

**A New Academic Model: Curbing Ideological Overreach on
Scientific Neutrality**

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INTRODUCTION: State-of-the-Art of European Research

Once a symbol of society's intellectual capacity and integrity, the politicization of higher academia has forced it towards a divergence point from its original *raison d'être*. In the United States, prominent institutions such as Harvard and Columbia University face growing criticism for allowing woke ideology – particularly Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Diversity, Inclusion and Equity (DEI) initiatives¹ – to erode academic freedom and merit-based evaluation. US President Donald Trump, among others, has directly called for defunding or restructuring what they call “increasingly politicized academic environments.”²

The torrent of controversies in US academia – including evidence of institutional anti-Semitism³⁻⁴, anti-Christian sentiments⁵, and the weaponization of identity politics⁶ – has been making its way across the Atlantic. Against this backdrop, **the European Union is positioning itself as a “safe space for science and research,”⁷ urging scholars to “Choose Europe.”⁸ Central to this image is the EU's *Horizon Europe* research funding program.**

Yet closer examination reveals that *Horizon Europe* is not immune to ideological entanglements and increasingly prioritizes political agendas over scientific autonomy, even using the program itself as a **political tool**.⁹ Perhaps the most striking example of politicization is the exclusion of Hungarian universities from Horizon consortia funds due to the conditionality procedure that the EU – specifically, the European Commission – triggered

¹ Lobel, M. (2025, April 03). *President Trump Takes Real Action to Combat Racial Discrimination*. America First Policy Institute. Fact sheet. Available at: <https://www.americafirstpolicy.com/issues/president-trump-takes-real-action-to-combat-racial-discrimination>.

² Martinez, J. (2025, April 26). *Actually, Trump Should Demand Standards From Woke Universities*. America First Policy Institute. OP-ED. Available at: <https://www.americafirstpolicy.com/issues/actually-trump-should-demand-standards-from-woke-universities>.

³ AFP. (2025, March 03). *Trump threatens \$9 bn in Harvard funding over 'anti-Semitism'*. France24. New York. Available at: <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20250331-trump-threatens-9-bn-in-harvard-funding-over-anti-semitism>.

⁴ Marquez, A. (2025, March 07). *Trump administration cancels \$400 million in grants for Columbia University*. NBC News. Available at: <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/trump-administration-cancels-400-million-grants-columbia-university-rcna195373>.

⁵ Newcombe, J. (2020, October 08). *Scapegoating “White Christians” for Climate Change*. The Stand. American Family Association (AFA). Available at: <https://www.afa.net/the-stand/culture/2020/10/scapegoating-white-christians-for-climate-change>.

⁶ Canaparo, G., & Butcher, J. (2024, August 26). *Rejecting Critical Race Theory in State K-12 Law*. The Heritage Foundation. Legal memo. Available at: <https://www.heritage.org/education/report/rejecting-critical-race-theory-state-k-12-laws>.

⁷ European Commission. (2025, April 01). *Situation of EU Academics and Researchers in the US and Academic Freedom*. European Commission. Speech. Strasbourg. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/speech_25_1054.

⁸ European Commission: Directorate-General for Research and Innovation. (2025, May 23). *Choose Europe for Science: EU comes together to attract top research talent*. European Commission. News article. Available at: https://research-and-innovation.ec.europa.eu/news/all-research-and-innovation-news/choose-europe-science-eu-comes-together-attract-top-research-talent-2025-05-23_en.

⁹ Jørgensen, T. (2024, November 21). *The EU must treat universities as partners, not tools*. Research Professional News. Available at: <http://researchprofessionalnews.com/rr-news-europe-views-of-europe-2024-11-the-eu-must-treat-universities-as-partners-not-tools/>.

against Hungary.¹⁰⁻¹¹ Although the European Commission cites rule-of-law concerns, the impact is unambiguously political: entire research communities are sanctioned due to mere suspicion over certain universities' governance structures.

In response, the Hungarian government launched its own program in 2024 – the *HU-rizon Research Programme*¹²⁻¹³ – which aimed to restore balance by supporting high-quality, non-ideological research. Hungary's commitment to bolstering its research capabilities, both domestic and international, regardless of the EU's bureaucratic hurdles, is unwavering, exemplified by the billions of forints made available for short and long-term mobility schemes¹⁴ and strengthening international cooperation. ***HU-rizon* serves to rectify the EU's collective punishment**; a punishment incompatible with the principles of scientific neutrality, and in direct contradiction to the EU's self-proclaimed values of academic freedom, non-discrimination, and the rule of law.

This paper takes a comparative approach, analyzing the EU's flagship program and Hungary's innovative alternative. While *Horizon Europe* presents itself as a champion of scientific excellence and knowledge creation, its intentions are shaped by ideological motivations framed as inclusivity. In contrast, *HU-rizon* excludes politics and focuses on funding projects that address concrete social and economic challenges. This ambition is reinforced by a commitment to fostering trust in unbiased research and enhancing Hungary's competitiveness to benefit local, regional, and international communities.

I. HORIZON EUROPE: Ideology, Language and the Vocabulary of Success

Horizon Europe (henceforth referred to as 'Horizon') is the successor of Horizon 2020, and the seven-year research and innovation program for the 2021-2027 period, with a total budget of €95.5 billion (≈€7.3 billion annually).¹⁵ Officially, the program promotes scientific excellence, while contributing to the “**development of a sustainable and livable society in Europe**”. Notably, its stated goal is not just supporting the EU's global competitiveness and innovation, but to elevate the Europe's standard of living and reinforce social cohesion. In other words, Horizon research is expected to align with broader political and ethical values.

¹⁰ Csaky, Z. (2025, February 27). *FREEZING EU FUNDS: AN EFFECTIVE TOOL TO ENFORCE THE RULE OF LAW?*. Center for European Reform. Available at: <https://www.cer.eu/insights/freezing-eu-funds-effective-tool-enforce-rule-law>.

¹¹ Ceran, O., & Guerra, Y. (2023, March 28). *The Council's Conditionality Decision as a Violation of Academic Freedom?*. Verfassungsblog. Available at: <https://verfassungsblog.de/the-councils-conditionality-decision-as-a-violation-of-academic-freedom/>.

¹² National Research, Development and Innovation Office. (2024, May 14). *HU-rizon Programme: HUF 8 billion in funding for excellent international research projects led by Hungarian universities*. Ministry of Culture and Innovation. Press release. Available at: <https://nkfih.gov.hu/english/press-releases/hu-rizon-programme>.

¹³ Bráder, A. (2024, December 18). *215 Billion Forints Allocated for Research and Innovation in Hungary*. Hungarian Conservative. Available at: https://www.hungarianconservative.com/articles/culture_society/research-innovation-215-billion-budget-hungary/.

¹⁴ Tempus Közalapítvány. (2025). *About the Pannónia Scholarship Programme*. Pannónia Ösztöndíjprogram. Tempus Közalapítvány. Available at: <https://pannoniaosztondij.hu/about-the-pannonia-scholarship-programme>.

¹⁵ European Commission: Directorate-General for Research and Innovation. (2021). *Horizon Europe, the EU research and innovation programme (2021-27): for a green, healthy, digital and inclusive Europe*. Publications Office of the European Union. Available at: <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2777/052084>.

