



May 4, 2026

În Stradă

Iași, Romania

President Alan M. Garber

Harvard University, Office of the President

Massachusetts Hall, Cambridge, MA 02138

Dean Hopi Hoekstra

Faculty of Arts and Sciences

University Hall, Harvard Yard

Cambridge, MA 02138

**Re: Petition Letter — The request of civil society in Romania regarding the
Epstein case and international cooperation (Romania–U.S.)**

Dear President Garber, Dean Hoekstra

We, the undersigned Romanian civic organizations, write to Harvard University in connection with the ongoing institutional investigation into faculty and donor ties to convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein. Our petition addresses six specific individuals whose documented conduct raises questions that the current investigation has not yet fully resolved, and makes



additional requests regarding institutional accountability, the adequacy of Harvard's 2020 internal review, the Institutional Review Board compliance of at least one research study, and an issue of particular concern to Romanian civil society: the ongoing relationship between Epstein's network and Romanian academic institutions.

The evidence cited below is drawn from:

- 1) documents released by the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ), available at justice.gov/epstein;
- 2) the Harvard Office of General Counsel's 2020 report on Epstein's connections to Harvard ([OGC Report, May 2020](#));
- 3) reporting by The New York Times, The Harvard Crimson, and Harvard Magazine;
- 4) peer-reviewed and publicly available academic records;
- 5) independent civil society research, clearly identified as such.

I. The Inadequacy of Harvard's 2020 Internal Review

On May 1, 2020, Harvard's Vice President and General Counsel, Diane E. Lopez, delivered to then-President Lawrence Bacow a review of Epstein's connections to Harvard. The 2020 report is, by the standards now established by subsequent document releases, materially incomplete:

1. The report makes no mention of Professor Lawrence Summers — at the time and since a tenured University Professor, one of only twenty-four holders of Harvard's most distinguished faculty rank — despite the fact that Summers maintained an ongoing personal relationship with Epstein from the period of his Harvard



presidency through at least 2019, including communication on subjects ranging from personal relationships to Harvard affairs.

2. The report was conducted by Harvard's own Office of General Counsel — an office whose institutional interest in limiting Harvard's exposure to legal liability is structural — rather than by independent external counsel. Harvard Law professor Lawrence Lessig has observed publicly that the review appeared designed to 'minimize the embarrassment' rather than to conduct a full accounting.
3. The report acknowledges that between 2010 and 2015, donors introduced to Professor Nowak and to Professor George Church by Epstein provided \$7.5 million and \$2 million respectively to their research — yet concludes, without independent corroboration beyond the donors' own denials, that this money did not originate with Epstein.
4. The report acknowledges that Harvard's development officers were aware of Epstein's continued role in facilitating donations to Harvard after his conviction and 'did not take steps to discourage these efforts' — yet finds no policy violation, because no policy existed.

The renewed probe announced by Harvard in late 2025 and expanded in February 2026 to include additional faculty and donors is a necessary step.



However, consistency with the standard set by the University of Michigan's external investigation of Robert E. Anderson requires that this investigation be conducted by an independent external law firm, with its findings made fully public, and with survivors of sexual violence and survivor-advocacy organizations included in the process.

II. Individual Faculty: Documented Concerns Requiring Investigation

A. Professor Martin Andreas Nowak — Continuation of Investigation

We acknowledge that Harvard placed Professor Nowak on paid administrative leave in late February 2026, following a prior leave in 2021. We support the current investigation and request that it address the following specific issues not yet resolved in the public record:

- **Unrestricted access granted to a convicted sex offender:** The 2020 OGC report found that Professor Nowak granted Epstein unrestricted access to PED's offices in Harvard Square — access that Epstein used to meet with prominent faculty from the Cambridge area more than 40 times between 2010 and 2018. Nowak did this with full knowledge of Epstein's status as a registered sex offender. The 2020 report recommended referral to the Faculty Affairs Office for disciplinary determination. That referral was made; the outcome has not been publicly disclosed.
- **Pre-publication disclosure of academic research to Epstein:** The DOJ files show that Nowak shared the page proofs of the landmark 2010 *Nature* paper 'The Evolution of Eusociality' with Epstein before publication, and that Epstein then provided advice on managing public criticism of the work. As mathematician Jesse Kass (UC Santa Cruz)



stated publicly: 'It's unheard of for somebody who's providing funding to be engaged with the actual research on that level.' The extent to which this conduct violated Harvard's policies on research integrity and donor relationships requires explicit findings.

