EU MUST HELP EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO INVEST 0.75 % OF GDP IN GOVERNMENT RESEARCH

Proposal for a 20-year Programme of EU for the years 2026-2045

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Spending on research is a highly profitable investment. The U.S. National Academy of Sciences has demonstrated that for every dollar spent on research, society is rewarded with five dollars in the long term, representing a 500% return on investment. Similarly, according to the European Commission every euro invested by Governments in research — subdivided between *basic research* (typically two thirds) and *applied research* — increases, in the long period, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by 4-7 euros.

Despite the evidence, the European Union, which stands as a global leader in knowledge and culture, does not invest enough in the development of science, incrementing a potential economic decline.

This document addresses a critical, yet overlooked, problem: the *vast and unacceptable disparity* in public research funding among EU member states. For decades, Europe has failed to close this gap despite the unanimous approval of the Lisbon and Europe strategies.

This failure has created a two-speed Europe: one third of the 27 countries are pushing the boundaries of science, while the majority lack the resources to train their young talents and contribute meaningfully the long-term economic development of the whole Europe. This is not just an injustice—it's an economic and social waste.

This proposal outlines a concrete **20-year program for European public research**, aiming to correct this structural weakness. We propose a co-funded plan to gradually raise the public research investment in the most disadvantaged countries to 0.75% of GDP, which was the 2022 European average, still far from the 1% of the 2000 Lisbon strategy. This initiative is designed to:

- **Promote long-term economic development** by leveraging the proven link between research investment and GDP growth.
- **Stop and invert the "brain drain"** by creating the necessary conditions to retain top scientific talents and attract those who have emigrated, particularly in USA.
- Strengthen European cohesion and competitiveness by ensuring all member states can contribute to the continent's scientific and technological present and future.

This program is both necessary and timely. With global competition intensifying and geopolitical shifts affecting the international flow of talent, Europe has a unique window of opportunity to position itself as the undisputed leader in science and innovation.

An unacceptable disparity: the data

A key metric is the **Government R&D intensity** I_k , defined as the ratio of *Government Budget Allocations for R&D* (GBARD) in the k-th year to the GDP of the same year. Unfortunately, this crucial metric shows a dramatic disparity across the EU. While the average R&D intensity in 2022 was 0.75%, this figure hides a dangerous reality: the two "virtuous" countries (Germany and Finland) averaged 1.0%, while the two most lagging countries (Ireland and Romania) were at a mere 0.165%. This is a **six-fold difference**.

To put this into perspective, in the table this gap is compared to other core government services:

Field of Government Investment	Ratio of Max to Min Expenditure	Why it Matters
Education	2.15	Understandable differences in national priorities and structures.
Health	2.00	Understandable differences in national priorities and structures.
Public Research	6.10	Unacceptable. This gap shows a systemic failure to support science.

As shown in the table above, the disparity in research funding is *three times* greater than in Education or Health. This is unacceptable because it means over half of the EU countries:

- Lack the necessary infrastructure and research staff to produce quality science and contribute to the long-term economic development.
- Cannot properly train their young researchers.
- Are unable to compete for European-level funding based on the quality of science, creating a cycle of underinvestment and stagnation.

To correct this imbalance, in this report a **twenty-year Programme for EU Government Research (2026-2045)** is proposed. It is built on a co-funding model where the EU contributes as much as each country does to the yearly budget increase.

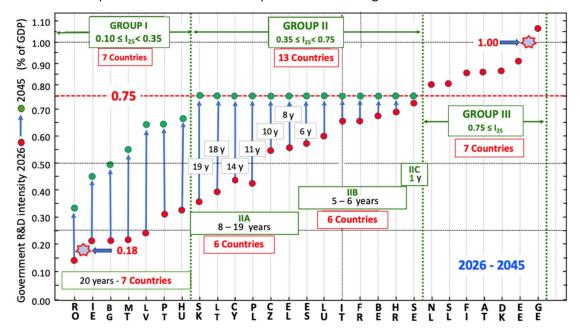
Programme organization, investments and outcomes

The main points of the proposal are:

- 1. **Target:** Each of the 20 EU countries currently investing less than 0.75% of its GDP will receive support to increase its R&D intensity.
- 2. **Annual Commitment:** Each country will define the yearly increase of *its Government R&D Intensity* I_k, which however cannot be larger than **3.9% per year** to guarantee that the budget increase can be effectively spent.
- **3. EU Contribution:** The European Union will reimburse **50% of this increase** in the following (k + 1) year, providing a powerful incentive for investment.