Given its sizable funding, competition for grants is fierce. Yet the selection criteria often go beyond scientific merit and societal relevance. Increasingly, success depends on the proposal's language. Strategic use of the appropriate terminology, what might be termed the semiotics of compliance, has become central to the application process. Strong rhetoric and ideological alignment can make the difference between approval and rejection.

To understand what constitutes a “sustainable and liveable society,” one must look at the themes and language in Horizon's calls for proposals. The 2025 call, for instance, falls under the thematic umbrella of *Democracy and Governance*¹⁶ and is framed in strikingly activist terms. Subsections of this call include titles such as *Protecting and Nurturing Democracies*, *Reshaping Democracies*, *Standing Up for Democracies*, and *Past, Present and Future Democracies*. Democracy is not just a research topic – it is the program's ideological anchor.

Since 2021, Horizon has prioritized themes such as: *Democracy, Governance, Cultural Heritage, the New European Bauhaus, Migration, Gender, Ageing, Countering Foreign Interference and Misinformation, Combatting Corruption, The Impact of the Climate Crisis on Democracy, Intersectionality, Governance in the Digital and Green Transitions, Rule of Law and Socio-economic Outcomes, Political Identities, and Gender in Extremist Movements*. While many themes are legitimate research areas, they also represent a narrow linguistic and ideological framework. **This framework shapes the “acceptable” discourse in which applicants must operate, delimiting the linguistic corpus investigated by Horizon proposals.**

A. Regulation (EU) 2021/695 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 28 April 2021 establishing Horizon Europe¹⁷

A closer look at the regulation establishing Horizon Europe reveals that taking part in the program increasingly depends on ticking several ideological boxes rather than scientific merit. While the regulation officially promotes innovation and excellence, it heavily emphasizes themes like gender equality, diversity, inclusivity, and sustainability – not as optional values, but as structural requirements. **Gender equality, in particular, is treated as a cross-cutting priority**, with applicants expected to include gender dimensions in the design, implementation, and impact of their research:

- Recital (53) – “*The activities developed under the Programme should aim to eliminate gender bias and inequalities [...] The gender dimension should be integrated in R&I content and followed through at all stages of the research cycle.*”

¹⁶ European Research Executive Agency. (2025). *Democracy and Governance*. Horizon Europe – Cluster 2: Culture, creativity and inclusive society”. Funding and Grants. European Commission. Available at: https://rea.ec.europa.eu/funding-and-grants/horizon-europe-cluster-2-culture-creativity-and-inclusive-society/democracy-and-governance_en.

¹⁷ European Parliament, Council of the European Union. (2021, May 12). *Regulation (EU) 2021/695 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 28 April 2021 establishing Horizon Europe – the Framework Programme for Research and Innovation, laying down its rules for participation and dissemination, and repealing Regulations (EU) No 1290/2013 and (EU) No 1291/2013 (Text with EEA relevance)*. Official Journal of the European Union. EUR-Lex. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A32021R0695>.

- Article 7(6) – Principles of the Programme – “*The Programme shall ensure the effective promotion of equal opportunities for all and **the implementation of gender mainstreaming**, including the integration of the gender dimension in R&I content [...]”*”
- Article 28(3) – Award criteria and selection – “[...] *The conditions for dealing with ex aequo proposals may include, but shall not be limited to, the following criteria: SMEs, **gender**, and geographical diversity.*”
- Article 49(5) – Appointment of independent external experts – “*When appointing independent external experts [...] a balanced composition within the expert groups and evaluation panels [...] in particular on [social sciences and humanities] SSH, geographical diversity and **gender**, taking into account the situation in the field of the action.*”
- Article 50(1(b)) – Monitoring and reporting – “*The database shall include [...] **gender participation** in funded actions, evaluation panels, boards and advisory groups [...]*”
- ANNEX I 2((a)) – BROAD LINES OF ACTIVITIES – “*The R&I activities shall be implemented in and across the following clusters: Cluster 'Health': improving and protecting the health and well-being of citizens of all ages by generating new knowledge, developing innovative solutions, ensuring to integrate, where relevant, **a gender perspective** to prevent, diagnose, monitor, treat and cure diseases, and developing health technologies; [...]*”
- ANNEX II 2((2.3)) – EUROPEAN INSTITUTE OF INNOVATION AND TECHNOLOGY (EIT) – “*New solutions to the market to address global challenges: The EIT facilitates, empowers and awards entrepreneurs, innovators, researchers, educators, students and other innovation actors, while ensuring **gender mainstreaming** [...]*”

These expectations and eligibility criteria force researchers and institutions to adopt the EU’s political vocabulary to access funding. Such requirements are not confined to the regulation establishing Horizon Europe, but are embedded across multiple instruments of EU research policy, including the *Gender Equality in Academia and Research (GEAR) tool*¹⁸, the *EU Award for Gender Equality Champions*¹⁹ and the *Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions*²⁰. This shapes not only how research is communicated but also what can be researched, and which conclusions are acceptable. In doing so, the regulation delineates strict boundaries around the kinds of knowledge it supports. Rather than fostering academic freedom, Horizon Europe

¹⁸ European Institute for Gender Equality. (2025). *Gender Equality in Academia and Research - GEAR tool*. European Institute for Gender Equality, in cooperation with the European Commission. Step-by-step toolkits. Available at: <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/toolkits/gear#main-content>.

¹⁹ European Commission. (2025). *EU Award for Gender Equality Champions*. European Commission. Research and innovation. Prizes, Funding Opportunities, Funding. Available at: https://research-and-innovation.ec.europa.eu/funding/funding-opportunities/prizes/eu-award-gender-equality-champions_en#categories.

²⁰ NETWORK OF THE MARIE SKŁODOWSKA-CURIE ACTIONS NATIONAL CONTACT POINTS. (2023, June 09). *MSCA-NET Policy Brief: Gender Equality, Deliverable 3.11*. European Union. Policy Briefs. UKRI-UKRO. Available at: <https://horizoneuropencppportal.eu/repository/ee26fb76-a33d-460b-b806-f36210be5fb4>.

becomes a tool for ideological gatekeeping, where conformity to a narrow worldview is discreetly embedded in the rules. This raises serious concerns about whether EU-funded research can still be called open, pluralistic, and independent or whether scientific neutrality is being cast aside in favor of politically curated outcomes.

These semiotic codes reflect the ideological orientation of Horizon and delineate the values within which applicants are expected to operate. If the values according to which applicants are expected to define their projects are linked to the specific meanings of general terms such as *democratic, just, or inclusive*, then *semiotic codes* is indeed the appropriate term. While each proposal retains its own scientific terminology, epistemology, and research ethos, it must also align with the program's broader socio-political aims. Success often requires more than intellectual merit – it demands strategic adaptation to ideological contours. **Researchers must demonstrate** not only ingenuity in their methods, but **a degree of rhetorical conformity – sometimes even opportunism – to ensure their proposals are seen as relevant to Horizon's teleological vision.** Whether the subject is cancer treatment or the DNA analysis of the skeletons of Avar warriors, the project must be framed within the teleology of building a more Democratic, Sustainable, Liveable, and Inclusive Europe.

The implications are significant. How do researchers adapt to this linguistic and ideological landscape? What compromises or rhetorical adjustments are made to satisfy evaluators? This section argues that Horizon Europe, while promoting laudable goals, imposes a subtle yet powerful form of ideological gatekeeping – one that affects not only how science is communicated, but which science is ultimately pursued.