- **Facilitation of Epstein-introduced donor funding after 2008:** The OGC report identifies that \$7.5 million in donations to Nowak's research was provided by donors introduced to him by Epstein after his 2008 conviction. In January 2010, an internal Harvard email describes Nowak as 'trying to figure out a way to have Jeffrey Epstein given PED funds' — actively seeking to circumvent the university president's decision not to accept Epstein's gifts. In 2013, several faculty members requested reconsideration of that ban; the request was denied by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. What role Nowak played in those 2013 efforts has not been publicly addressed.
- **Romanian dimensions:** As documented in correspondence obtained through independent civil society research and in the DOJ files themselves, Nowak was materially involved in the connection between Epstein's network and the University of Iași, Romania — a connection that resulted in wire transfers of at least \$15,000 to Romanian nationals coordinated by Nowak's doctoral student Corina Tarniță in April 2009. In November 2009, Epstein's assistant asked Nowak for '**the name of the university in Romania you got the people from.**' Nowak forwarded this inquiry to Tarniță. The full scope of Nowak's awareness of and involvement in this aspect of Epstein's activities requires explicit investigation.

In addition, we are informing Harvard University that our organizations have submitted a formal request to the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași (UAIC) for revocation of the honorary doctorate it awarded Nowak in June



2010 — seven months after Epstein's office had inquired about the Romanian 'people' connected to Nowak's program. We are conducting parallel civil society inquiries in Romania and internationally regarding the Epstein network's connections to Romanian academic institutions.

B. Professor Lawrence H. Summers

Professor Lawrence Summers served as Harvard President from 2001 to 2006 and has remained a tenured University Professor — one of Harvard's twenty-four most distinguished faculty appointments — throughout the period in which his relationship with Epstein deepened. The newly released DOJ files, together with reporting by The New York Times and The Harvard Crimson, establish a documented pattern of conduct that demands institutional response.

- **Solicitation of Epstein donations while President:** During his presidency, Summers solicited millions of dollars in donations from Epstein, visited Epstein's private island, and flew on his private jet — conduct which, in retrospect, helped establish and legitimize Epstein's standing within Harvard's academic community.
- **Sustained personal relationship after 2008 conviction:** DOJ files show that Summers maintained ongoing personal communication with Epstein continuously after his 2008 conviction, including discussions of personal relationships, business, and Harvard affairs, through at least 2019 — the eve of Epstein's federal arrest.
- **Pressure on a mentee:** Email exchanges released by Congress and reviewed in Harvard's ongoing investigation reportedly show Summers using his authority as a faculty member to pressure a mentee into a



personal relationship — conduct detailed in exchanges with Epstein himself in 2019.

- **Absence from the 2020 OGC report:** Despite these documented ties, Summers's relationship with Epstein is not mentioned anywhere in Harvard's 2020 Office of General Counsel review — a glaring omission that undermines the credibility of that report and demonstrates the inadequacy of an investigation conducted by Harvard's own lawyers.

Survivors of Epstein's violence have documented that Epstein was shielded from accountability precisely because of his connections to powerful figures such as Summers.

A tenured Harvard University Professor — with associated access to institutional resources, legal indemnification, student advisees, and the prestige conferred by Harvard's highest faculty rank — who maintained a close personal relationship with a convicted sex offender through the day before his federal arrest cannot be considered compliant with the standards Harvard professes to uphold.

