

# The role of the Horizon programmes in the functioning of the globalist network

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### INTRODUCTION

Horizon Europe is the European Union's research and innovation programme for 2021-2027, with the primary goals of sustainable development, green and digital transition, and enhancing EU competitiveness. However, the research projects that receive funding are selected through a highly centralised and opaque decision-making process by the European Commission and the European Research Executive Agency (REA). The evaluation process carried out by independent experts is unclear, and the identity and individual decisions of the experts are kept secret.

In the absence of any control by Member States, it becomes possible for EU political priorities to override scientific excellence and genuine innovation. Due to limited appeal possibilities and the system of internal controls, the programme may be suitable for the European Commission to allocate funds partly according to its own political and economic interests, and it is almost impossible to prove irregularities.

Part of the Horizon programmes is spent on actual research activities, but political projects also get a lot of support from the social science part of the funding. The examples of AKKI Government Transparency Institute, Shelter Association for Migrants, and Political Capital show how progressive pressure networks conceal their real activities through complex operating mechanisms, and how organisations that obtain funding for officially scientific activities and hide behind the guise of science play their part in the functioning of progressive pressure networks.

### THE HORIZON EUROPE PROGRAMME

Horizon Europe is the European Union's framework programme for research and innovation, supporting scientific excellence, industrial competitiveness, and addressing global challenges.<sup>1</sup> Its goal is to promote outstanding scientific performance, support technological development, and contribute to the competitiveness of the European economy. The programme encourages cooperation between Member States, research institutions, businesses, and civil society actors to address societal and environmental challenges.

In the Horizon 2020 project, which ran from 2013 to 2020, 1,473 Hungarian applications received around €350 million in funding. The Horizon Europe budget for the period 2021–2027 is €95.5 billion, of which Hungarian institutions have so far received €200 million in funding,

<sup>1</sup> Regulated by Regulation (EU) 2021/695.



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mostly large state research institutes, higher education institutions, and companies operating in the fields of engineering, medicine, and natural sciences. These figures clearly show that the funds allocated to the Horizon research programmes are extremely large, significantly exceeding the amount of other direct funding from Brussels.

In Hungary, the National Research, Development and Innovation Office (NKFIH) acts as the national contact point for applicants, but decisions on funding are strictly within the remit of the European Education and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA). It should be emphasised that Horizon Europe applications are evaluated by independent external experts, whose identities are not disclosed by the EU, in accordance with its own legislation. The European Commission's position is that anonymity ensures impartiality, protects the personal data of experts and reduces the risk of conflicts of interest. Although the conditions for becoming an external expert are known and the opportunity to become an expert is open to anyone, the procedural practice may result in a lack of transparency, as Member States are unable to verify the decision-making process. The EACEA is responsible for the evaluation, monitoring and ex-post control of applications. In the Horizon Europe programme, sanctions and repayment obligations have already been applied in several countries, and exclusions have also been imposed due to political and rule of law concerns. In December 2022, the Council of the European Union adopted an implementing decision excluding 21 Hungarian universities from the Horizon Europe and Erasmus+ programmes because it considered that the governance of these institutions did not comply with the principles of the rule of law.<sup>2</sup>

The majority of projects funded by Horizon Europe have no political relevance whatsoever, but the social science research supported (e.g., democracy research, the rule of law, media, and the fight against disinformation) provides opportunities for spreading political narratives. Projects in Horizon Europe's Cluster 2, Culture, Creativity and Inclusive Society, address the themes of democratic governance, social equality, and the rule of law. For example, the Reconstructing Democracy in Times of Crisis (Redemos) project coordinated by CEU examines the reform of democratic systems, which clearly shows that the Horizon programmes can play a role in the functioning of progressive pressure networks. According to our summary, approximately €24,000,000 in funding from the Horizon 2020 programme has been awarded to pressure actors in Hungary, while Horizon Europe has so far funded network actors with €6,747,104. Below, we present a few examples of how research funds contribute to the functioning of the pressure network.

<sup>2</sup> On December 15 2022, the European Commission excluded these universities from the Erasmus+ and Horizon Europe programmes citing incompatibility and transparency concerns in accordance with Regulation (EU) 2020/2092 (rule of law mechanism) and Council Implementing Decision 2022/2506.

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## INTERNATIONAL CORRUPTION RESEARCH INSTITUTE SUPPORTED BY HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS IN A FAMILY HOUSE IN KECSKEMÉT

AKKI Átlátható Kormányzás Kutatóintézet Kft. is based in Kecskemét, in a suburban family home. This unknown organisation has received more than €1 million in direct EU funding and, since 2015, has also received \$230,000 from George Soros' Open Society Foundations (OSF). AKKI does not have a Hungarian-language website and only uses its English name, Government Transparency Institute (GTI), in public. It is noteworthy that the organisation's Hungarian name and Hungarian connection are not mentioned at all on its .eu website.



This family house in Kecskemét is where AKKI is based.