II. HU-RIZON: A Return to Academic Merit and Neutrality

On May 14, 2024, Hungary's National Research, Development and Innovation Office (NRDI Office) announced a new HUF 8 billion call to support international research projects led by Hungarian research teams in partnership with leading international universities and research institutes.²¹ The initiative, titled the *HU-rizon International Research Excellence Cooperation Programme* (henceforth referred to as HU-rizon), addresses pressing national and international social and economic challenges. Balázs Hankó, then State Secretary for Innovation, Higher Education, Vocational Training and Adult Education, underscored that the program embodies Hungary's response to exclusion with openness. In light of what he described as the European Commission's (EC) "unfair and discriminatory decisions," Hankó affirmed that HU-rizon – entirely domestically funded – will not only prioritize research in areas of strategic importance to Hungarian society and the economy, but provide funding for collaboration with top-tier international institutions.

Thus, in response to this impasse, Hungary chose innovation instead of retreat. Transcending Brussels' animosity and sidelining ideology and politics, the NRDI Office's state-of-the-art scheme was designed to facilitate innovative, scientifically rigorous research that reinforces Hungary's academic leadership and competitiveness. Unlike dogmatically driven funding frameworks, **HU-rizon advances a model of academic inquiry rooted in merit, neutrality, and applicability**, positioning Hungarian science as both globally engaged and nationally empowered.

²¹ Cf. note 10.

As outlined in the 2024 Call for Proposals' guide²², HU-rizon's thematic structure aligns with the strategic focus of the John von Neumann Programme (NJP) and concentrates on three priority domains: **health and care innovation, green and circular economic development, and digital transformation.**²³ Within these domains, applicants are encouraged to propose projects focused on preventive healthcare, elderly well-being, diagnostics and medical technologies, sustainable agriculture, energy efficiency, climate adaptation, cybersecurity, artificial intelligence, and smart systems. These areas are defined by scientific urgency, technical feasibility, and relevance to Hungary's long-term development and the international scientific community rather than ideological imperatives.

The call for proposals' language reflects a departure from politicized formulations. Instead of thematic framing seeped in identity politics or abstract ideological objectives, the HU-rizon call employs precise, discipline-neutral terminology that emphasizes skill, innovation, and real-world impact. This deliberate linguistic neutrality ensures that projects are evaluated on caliber and societal relevance rather than echoing institutional narratives or agenda-driven trends.

Equally significant is HU-rizon's strengthening of Hungary's national research capacity. Only Hungarian universities maintained by public-interest asset management foundations are eligible as lead applicants, and while international collaboration is mandatory, at least 50% of funding must be used by the Hungarian institution. This ensures that financial and intellectual resources remain invested in the domestic research ecosystem. Capacity-building is additionally supported by required reporting on PhD student involvement, postdoctoral training, research staff headcount, and mobility initiatives.²⁴ In doing so, the program reinforces the institutional foundations of scientific research in Hungary.

Financially, the program offers non-refundable grants ranging from HUF 100 million to 400 million per project, with the possibility of full advance payment and project durations range from 24 to 36 months. The application process is managed through Hungary's e-application portal,²⁵ and applicants are evaluated through a scoring system based on clear and measurable criteria. Funding decisions are made by the Ministry for Culture and Innovation, informed by rankings established by the Research Council of Hungary.²⁶

By focusing on concrete challenges and measurable outcomes, HU-rizon reaffirms merit-based, depoliticized scientific inquiry, and provides a platform for Hungarian institutions to lead, rather than follow, in shaping the future of domestic and international research.

²² Nemzeti Kutatási, Fejlesztési és Innovációs Hivatal. (2024, May 02). *HU-RIZON INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH EXCELLENCE COOPERATION PROGRAMME, CODE: 2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT*. Kulturális és Innovációs Minisztérium. Call for proposals. Available at: <https://nkfih.gov.hu/english/nrdi-fund/hu-rizont-international-research-excellence-cooperation-programme-2024-123-hu-rizont/call-for-proposals>.

²³ NRDI Fund. (2024, May 03). *HU-RIZON international research excellence cooperation programme (2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT)*. National Research, Development and Innovation Office. Funding schemes. Available at: <https://nkfih.gov.hu/english/nrdi-fund/hu-rizont-international-research-excellence-cooperation-programme-2024-123-hu-rizont/call-for-proposals>.

²⁴ Cf. note 16, p. 18.

²⁵ SSO Beléptető. (n.d.). *FAIR SSO Regisztráció*. Széchenyi Terv Plusz. Magyarország Kormánya (co-financed by the European Union). Available at: <https://sso.fair.gov.hu/eif/felhasznalokezelo/regisztracio.xhtml>.

²⁶ NRDI Office. (2024, May 28). *Research Council of Hungary*. National Research, Development and Innovation Office. Available at: <https://nkfih.gov.hu/english-2017/boards-and-committees/research-council-of-hungary>.

III. CONCRETE EXAMPLES: Empirical Overview of Horizon and HU-rizon Projects

While the structural and rhetorical differences between Horizon Europe and HU-rizon are telling in themselves, they become most evident in the projects each program supports. Horizon, established in 2014 and now in its second cycle, is a vast undertaking with a €95.5 billion budget and thousands of projects spanning a wide thematic spectrum. By contrast, HU-rizon is a newer and more targeted initiative, funding only 30 projects in its 2024 inaugural call. To enable a balanced comparison, the health domain was selected, as it represents the largest category within HU-rizon (17 of the 30 projects) and an area which is intrinsically neutral as it is focused on advancing biomedical knowledge and patient outcomes. An equal number of Horizon Europe projects were selected as a benchmark.

It must be stressed that this sample represents only a fraction of Horizon Europe’s health portfolio, which includes nearly 1,500 projects. The vast majority of these are scientifically rigorous and indispensable for addressing challenges such as pandemics, cancer, food security, and climate-related health risks. Horizon’s breadth has even contributed to Nobel Prize-winning research, underlining its significance for European competitiveness and global scientific progress. **However, the size and inclusivity of the program also create conditions for ideological infiltration.**

Our analysis deliberately excluded social sciences-related projects and focused exclusively on health, where neutrality should be the norm. Yet, a closer examination revealed a striking number of projects framed more by an ideological agenda rather than a medical or scientific one. This is more striking given that several of the projects predate major shifts such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the broader realignment of priorities it triggered in global and European politics. Terms such as *intersectionality*, *systemic bias*, *inclusivity*, *gender mainstreaming*, and *social justice* frequently appeared, sometimes as central organizing principles of research proposals. **This indicates that the evaluation criteria may not only privilege but in some cases require conformity to EU-wide political objectives.**

This does not suggest that Horizon Europe is devoid of real science – on the contrary, its core output remains scientifically robust. But the presence of projects that reproduce political narratives rather than generate new knowledge highlights the potential for misuse inherent in such a large and centralized funding scheme. Scale, scope, and inclusivity, while strengths, also diminish safeguards for scientific rigor and open the door to ideological steering. By comparison, HU-rizon’s smaller scale, stricter eligibility requirements, and targeted focus on biomedical, technological, and economic applicability leave less room for ideological dilution. Taken together, the examples (FIGURE I and FIGURE II found in the Annex) illustrate this divergence: HU-rizon projects consistently demonstrate scientific neutrality and practical orientation, while Horizon Europe exhibits a discernible capacity for politicization in both framing and funded outputs.