C. Professor Stephen Kosslyn — Investigation of Post-Conviction Conduct

Stephen Kosslyn, then Chair of Harvard's Department of Psychology, was the faculty sponsor of Epstein's 2005 appointment as a Visiting Fellow — a designation the 2020 OGC report found Epstein was unqualified to hold and which the report's own unnamed administrator had recommended against. Between 1998 and 2002, Epstein had donated \$200,000 to support Kosslyn's research, a financial relationship that was not disclosed in the Visiting Fellow application materials.



Most significantly, the DOJ files reveal that on the day Epstein was released from Palm Beach County jail in July 2009 — having served 13 months for soliciting prostitution from a minor — Epstein emailed Kosslyn to announce he was 'home and free.' Kosslyn responded with enthusiasm. This exchange is not incidental: it demonstrates that a Harvard faculty member who had personally sponsored Epstein's university appointment welcomed the return of a registered sex offender with apparent pleasure, weeks before Epstein began the documented series of 40+ campus visits to PED offices that lasted through 2018.

The 2020 OGC report addressed Kosslyn's role in the initial Visiting Fellowship but did not evaluate his post-conviction conduct. Harvard's expanded investigation must address: whether Kosslyn's response to Epstein's release constituted a failure of professional judgment requiring disciplinary review; whether any further contact or assistance to Epstein followed that communication; and whether his role in the initial Visiting Fellowship — given the financial relationship and the failure to disclose it — warrants formal findings on conflicts of interest.

D. Professor Clifford Taubes — Research Disclosed to Epstein Without His Knowledge or Consent

Professor Clifford Taubes, Granter Professor of Mathematics at Harvard, served on the doctoral dissertation committee of Corina Tarniță and has been a close mathematical collaborator of both Nowak and Tarniță. The DOJ files contain evidence that Professor Taubes's confidential research communications were shared with Jeffrey Epstein without his apparent knowledge — raising questions about research ethics and institutional disclosure that have not been publicly addressed.



Specifically, on Christmas Day 2010, Nowak forwarded to Epstein an email from Taubes announcing a mathematical proof of a conjecture by Nowak. Taubes's email — addressed to Tarniță and Nowak — read: 'Attached is a proof of Martin's conjecture. Let me know what I should think about next so I don't duplicate what you and Corina are doing.' On January 1–2, 2011, Nowak again forwarded to Epstein a subsequent email from Taubes, who wrote to Tarniță and Nowak: 'Corina: Can you check the argument VERY CLOSELY as my probability for making a sophomoric mistake in any given step is closing in on 55%.'

These communications — which contain unpublished mathematical arguments and candid internal commentary — were shared with a convicted sex offender who was simultaneously providing financial support to the same research program. Professor Taubes has given no indication that he was aware his correspondence was being forwarded to Epstein. Harvard's investigation should determine: whether Nowak's practice of sharing research communications with Epstein was disclosed to Taubes or other collaborators; whether this practice was disclosed to any journal or funding body; and whether it constitutes a breach of Harvard's research integrity policies.

E. Professor David Rand — The Iași Experiment, IRB Compliance, and Concurrent Epstein Funding

Professor David Rand, at the time affiliated with Harvard's Program for Evolutionary Dynamics and now at MIT, is a co-author of the working paper '**Civic Capital in Two Cultures: The Nature of Cooperation in Romania and USA**' ([SSRN 2179575](https://ssrn.com/abstract=2179575)), first posted November 24, 2012, and co-investigator of a \$1.8 million John Templeton Foundation grant awarded to Nowak in January 2013 for a project titled 'The Evolution of Cooperation.' Both the working paper



and the grant concern research on cooperation that was conducted during the period in which Epstein was funding Nowak's research group.

The working paper describes a behavioral economics experiment — involving real human subjects at Harvard (Boston participants) and at the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași, Romania (Romanian participants) — which Tarniță subsequently cited as the academic justification for the April 2009 wire transfers of \$10,000 to a Romanian student at Banca Transilvania in Iași. The paper acknowledges the John Templeton Foundation as a funder without identifying a specific grant.