Beyond AKKI's circle of supporters, the list of the organisation's partners, its staff's network of contacts, and its public appearances show that it is part of the progressive pressure network.

The Vienna institution of CEU is one of AKKI's partners in its EU-funded projects. AKKI has also implemented several joint projects with Transparency International, which plays a key role in the progressive pressure network.<sup>3,4</sup>

 $<sup>{\</sup>tt 3}\>\>\>\> Source: www.govtransparency.eu/pharmaceutical-prices-and-corruption-risks-dashboard$ 

<sup>4</sup> Source: www.govtransparency.eu/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/How-to-Guide\_Designing-Political-Integrity-Indicators\_Final-1.pdf



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The founder, scientific director, and majority owner of the organisation, which was established in 2014, is Mihály Fazekas, a lecturer at the George Soros-founded CEU Department of Public Policy. In over a year and a half following AKKI's founding, from 16 January 2014 to 30 August 2015, István János Tóth, a research fellow at the Hun-Ren Centre for Economic and Regional Studies and co-founder and director of the Corruption Research Centre Budapest (CRCB), was listed among the owners. The two institutes work closely together, their staff regularly collaborate on professional research and write articles together. Mihály Fazekas and István János Tóth alone have published twenty-five joint studies to date. Noteworthy is their 2014 joint study on the corruption risks of the Paks II nuclear power plant investment, which received widespread coverage in the Hungarian press. The news website 24.hu, for example, interpreted the study's findings in its headline as follows: "Paks II: Hundreds of billions could be stolen." AKKI does not feature at all in the Hungarian public sphere, but its close partner, CRCB, does, and it is even referred to in the Sargentini report.

AKKI Átlátható Kormányzás Kutatóintézet Kft. is therefore one of the background members of the progressive pressure network, which received €718,156 in direct funding from Brussels to support its operations from the Horizon research projects alone.

#### SUPPORT FOR MASS MIGRATION FROM RESEARCH FUNDS

Shelter Association for Migrants, which has been operating for twenty-five years, strives to achieve its goal through awareness-raising courses and training. The organisation is one of the most important members of the progressive pressure network in Hungary in the field of migration, as evidenced by the significant support it receives from George Soros's OSF: in 2023 alone, it received \$250,000 from the foundation for its operations. In recent years, the association has also gained access to increasingly significant resources from direct Brussels programmes. It has received €682,339 in EU funding for five such projects, two of which are part of the Horizon programme. From these two projects, it was able to spend a total of €377,762, or more than 100 million forints, on research to examine the characteristics of the integration of different migrant groups between 2019 and 2025.<sup>8, 9, 10</sup>

 $<sup>5 \</sup>hspace{0.5cm} \textbf{Source: energiaklub.hu/tanulmany/az-atomeromu-beruhazasok-korrupcios-kockazatai-mire-szamithatunk-paks-ii-eseteben-3656}$ 

<sup>6</sup> Source: 24.hu/belfold/2014/10/29/paks-ii-szazmilliardokat-lophatnak-el

<sup>7</sup> Source: www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-8-2018-0250\_EN.html#\_section2

 $<sup>8\</sup>quad Source: ec. europa. eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/opportunities/projects-details/31045243/822688/H2020$ 

 $<sup>9\</sup>quad Source: ec. europa. eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/opportunities/projects-details/31045243/101004704/H2020$ 

<sup>10</sup> Source: hvg.hu/cimke/Korrupci%C3%B3kutat%C3%B3%20K%C3%B6zpont%20Budapest%20(CRCB)



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The activities of Shelter Association for Migrants contribute to encouraging migration and weaken the Hungarian government's migration policy. The support it provides, such as legal advice, facilitates the illegal influx of migrants. On this basis, the Shelter Association pursues political goals specified from abroad.

# RESEARCH ON GENDER-SPECIFIC NARRATIVES OF YOUNG PEOPLE ON THE FAR RIGHT

The Political Capital research institute conducts political and economic analyses focusing on electoral systems, the rule of law, foreign policy, and corruption. Led by Péter Krekó, this progressive think tank has an extensive network of international contacts, including Transparency International.

Political Capital has received €788,905 in direct EU funding for eight projects in recent years. As a participant in the Horizon project Youth Debunking the Gendered Arguments of Far-Right Extremism (You-DARE)¹¹, the organisation received €129,781 for a programme that examines the gender-specific narratives of youth groups and leaders it considers to be far-right, as well as their impact on democracy. The project, carried out with the participation of Political Capital, focuses on a narrow, ideologically charged topic that, rather than solving real social problems, serves to promote a progressive political agenda. Furthermore, by stigmatising far-right youth and emphasising social differences, the study may also weaken social cohesion in a counterproductive way. Political Capital's participation in such a study clearly indicates that some Horizon Europe projects do not serve research purposes, but rather the financing of progressive pressure networks.

<sup>11</sup> Source: ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/opportunities/projects-details/43108390/101178147/HORIZON