IV. ANALYSIS: Preliminary Reflections on Horizon and HU-rizon Projects

Sample Health-Related Projects from Horizon Europe

These seventeen sampled projects from Horizon Europe utilize scientific research parameters to support pseudoscientific initiatives driven by policy or social engineering goals. They embody the EU’s flagship policy areas of social change. Although they are examined through the lens of scientific inquiry and provide reliable data analyses, they ultimately support ancillary objectives. Through health-related issues, these projects target political and social themes such as gender, migration, terrorism, integration, surveillance, and the control of social and political dissent – frequently framing the last as a threat from far-right or populist movements.

- **Sexuality in crises:** LGBTQ+ rights, infertility in European Muslim migrant communities, sexual abuse across migrant groups, New Family-Forms and Assisted Reproductive Technologies, health equity for ‘transgender people’ (*sic*), etc.
- **Health and Mental Health in Relation to Migration and Integration:** The mental health of Syrian refugees and health and integration policies for migrants.
- **Healthcare and terrorism:** the integration of counterterrorism in healthcare professions
- **Covid and Gender:** Women’s substantive representation and gender mainstreaming in the EU pandemic recovery
- **Healthcare and Populism:** Anti-vaccination movements, Covid and political dissent
- **Social Prescribing to promote health and care services for people in vulnerable situations in Europe:** Marginalized groups, including LGBTIQ+ individuals, refugees, and older adults living alone.

Most projects are managed and carried out by a single country, usually a well-established EU-Member State²⁷⁻²⁸, rather than relying on international cooperation. Their vocabulary is often euphemistic and metaphorical. For example, they use “LGBTQ+ people” instead of “LGBTQ+ individuals,” creating an artificial social group without a common identity or traditions. They discuss the “ill health” of migrants instead of their specific illnesses or diagnoses. They speak of “vaccine populism” to shift the blame for constrained EU-wide vaccination policies to anti-vaccine movements, stigmatizing them *per se* as populist and anti-democratic. They downplay the undemocratic nature of the EU’s vaccine policy by contrasting it with excessively repressive policies in countries like the Philippines, Peru, and Sri Lanka. Although they highlight Sweden’s libertarian approach, their comparison lacks proper context and justification.

²⁷ Peñalosa, P., Castaldi, C. (2024, February 07). *Horizon Europe: a green window of opportunity for European peripheral regions?*. Rev Reg Res 44, 251-285. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10037-024-00203-1>. As the authors note, “Our findings show a greater participation in Horizon environmental innovation projects for regions in Southern and Northern Europe, while within-country peripherality is negatively related to participation.”

²⁸ Molica, F. and Marques Santos, A. (2024, June 26). *In search for the best match. Complementarities between R&I funds across EU regions*. European Commission. Seville. JRC136780. Available at: <https://publications.jrc.ec.europa.eu/repository/handle/JRC136780>. As the authors note, “R&I cohesion policy and Horizon 2020 funds show very different levels of regional concentration along North-South and East-West lines reflecting their diverse allocation criteria.” They go on to highlight that, “More developed regions in Eastern Europe and some part of the Mediterranean area struggled to attract adequate shares of Horizon 2020 funds [...]”

One of the investigated projects on reproductive technologies refer to “new family forms,” meaning same-gender or transgender couples, thereby legitimizing the breakdown of traditional family models. Another project develops a new form of “securitization,” defined as framing social issues as security threats that justify extraordinary measures beyond normal political processes. For example, health and social care workers in Europe are being trained to identify radicalized individuals for security services, a practice that could be used to surveil and report any dissent, criticism, and activism. Czechia, Croatia, and Lithuania, none of which have experienced significant Islamic radicalization, developed nation-specific PVE (Preventing Violent Extremism) methods. These methods aim to safeguard democracy against alleged threats from the far-right (Czechia), the Serbian minority (Croatia), and the Russian minority (Lithuania).

A systematic investigation would be useful to determine what proportion of Horizon Europe projects can be classified as *hybrid* profiles, meaning projects that combine scientific inquiry with implicit social-transformation objectives. Establishing this proportion would clarify both the extent to which ideological commitments shape the program’s research agenda and the corresponding degree of adherence to independent scientific criteria. These hybrid projects appear most visibly in the digitalization and green-transition sections, where socio-political aims are often built directly into the research aims. Their presence in these domains is significant because projects that can be positioned to overlap multiple priority areas – such as digitalization, green transition, and health – tend to navigate the selection process more easily. Even health-related calls, which should constitute a strictly neutral scientific domain, display this vulnerability: although they contain comparatively few projects, several nevertheless corroborate prescribed solution models aligned with EU policy priorities. The possibility that even a single research project may be funded on the basis of non-scientific goals indicates how readily the system can be distorted.

Sample Health-Related Projects from HU-rizon

The seventeen examined HU-rizon health-related projects reflect a fundamentally different research approach. Rooted in scientific neutrality and aimed at concrete outcomes, HU-rizon initiatives focus resources on challenges through applied science, preclinical studies, and translational research. Their focus areas closely align with HU-rizon’s three core principles: preventive, therapeutic, and care services aimed at preserving health; the green transition and development of a circular economy; and the digital transformation of the economy and society.

- **Biopharmaceutical and therapeutic innovation:** Development of galectin inhibitor scaffolds (University of Debrecen), antioxidant nanoenzyme therapies for inflammatory bowel disease (University of Szeged), and preclinical studies for targeted treatments of autoimmune blistering skin diseases (Semmelweis University).
- **Infectious disease and diagnostics:** Rapid identification methods for emerging infectious diseases of global risk (RAPID-GRIP, University of Szeged), mRNA-based therapies for *Candida albicans* infections (CANDIVAC, University of Szeged), and early risk screening and personalized prevention during pregnancy (4PMEDICINA, Semmelweis University).
- **Cardiology and complex diseases:** Proteomics and genomics research in end-stage heart failure (Semmelweis University) and translational studies on right ventricular dysfunction using machine learning-based clinical decision support (Semmelweis University).

- **Digital transformation and AI:** Artificial intelligence-based drug discovery platforms targeting cardiometabolic and oncological diseases (Semmelweis University), AI-enabled monitoring systems to predict COPD exacerbations (University of Pécs), and digital twin-based robotics for medical and laboratory applications (Óbuda University).
- **Medical technology and innovation:** Development of next-generation optogenetic devices (University of Pécs), AI-assisted miniprotein design for immunosuppression in cancer therapy (Semmelweis University), detectors for advanced imaging and medical enhancement (University of Debrecen), and VR-based interventions to improve the quality of life of elderly patients in healthcare institutions (Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design).

Hu-rizon's first-year portfolio further illustrates its international scientific competitiveness and bolstering of Hungary's research capacity. Although projects are coordinated by Hungarian institutions, their ambitions – such as mRNA therapy development or the application of AI to cardiology – are internationally relevant.

The creation of HU-rizon was not a one-time response to EU financial sanctions but a component of Hungary's development and crisis management strategy that balances national interests with EU solidarity. Since 2010, Hungary has often been treated as a renegade within the Union. The COVID-19 pandemic, however, revealed that the EU measures targeting Hungary were less about safeguarding their brand-issues such as rule of law, institutional checks and balances, or commitments to gender, cultural, migration, and environmental policies. Rather, the crisis created new financial and regulatory mechanisms through which political pressure could be exerted. The money currently frozen combines around €8.4 billion in cohesion funds and €9.5 billion in COVID-19 recovery funds, and access to these resources has been conditioned on compliance with thematic requirements that demand specific legislative change.²⁹ Several of these conditions overlap with recommendations in the EU's annual rule-of-law report, effectively linking pandemic-related recovery assistance to broader political expectations. Hungary's re-organization of financing and management in their Education and Research sectors, including the establishment of new governing-models for universities, formed part of this broader strategy for national self-sustainability.