We raise the following specific concern regarding research ethics compliance. UAIC has stated it has no record of authorizing this experiment, or of any institutional collaboration between UAIC and the Program for Evolutionary Dynamics. Any research involving human subjects conducted at Harvard — regardless of funding source — requires prior approval from Harvard's Committee on the Use of Human Subjects (CUHS), as stated in Harvard's policies at cuhs.harvard.edu. The working paper reports on a study involving student participants at two institutions in two countries, coordinated by researchers affiliated with five different universities. The paper does not disclose whether IRB approval was obtained from Harvard's CUHS or from any other Institutional Review Board. Harvard's investigation should require that Professor Rand, Professor Nowak, and Professor Tarniță (now at Princeton) document whether the requisite IRB approvals were obtained prior to the conduct of this research — and if not, what institutional and regulatory consequences follow.

We note additionally that the earliest documented public reference to the Iași experiment appears in a June 2010 interview given by Nowak — six days after he received an honorary doctorate from UAIC Iași, the institution where the Romanian component of the experiment was conducted, and the



institution from which Tarniță had sourced the 2009 wire-transfer recipients. The chronological and institutional connections between the honorary degree, the experiment, and the wire transfers constitute a pattern that Harvard's investigation should examine in full.

F. Professor George Church — Epstein-Introduced Donor Funding Requires Transparency

The 2020 OGC report states that between 2010 and 2015, a Harvard Medical School faculty member — identified in subsequent reporting as Professor George Church — received \$2 million from a donor introduced to him by Epstein. The report records only that the donor 'agreed to cooperate' with the review and stated the gift was made independently, and that the review 'did not reveal information that would establish anything to the contrary.'

This is not a finding of exoneration; it is a finding that the investigation lacked contradicting evidence. The DOJ files released in 2025 and 2026 represent a substantially expanded evidentiary record that was not available to the 2020 review. Harvard's current investigation should determine, using the full DOJ file record: the identity of the donor introduced by Epstein; the precise nature of Epstein's role in facilitating the gift transaction; whether Professor Church was aware that Epstein had a role in sourcing the donor; and whether any ongoing relationship between Epstein and the research funded by that gift existed after the initial donation.

Harvard's development officers were aware of Epstein's role in facilitating these donations and did not act to stop it. The 2020 report recommends a policy change to prevent recurrence. Harvard's expanded investigation should confirm whether that policy change has been



implemented and whether it applies retroactively to require full disclosure of the donor's identity and the circumstances of this gift.

III. The Program for Evolutionary Dynamics: Institutional Audit

The Program for Evolutionary Dynamics (PED) is not simply a locus of individual faculty misconduct. It is an institutional structure that was created with Epstein's \$6.5 million gift in 2003, directed for fifteen years by a faculty member who granted a convicted sex offender unrestricted access to its offices, acknowledged Epstein's funding in at least seven peer-reviewed publications, pre-disclosed research to him, and actively sought to circumvent Harvard's own ban on accepting his gifts. The institution that permitted, ignored, and in some cases facilitated this over fifteen years has a responsibility that goes beyond the accountability of individual faculty members.

We request that Harvard's investigation include a dedicated institutional audit of PED addressing:

- A complete accounting of all funding received by PED from Epstein-connected sources between 2003 and 2018, including funds routed through third-party donors introduced or facilitated by Epstein;
- The full record of Epstein's approximately 40+ campus visits to PED offices between 2010 and 2018, including which faculty and other individuals he met with during those visits and the nature of those meetings;
- Whether PED's Chief Administrative Officer's documented efforts to keep Epstein's campus visits confidential — noted in the 2020 OGC



report — were known to or sanctioned by Harvard leadership, and what consequences followed from that finding;

- Whether the Templeton Foundation's grants to Nowak (approximately \$10 million from 2010 and \$1.8 million from 2013) were obtained in disclosure of Epstein's concurrent involvement with the same research group, and whether any grant applications made representations about funding sources that were inconsistent with Epstein's documented role;
- The status and publication record of all research conducted at PED during the period of Epstein's involvement, and whether any of that research involved human subjects without documented IRB approval.

