaplan was firm. “Phil Munger is one of the largest democratic donors in the country,” he said. “He is looking to give his money in new places and I would like

that to be to us.”

Though some of the leaked emails are highly critical of Mr. Sanders, others show the party’s fund-raisers seeking to avoid any appearance that Mr. Obama was favoring Mrs. Clinton. When the party invited John A. Braun, a Virginia-based defense contractor, to what was billed as a discussion with Mr. Obama on economic issues in May, Mr. Braun informed the Democratic committee that he had already written a large check to the party through a fund-raiser held jointly with Mrs. Clinton.

“Could I try to strike a deal with him and push for \$20k or \$15k so he feels like he’s getting a discount for his past support?” a staff member wrote to Mr. Kaplan. “I’ll pitch him on doing a second max out to get the main line package. I just don’t know him and am worried about striking out if he won’t do the full.”

Party officials ultimately concluded that Mr. Braun would first have to give or raise additional money for the party, to avoid the appearance that Mr. Obama’s events were helping raise money for Mrs. Clinton. As they looked to maximize opportunities to bring in money, the party’s fund-raisers also grappled with delicate personal considerations among the Obama family, who were unenthusiastic about the demands of wooing donors.

There was, however, one potential way to interest Mr. Obama in donor maintenance. In May, Mr. Kaplan emailed each of his regional fund-raising directors with a request: Send the names of donors who would be good golf partners for the president. Mr. Obama, it seemed, was looking to hit the links on his upcoming trips.

“Laugh as you may at this because I did — but if you had to pick people from your regions to play golf with POTUS, who would they be?” Mr. Kaplan wrote.

Kitty Bennett contributed research.

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