Just one year after its inception, HU-rizon has already proved its effectiveness, sustainability, and potential. HU-rizon's shorter project cycles (1-2 years, rather than Horizon's 3-5 years), makes it easier to assess their applicability and potential impact, allowing for rapid evaluation and feedback for subsequent funding rounds. Although independent national research funding cannot serve as a permanent solution – scientific results must be interpreted and applied beyond national borders – initial experiences merit long-term examination. The key question now is whether Hungary's autonomous funding model will be a temporary response born of necessity or a framework to be followed by sovereign nations across the continent.

²⁹ Liboreiro, J. (2025, July 08). *EU will keep €18 billion frozen for Hungary after 'no progress' on rule of law concerns*. Euronews. Available at: <https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2025/07/08/eu-will-keep-18-billion-frozen-for-hungary-after-no-progress-on-rule-of-law-concerns>.

V. DISCUSSION: Diverging Research Paradigms in the EU

A closer comparison of the selected health-related projects reveals that differences between Horizon Europe and HU-rizon extend beyond simply the structural and financial. They encompass deeper linguistic, conceptual, and objective-gear divergences.

The most immediate distinction lies in the framing language of research priorities. Horizon projects frequently employ terminology drawn from critical theory and postmodern discourse, incorporating concepts such as intersectionality, systemic discrimination, and identity-based justice into the very core of their scientific aims. Titles such as “*Vaccine populism and migrant assistance*” or “*Mental Health of Migrant Women Survivors of Intimate Partner Violence*” exemplify this rhetorical style. In contrast, HU-rizon project descriptions are marked by technical precision and biomedical application, devoid of ideological signaling and focused on concrete objectives. This reflects fundamentally divergent understandings of what publicly funded research should achieve.

The incongruity highlights a broader challenge: the erasure of national languages in scientific literature and the rise of English as the uncontested *lingua franca* of academia. There is no doubt that a centralized European system with two official languages – English and French – is necessary. However, the growing dominance of English as a scientific language has led to debates on linguistic imperialism.³⁰ Concurrently, interdisciplinary collaboration has blurred traditional boundaries, requiring scientists to navigate an array of different terminologies. This is true for the humanities as well.

The ongoing decline and slow extinction of smaller European languages shakes the foundations of Western civilization. After all, as the Treaty on European Union makes clear, Europe’s intellectual and cultural richness is reflected in its linguistic diversity³¹; now increasingly undermined in education, academia, and research amid Europe’s common institutional system. If a native language is not an official EU language, its research is limited to publishing in small, specialized, and isolated academic communities.

Currently, Horizon Europe proposals can include collaboration with national entities through mechanisms such as the European Partnerships and the National Contact Point (NCP)³² network. Funded and established by individual Member States and associated countries, NCPs offer personalized assistance to applicants in their native languages, aiming to bridge the gap

³⁰ Popova, N & Beavitt, T. (2017, March). *English as a means of scientific communication: Linguistic imperialism or interlingua?*. Integration of Education. 21. 54-70. DOI: 10.15507/1991-9468.086.021.201701.054-070. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315703228_English_as_a_means_of_scientific_communication_Linguistic_imperialism_or_interlingua.

³¹ European Union. (2012, October 26). *Consolidated version of the Treaty on European Union, Article 3, [2012] OJ C 326/15*. Official Journal of the European Union. EUR-Lex. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:12012M/TXT#document1>.

³² NRDI Office. (2025, May 26). *Horizon Europe National Contact Points (NCPs)*. National Research, Development and Innovation Office. Available at: <https://nkfih.gov.hu/english/international-cooperation/horizon-europe/national-contact-points/hungarian-ncp>.

Further information also available at: <https://horizoneuropencpportal.eu/> & <https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/support/ncp/sortQuery=country;countryGroups=AC;countries=20000893;functions=All%20Functions.2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19?order=ASC&pageNumber=0&pageSize=50&countries=20000893>.

between applicants and the European Commission. However, this support only helps translate a proposal's diverse national terminologies into English. Writing project proposals in both English and the national language – as is the case with HU-rizon – could help to redress the imbalance of this one-sided development. This bilingual application procedure could enable young academics to develop specialized terminology in their native languages, ultimately improving domestic public debates on scientific innovation and challenges.

Another “fork in the road” is the selection process of each program. Horizon Europe, with a €95.5 billion budget³³, casts an exceptionally wide net. While this allows it to fund some truly high-caliber research, it also leaves it susceptible to subsidizing overly ideological or marginally scientific projects. The sheer volume of Horizon's portfolio, combined with the pressure to demonstrate inclusivity, has created “research inflation” and a willingness to fund any project at the expense of academic rigor. HU-rizon, on the other hand, operates with a comparatively modest budget (funded entirely by the Hungarian government) and has made selectivity its strength. Out of the hundreds of project proposals it received in its inaugural year, only 30 were funded, all of which are rooted in biomedical, health-related innovation, digital transformation, or economic security in the milieu of the green transition. Practical relevance and scientific merit over ideological posturing.

This comparison reveals not just a deviation in project content, but a broader split about the role of research in society. Horizon Europe often embeds its calls within socio-political narratives which lean heavily on progressive or activist ideologies. While this may reflect dominant EU institutional values, it risks distorting scientific inquiry with desired normative outcomes. HU-rizon instead outlines a research ethos that prioritizes clarity, methodological neutrality, and practical relevance. It may even signal the early contours of an alternative research structure that places greater emphasis on scientific rigor and demonstrable societal value.

These differences have significant implications for the future of European research funding. The Union increasingly benches academic impartiality in favor of promoting inclusivity, creativity, and empowerment objectives. Research is increasingly funded for its ability to address goals such as combating climate change, advancing gender equality, and furthering the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals. While these are framed as universally desirable ambitions, they shift attention away from core scientific objectives.

While the EU claims that Horizon Europe bolsters Europe's global competitiveness, drives innovation, and supports economic growth, these goals are often overshadowed by commitments to equity, social justice, and identity-based research. Thus, HU-rizon emerges as a compelling counterexample which refuses to disperse attention across ever-expanding ideological mandates. Rather, it provides a template for recalibrating research priorities across the continent.

VI. OUTLOOK – Beyond the Horizon: Rethinking European Research

While the advantages of national research programs like Hungary's HU-rizon program are increasingly evident, such solutions cannot replace a well-functioning, politically neutral

³³ Cf. note 14, p. 3.

European research system. Rather than serving as a one-time countermeasure, Horizon offers an innovative, scalable model worth considering at the EU level:

There are several arguments in favor of implementing a bottom-up research management system. First, the EU's upcoming *Multiannual Financial Framework* (MFF 2028–2034)³⁴ raises serious concerns about the future of politically independent research within the EU. **A key concern is the centralization of management and oversight of fund distribution in accordance with the EU's definition of the rule of law.** The next *Framework Programme for Research and Innovation*, provisionally referred to as *FP10* and closely aligned with the new *European Competitiveness Fund* (ECF), is scheduled to begin in January 2028. Yet, discussions are already underway regarding its scope and priorities, and the restructuring of EU funding streams for research, technology and innovation. Under the current proposal, Horizon will be integrated into the ECF to ensure a smoother flow from research to market. While Horizon's budget is set to increase substantially to €175 billion³⁵, it will no longer enjoy a dedicated budget line and will become subordinate to the ECF's much larger €409 billion envelope³⁶.