IV. The Romanian Dimensions

A dimension of the Epstein-Harvard nexus that has received insufficient attention in Harvard's investigation is its specific connection to Romania. The documentary record establishes the following facts:

- In April 2009, while Epstein was incarcerated for soliciting prostitution of a minor, Tarniță coordinated the transfer of \$10,000 from Epstein's estate to a student at Banca Transilvania in Iași and \$5,000 to a separate recipient in San Francisco, through Epstein's personal accountant;
- In November 2009, Epstein's assistant contacted Nowak to ask for the identity of the Romanian university from which 'the people' had been sourced — demonstrating Epstein's continued monitoring of this operation from within his own office;
- In June 2010, Nowak received an honorary doctorate from UAIC Iași — the same institution from which the wire-transfer recipients were drawn — with the honorary degree commission including the same



professor with whom Tarniță had coordinated the 2008 scholarship operation.

These facts constitute a connected sequence of events involving Harvard faculty, Epstein's financial estate, a Romanian university, and Romanian nationals whose identities remain concealed.

The Romanian civil society organizations signing this petition have a direct interest in the full disclosure of this sequence. We request that Harvard's investigation explicitly address the Romanian dimensions of Epstein's Harvard network, make its findings public, and cooperate with any parallel inquiries by Romanian institutions or civil society actors.

V. Formal Requests

We formally request that Harvard University:

- 1. Ensure the ongoing investigation is conducted by independent external counsel** — not by Harvard's Office of General Counsel or any other body with an institutional interest in the outcome — with findings made fully public, consistent with the standard set by the University of Michigan's external investigation of Robert E. Anderson;
- 2. Address each of the six individual faculty members** named in Section II of this petition within the scope of the investigation, with specific written findings on: (a) whether their conduct violated Harvard policies; (b) what disciplinary consequences, if any, are warranted; and (c) whether any institutional or research-integrity referrals will be made to external bodies;



- 3. Require disclosure of IRB approval records** for the behavioral economics experiment described in 'Civic Capital in Two Cultures: The Nature of Cooperation in Romania and USA' (SSRN 2179575), and determine whether the study was conducted in compliance with Harvard's policies on human subjects research and with the requirements of the Common Rule;
- 4. Conduct a dedicated institutional audit of the Program for Evolutionary Dynamics** as set out in Section III of this petition, with findings made publicly available;
- 5. Address the Romanian dimensions of Epstein's Harvard network** as an explicit component of the investigation, and commit to cooperating with Romanian civil society and institutional inquiries on this matter;
- 6. Reinstate survivor support services** dismantled since 2025, including SHARE, the office of BGLTQ Student Life, and the undergraduate Women's Center, and reallocate the remaining \$8.9 million of Epstein's \$9.1 million in Harvard donations to survivor-support organizations and community resources, as called for by members of the Harvard community;
- 7. Provide a formal written response** to each item in this petition within thirty (30) days of receipt.

Jeffrey Epstein's ability to maintain and deepen his connections to Harvard's academic community for a decade after his 2008 criminal conviction was not the result of individual lapses in judgment by isolated faculty members. It was the product of institutional structures — in development, in faculty governance, in research administration, and in the conferral of academic prestige — that consistently placed the interests of



donors and prominent faculty above the obligations of a university to the public and to those its affiliates harmed. An institution that genuinely intends to change those structures will conduct a genuine investigation. We trust that this one will.

Respectfully submitted,

Signatory Organizations:

În Stradă

Corupția Ucide (Corruption Kills)

Activism Civic Craiova (Civic Activism Craiova)

Asociația Civică Tineri Liberi din Timișoara (Free Young People Civic Association of Timișoara)

Rezistența Civică Galați (Civic Resistance Galați)

Inițiativa Timișoara (Timișoara Initiative)

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Brașov.community

All DOJ documents cited are publicly available at justice.gov/epstein. The Harvard OGC 2020 report is available at ogc.harvard.edu. No criminal allegations are made against any individual herein. This petition is submitted in the public interest by the Romanian civil society organizations listed above.