There are both advantages and disadvantages in this reorganization. In the proposed framework, the doubling of the budget could be a sign that the EU is finally realizing that economic competitiveness must be fostered. However, overreach and forcing Horizon to compete for resources with other major programs, such as the *Just Transition Fund*, *InvestEU*, *RescEU*, and *ReactEU*, may have the opposite effect and further entrench the delegation of top-down research priorities. Moreover, there are strong indications that the EU intends to redirect part of Horizon's expanded budget toward security and defense initiatives, undermining its traditional emphasis on civilian research and peaceful innovation.

Under MFF 2028-2034, Horizon's financial ceiling will greatly increase, but its political protection will weaken and will be subsumed into the broader ECF alongside defense and other priorities. The program's legal base – set out in the Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing Horizon Europe³⁷ – states that Horizon funding is designed for civilian scientific research and that defense research is to be financed separately through the European Defense Fund. Although this formal separation prohibits Horizon from directly funding defense expenditure, annual allocations within the MFF can be rebalanced. The growing pressure to strengthen the EU's defense capacity makes Horizon an attractive budget line to trim, with an evident drive to expand dual-use and security-oriented projects. As

³⁴ European Commission. (2025, July 16). *COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS, A dynamic EU Budget for the priorities of the future - The Multiannual Financial Framework 2028-2034*, COM(2025) 570 final/2. EUR-Lex. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52025DC0570R%2801%29&qid=1753797062248#footnote8>.

³⁵ Directorate-General for Research and Innovation. (2025, July 16). *Horizon Europe 2028-2034: twice bigger, simpler, faster and more impactful*. News Article. European Commission. Available at: https://research-and-innovation.ec.europa.eu/news/all-research-and-innovation-news/horizon-europe-2028-2034-twice-bigger-simpler-faster-and-more-impactful-2025-07-16_en.

³⁶ Cf. note 29, p. 30.

³⁷ European Commission. (2018, June 07). *REGULATION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL establishing Horizon Europe – the Framework Programme for Research and Innovation, laying down its rules for participation and dissemination*. European Commission. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52018PC0435>.

a result, while Horizon remains legally civilian, the distribution of its new budget framework risks shifting away from fundamental science and toward politically sensitive, security-related research.

The integration of Horizon into a single budget with other EU programs also makes its funds more easily reallocated. This structural change increases their susceptibility to political and economic pressures, thereby diminishing the likelihood that national research priorities will be preserved. **What was once a relatively protected line of civilian research may become a more flexible, but also more vulnerable, instrument for pursuing broader EU policy agendas.**

Another emerging concern is the potential reduction in access to Horizon Europe for younger institutions and those from less established research environments. Because participation in large, competitive consortia is essential for advancing research in many fields, any tightening of entry points may have uneven effects across Member States. In the previous seven-year budgetary period, older Member States such as Germany, France, the Netherlands, and Italy disproportionately benefited from major funding initiatives. Newer Member States were often invited to only participate in subordinate roles. Although Horizon Europe's "Widening Program"³⁸ – covering Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czechia, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia – was introduced to mitigate this imbalance by offering research support to early-stage researchers, fellows, senior academics, and administrative staff from countries with less well-established research infrastructure, its ability to bridge the gap remains limited. This disparity is likely to intensify if established Western institutions face fewer incentives to include partners from widening countries due to diminished access points within the program's future funding architecture.

It is also important to note that granting Member States greater autonomy in developing their own research priorities does not undermine pan-European research funds like Horizon Europe. Results generated through national programs can still contribute to the EU's broader knowledge base, provided they meet common professional and ethical research standards. What differentiates this proposed model is its emphasis on a bottom-up approach to European research management and the omission of ideological criteria in the application process. **Thus, the Hungarian model of R&I funding could complement existing systems like the EU's Country-Specific Recommendations (CSRs)³⁹, setting an alternative that promotes genuine diversity of research objectives and methods with set parameters based on country-specific demands.**

These shifts in *modus operandi* will also strengthen the EU's global competitiveness. Innovation and scientific excellence cannot flourish under narrow ideological constraints. Moving beyond politically loaded slogans requires a more pluralistic environment – an

³⁸ European Commission. (2025, May 14). *Horizon Europe, Work Programme 2025, 11. Widening participation and strengthening the European Research Area*, European Commission Decision C(2025)2779. European Commission. Available at: https://research-and-innovation.ec.europa.eu/document/download/3877f4de-cb14-4311-b4b0-cd1b805f25d4_en.

³⁹ European Commission. (n.d.). *Country-specific recommendations database*. Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs, and the Secretariat-General/SG-Recover. European Commission. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/country-specific-recommendations-database/.

openness more likely to emerge on a national level and one that might actually honor the EU's centrally defined notions of diversity.

Still, one major challenge remains: national governments allocate very uneven budgets for R&D, and these disparities are unlikely to be harmonized. As such, a central, merit-based funding platform remains essential. The EU must develop a mechanism – either a new platform, board, or committee – that can evaluate, validate, and integrate nationally funded research into a broader European framework. One possibility is to establish a combined peer review process involving both national experts and international steering committees from Horizon Europe. Yet it remains to be seen if evaluation standards can be harmonized to allow nationally funded research results to be integrated into the EU's existing architecture – complementing it without compromising its operational independence.

VII. CONCLUSION: Two Visions for European Excellence in Research

Horizon Europe is unique in that it combines the resources and research traditions of 27 nations into a pan-European synthesis. However, as demonstrated, Horizon Europe's scientific excellence and autonomy are gradually being superseded by ideological criteria. Research projects often begin with deductive assumptions based on these criteria (e.g. the Green Deal and the principles of social inclusion and diversity), with the research itself merely confirming pre-existing assumptions. This has resulted in a skewed evaluation process, where project proposals must incorporate certain ideological elements for the proposals to stand a chance of receiving funding.

Horizon Europe's position under the incoming MFF 2028–2034 will only be further weakened. The lack of transparency in the new MFF's guiding principles erodes its civilian scientific research purpose, and threatens to be subsumed into military or defense objectives. At a time when Europe is facing possible military conflict and violent unrest, there is a real risk that Horizon Europe funds will be allocated to developing technologies and capabilities for military applications or domestic surveillance. Therefore, shifting Horizon funds to national plans would benefit both fundamental and applied scientific research with civilian aims. It would also prevent the development of centralized fund management and opaque grant relocations.

Contrary to international portrayals⁴⁰ of HU-rizon as a meagre replacement of Horizon Europe, the program builds on Hungary's long-standing tradition of national research funding.⁴¹ While guided by Hungarian priorities, its objectives align closely with those set out in the EU's Multiannual Financial Framework and Hungary's John von Neumann Programme.

Hu-rizon applicants must demonstrate established international networks and submit proposals based on ongoing projects with partial results. Applications must include detailed implementation plans, with the expectation of yielding tangible outputs such as research

⁴⁰ Science | Business. (2024, November 25). *Hungary: NRDIO announces 30 projects under 'Hu-rizon' backup scheme*. Science | Business. Network Updates. Available at: <https://sciencebusiness.net/network-updates/hungary-nrdio-announces-30-projects-under-hu-rizon-backup-scheme>.

⁴¹ Interview with Dr. Borbála Schenk, Head of Department for International Cooperation at the NRDIO Office and Program Manager of HU-rizon. Video meeting. (2025, August 26).

papers, patents, or technologies directly relevant to Hungarian society. Although results are disseminating primarily in English, proposals are submitted in both English and Hungarian, countering linguistic homogenization. Instead of enforcing political narratives, it prioritizes merit, neutrality, and national interests. The results speak for themselves: the first call attracted 112 submissions, followed by 132 submissions in the second call, with funding requests amounting to HUF 51 billion.⁴² This engagement underscores the value researches place on a framework that allows them to pursue excellence without bending to ideological demands.

Structurally, HU-rizon differs from Horizon Europe by allowing Hungarian institutions to act as lead partners, while financing international collaborators through public funds. Another distinctive element is its emphasis on public engagement: grantees receive communication training to ensure their findings are conveyed clearly to Hungarian society.

Although national programs cannot fully replace a European-wide program long-term, HU-rizon makes a compelling case that research can flourish without Brussels' ideological straitjacket. HU-rizon is not a stop-gap response to political exclusion, but a structured and forward-looking model that combines scientific rigor with societal applicability. By supporting projects rooted in sound science and practical benefit, HU-rizon offers a viable model for other nations to follow – one that safeguards academic freedom, strengthens competitiveness, and empowers smaller, often overlooked Member States to assume a leading role. **HU-rizon does more than protect Hungary's research capacity: it points to an alternative future for European research, where funding serves knowledge and society, rather than politics.**

⁴² NRD Office. (2025, June 05). *Record interest in the HU-RIZON Programme: 132 project proposals submitted with funding requests totalling HUF 51 billion.* National Research, Development and Innovation Office. Available at: <https://nkfih.gov.hu/english/press-releases/record-interest-in-the-hurizon-programme>.

ANNEX:

FIGURE I.: Horizon Europe Funded Projects – Application Domain: Health

Project Code	Name of Applicant	Region	Project Title & Link	Date of Project	Amount of Awarded Funds (EUR)
ID: 101058427	BSC-CNS Barcelona Supercomputing Center	Spain	<i>A European-wide foundation to accelerate Data-driven Cancer Research</i>	Sept. 2022 – May. 2025	€ 7 814 549,00
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101058427		
ID: 101150374	European University Institute	Italy	<i>Women's substantive representation and gender mainstreaming in the EU pandemic recovery</i>	Sept. 2025 – Aug. 2027	€ 164 950,08
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101150374		
ID: 101148857	OsloMet – storbyuniversitetet	Norway	<i>Medical Authority and Assisted Reproductive Technologies in Sunni Islam</i>	Sept. 2025 – Aug. 2027	€ 226 751,04
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101148857		
ID: 733337	Stichting VU	Netherlands	<i>Fostering responsive mental health systems in the Syrian refugee crisis (Deliverables)</i>	Jan. 2017 – Dec. 2022	€ 6 018 758,50
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/733337		
ID: 890391	Universitat de València	Spain	<i>The Mental Health of Migrant Women Survivors of Intimate Partner Violence in Valencia, Spain (Deliverables)</i>	Apr. 2021 – Oct. 2023	€ 160 932,48
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/890391		

ID: 865564	Instituto de Salud Global de Barcelona	Spain	<i>Understanding of the real impact of adaptation measures to rising temperatures → News:</i> - <i>Tell me the temperature and I will tell you your chances of dying</i>	Feb. 2021 – July- 2026	€ 1 999 999,000
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/865564		
ID: 101149540	Trinity College Dublin	Ireland	<i>Sexuality in Crisis: The Black Death and Social Control in Fourteenth-Century England</i>	Oct. 2024 – Sept. 2026	€ 199 694,40
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101149540		
ID: 101016233	Università di Pavia	Italy	<i>Pan-European Response to the ImpactS of COVID-19 and future Pandemics and Epidemics (PERSICOPE) → Peer reviewed articles:</i> - <i>‘Vaccine populism’ and migrant assistance: On the contingency of mutual aid in Italy’s Alpine region</i> - <i>Mental Health of Refugees and Migrants during the COVID-19 Pandemic: The Role of Experienced Discrimination and Daily Stressors</i> - <i>Windows of repression: Using COVID-19 policies against political dissidents?</i>	Nov. 2020 – Oct. 2023	€ 9 993 475,00
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101016233/results		
ID: 101097431	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC)	Spain	<i>A Novel Approach to New Family-Forms, Assisted Reproductive Technologies and Transnationalism. A multi-sited ethnography: Spain, Denmark, Canada and Israel</i>	Feb. 2024 – Jan. 2029	€ 2 039 969,00
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101097431		
ID: 679586		United Kingdom	<i>BETTER UNDERSTANDING the METAPHYSICS of PREGNANCY</i>	Apr. 2016 – Oct. 2024	€ 1 273 290,00

	King's College London		Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/679586		
ID: 101060698	Austrian Competence Centre for Feed and Food Quality, Safety & Innovation (FFoQSI Gmbh)	Austria	<i>A JOINED-UP APPROACH TO THE IDENTIFICATION, ASSESSMENT AND MANAGEMENT OF EMERGING FOOD SAFETY HAZARDS and ASSOCATED RISKS</i> → Project description: - <i>Protecting European food from biological and chemical hazards</i>	Oct. 2022 – Sept. 2026	€ 5 287 014,25
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101060698		
ID: 101155873	Charité – Universitätsmedizin Berlin	Germany	<i>Social Prescribing to promote and improve access to health and care services for people in vulnerable situations in Europe</i>	Jan. 2025 – Dec. 2029	€ 6 970 269,74
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101155873		
ID: 101094639	BSC-CNS Barcelona Supercomputing Center	Spain	<i>THE URBAN BURDEN OF DISEASE ESTIMATION FOR POLICY MAKING</i> → Project description: - <i>How cities affect human health</i>	Jan. 2023 – Dec. 2026	€ 2 765 718,75
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101094639		
ID: 101042028	Amsterdam University Medical Center	Netherlands	<i>Implications of Gender-Affirming Hormone Therapy for Psychosocial Functioning and Social Relationships of Transgender People</i>	Jan. 2023 – Dec. 2027	€ 1 500 000,00
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101042028		
ID: 101027744	Karolinska Institutet	Sweden	<i>Hormonal gender reassignment therapy and the immune system</i>	Mar. 2021 – Mar. 2023	€ 191 852,16
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/article/id/446342-hormonal-gender-reassignment-therapy-and-the-immune-system		

ID: 851022	University of Warwick	United Kingdom	<i>Neoliberal Terror: The Radicalisation of Social Policy in Europe</i>	Feb. 2020 – Apr. 2025	€ 1 434 362,00
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/851022		
ID: 101124992	Universität Bielefeld	Germany	<i>Migration trajectories, natural experiments and effects of small-area contexts on health: a privacy-preserving linkage study of routine and primary data among resettlement refugees</i>	Jul. 2024 – Jun. 2029	€ 1 999 990,00
			Link: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101124992		

Source: <https://cordis.europa.eu/projects> | Graphic assembled by the MCC's Center for European Studies | December 2025

FIGURE II.: HU-rizon Funded Projects (2024) – Application Domain: Health

Project Code	Name of Applicant	Region	Project Title & Link	Date of Project	Amount of Awarded Funds (HUF)
2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00005	University of Debrecen	Debrecen	<i>GALECTINVEST - New galectin inhibitor scaffolds - design, synthesis and investigation by biochemical and biophysical methods</i>	Jan. 2025 – Dec. 2027	399 785 076 HUF
			Link: https://palyzatok.unideb.hu/galectinvest-uj-galektin-inhibitor-alapvazak-tervezes-szintezis-es-vizsgalat-biokemiai-es		
2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00034	University of Szeged	Szeged	<i>Rapid identification methods and intervention strategies for emerging infectious diseases of global risk (RAPID-GRIP)</i>	Feb. 2025 – Jan. 2028	384 636 955 HUF
			Link: https://u-szeged.hu/pmi/2024-1-2-3-hu-rizont-250129-3/2024-1-2-3-hu-rizont		

2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00035	University of Szeged	Szeged	<i>Novel antioxidant nanoenzyme cocktails to combat oxidative stress in inflammatory bowel diseases NANO-IBD</i>	Jan. 2025 – Dec. 2027	399 772 465 HUF
			Link: https://u-szeged.hu/pmi/2024-1-2-3-hu-rizont-250124-1/2024-1-2-3-hu-rizont		
2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00036	University of Szeged	Szeged	<i>mRNA-based therapy development against Candida albicans infections (CANDIVAC)</i>	Jan. 2025 – Dec. 2027	397 803 315 HUF
			Link: https://u-szeged.hu/pmi/2024-1-2-3-hu-rizont-250129-2/2024-1-2-3-hu-rizont		
2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00055	Semmelweis University	Budapest	<i>Preclinical studies to establish the basis for the development of novel targeted therapies for autoimmune blistering skin diseases</i>	Jan. 2025 – Dec. 2027	400 000 000 HUF
			Link: https://semmelweis.hu/innovacio/palyazat/kutatashoz-kapcsolodo-projektek/operativ-programokon-keresztul-megvalosulo-hazai-europai-unios-projektek/2024-1-2-3-hu-rizont-2024-00055/		
2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00056	Semmelweis University	Budapest	<i>STAGE – Domestic development and prototype creation of an anti-glaucoma eye drop with a novel mechanism of action targeting the Sigma-1 receptor</i>	Nov. 2024 – Oct. 2027	397 919 421 HUF
			Link: https://semmelweis.hu/innovacio/palyazat/kutatashoz-kapcsolodo-projektek/operativ-programokon-keresztul-megvalosulo-hazai-europai-unios-projektek/2024-1-2-3-hu-rizont-2024-00056/		
2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-	Semmelweis University	Budapest	<i>Translational research on volume overload-induced right ventricular dysfunction: from animal experiments to machine learning-based clinical decision support</i>	Jan. 2025 – Jan. 2028	387 044 512 HUF

2024-00057			Link: https://semmelweis.hu/innovacio/palyazat/kutatashoz-kapcsolodo-projektek/operativ-programokon-keresztul-megvalosulo-hazai-europai-unios-projektek/2024-1-2-3-hu-rizont-2024-00057/		
2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00059	Semmelweis University	Budapest	<i>Proteomics and Genomics in End-Stage Heart Failure</i>	Jan. 2025 – Jan. 2028	400 000 000 HUF
			Link: https://semmelweis.hu/innovacio/palyazat/kutatashoz-kapcsolodo-projektek/operativ-programokon-keresztul-megvalosulo-hazai-europai-unios-projektek/2024-1-2-3-hu-rizont-2024-00059/		
2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00062	Semmelweis University	Budapest	<i>4PMEDICINA: Systematic study from pre-conception to infancy for early risk screening and personalized prevention during pregnancy</i>	Jan. 2025 – Dec. 2027	399 983 076 HUF
			Link: https://semmelweis.hu/innovacio/palyazat/kutatashoz-kapcsolodo-projektek/operativ-programokon-keresztul-megvalosulo-hazai-europai-unios-projektek/2024-1-2-3-hu-rizont-2024-00062/		
2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00099	University of Debrecen	Debrecen	<i>EPTIC - Engineered peptides to target ion channels</i>	Jan. 2025 – Jan. 2028	399 225 218 HUF
			Link: https://palyazatok.unideb.hu/ioncsatornakat-celba-vevo-modositott-peptidek		
2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00003	Semmelweis University	Budapest	<i>Artificial intelligence-based miniprotein design for targeting immunosuppression in cancer</i>	Jan. 2025 – Dec. 2027	382 527 200 HUF
			Link: https://semmelweis.hu/innovacio/palyazat/kutatashoz-kapcsolodo-projektek/operativ-programokon-keresztul-megvalosulo-hazai-europai-unios-projektek/2024-1-2-3-hu-rizont-2024-00003/		

2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00018	University of Pécs	Pécs	<i>Prediction of COPD exacerbations using artificial intelligence-based monitoring of medication adherence and other medical data</i>	Jan. 2025 – Dec. 2027	389 608 085 HUF
			Link: https://projektek.pte.hu/hu/hazai/nkfia/2024-123-hu-rizont-2024-00018		
2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00026	Semmelweis University	Budapest	<i>Development of an artificial intelligence-based drug discovery platform: application of microRNA therapy in cardiometabolic and oncological diseases</i>	Jan. 2025 – Dec. 2027	400 000 000 HUF
			Link: https://semmelweis.hu/innovacio/palyazat/kutatashoz-kapcsolodo-projektek/operativ-programokon-keresztul-megvalosulo-hazai-europai-unios-projektek/2024-1-2-3-hu-rizont-2024-00026/		
2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00063	University of Pécs	Pécs	<i>OPTOGenetics - Development of new generation optogenetic devices</i>	Jan. 2025 – Dec. 2027	397 380 050 HUF
			Link: https://projektek.pte.hu/hu/hazai/nkfia/2024-123-hu-rizont-2024-00063		
2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00069	Óbuda University	Budapest	<i>Digital twin-based medical and laboratory robotics</i>	Mar. 20205 – Feb. 2027	399 999 780 HUF
			Link: https://palyazat.uni-obuda.hu/projektek/digitalis-iker-alapu-orvosi-es-laboratoriumi-robotika/		
2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00103	Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design	Budapest	<i>ZenctuaryVR+: Virtual reality-based intervention to improve the quality of life of elderly patients in healthcare institutions (VR development and clinical testing)</i>	N/A (24-36 months)	398 573 075 HUF
			Link: https://mome.hu/hu/hirek/kutatas-fejlesztési-tamogatást-nyert-a-zenctuary-vr-alkalmazás		

2024-1.2.3-HU-RIZONT-2024-00105	University of Debrecen	Debrecen	<i>DIME - PHYS, Detectors for Imaging and Medical Enhancement – Physics Solutions</i>	Jan. 2025 – Dec. 2027	392 739 973 HUF
			Link: https://palyazatok.unideb.hu/orvosi-kepalkotas-taverzekeles-nuklearis-biztonsag-fejlesztese-reszecskefizika-preciz-idozitest		
Source: https://nkfi.gov.hu/english/nrdi-fund/hu-rizont-international-research-excellence-cooperation-programme-2024-123-hu-rizont/call-for-proposals					
Graphic assembled by the MCC's Center for European Studies December 2025					