In the years 2026-2045 this gradual approach, designed to be manageable and sustainable, requires a total investment of €180 billion, with €90 billion financed by the EU. In euros of 2025, these sums reduce to €150 billion, with €75 billion financed by the EU, that corresponds on average to €3.7 billion per year.

After 20 years not all the 19 countries, for which I_{2025} is smaller than 0.75%, will have reached the goal because of the 3.9% limitation on the annual increase of the R&D intensity. These countries are part of the so called "Group I" which in the figure is at the left.



To be more specific

- **Group I (7 countries below 0.35% R&D intensity):** These countries will not reach the 0.75% target within 20 years but will make significant progress, in some cases doubling their R&D intensity; Latvia Portugal and Hungary will reach 0.65%.
- **Group II (12 countries between 0.35% and 0.75%):** These countries will reach the 0.75% target in a timeframe ranging from 5 to 19 years, as clearly shown in the figure; Sweden is so close to the goal that it can arrive in 1 year.
- **Group III (7 countries between above 0.75%):** These countries will certainly increase their Government R&D intensity but without receiving funds from Bruxelles.

It is very important to underline that the benefits of the program are **distributed fairly** and in proportion to need. The most disadvantaged countries (Group I) will be the biggest beneficiaries, receiving EU reimbursements that, over 20 years, are approximately **nine times** their 2025 investment. In contrast, Group II countries closer to the target -like Italy or France - will receive reimbursements equivalent to **about half** of their 2025 investment.

Governance for ensuring success

To ensure funds are used effectively, the program requires robust governance. In the Report it is propose establishing a dedicated **European Research Investment Agency** to:

- Monitor Progress: Track R&D intensity and spending in each country annually.
- **Enforce Criteria:** Ensure that EU funds are used exclusively for new research hires, infrastructure, and grants, rather than for covering existing expenses.

- Implement Best Practices: Promote the modification of the rules and the structures of each Country to improve knowledge transfer from Government research to industry. Group II countries will
- **Connect the European countries**: Facilitate knowledge sharing among member states on how to effectively scale up research and innovation ecosystems.
- **Evaluate Impact:** Measure the success of the program not just in financial terms, but also through key performance indicators such as the number of new researchers, joint scientific publications, patents filed, knowledge transfer to start-ups, production of novel goods, etc.

This program is more than a financial plan; it is a strategic vision for a more integrated, resilient, and competitive Europe. With a relatively small investment, by fostering knowledge the European Governments can unite the 27 nations, tackle future challenges together, promote the long-term economic growth of Europe, and secure its place among the global leaders of the 21st century¹.

The "Overview" section on page 16 provides further useful information for readers who do not wish to go into the details.

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¹ On April 12, 2025, *Corriere della Sera* published an appeal – signed by the authors of this Report - denouncing the unacceptable disparity summarized in the table, proposing the twenty-year Programme described in this Report and underlying how this is the only way for all the EU countries to offer good conditions to the scientists who want to come back from USA. See: www.lincei.it/it/notizie/appello-la-ricerca-pubblica-dellunione-europea

1. An unacceptable disparity

A Government finances 'public' research - the combination of 'basic' and 'applied' research - by investing an annual sum called **GBARD** = 'Government Budget Allocation for R&D'. Universities produce mainly basic research while specialised Agencies devote themselves to both basic and applied research. Eq. (1) says that the ratio of **GBARD to nominal GDP** (i.e. GDP at current prices) is the 'Government R&D intensity' For brevity in this Report the term 'government' is almost always dropped.

Businesses do both 'applied' research and 'experimental development', with the aim of improving products, and for all these activities they invest resources globally called BERD = Business Enterprise R&D. This, divided by nominal GDP, gives the 'Business R&D intensity'.

(Business R&D intensity in the
$$k^{th}$$
 year) = J_k = BERD_k/GDP_k. (2)

The sum of the two intensities is what is usually called 'R&D intensity':

(R&D intensity in the
$$k^{th}$$
 year) = $I_k + J_k$. (3)

In 2000, the EU Heads of State and of Government used this economic parameter in launching the 'Lisbon Strategy' with which Europe would "become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion."

Three targets were chosen:

- an average European employment rate of 70%;
- an employment rate for women of 60%;
- o a (total) R&D intensity of EU countries of no less than 3 %.

In 2002, the Commission published a Communication: 'More Research in Europe – Towards 3% of GDP'. In 2005, the new Commission published another Communication: 'More Research and Innovation - A Common Approach'². The seventh guideline³ stated "To increase and improve investment in R & D, in particular by private business, the overall objective for 2010 of 3% of GDP is confirmed with an adequate split between private and public investments". It should be noted that, although not explicitly stated in official documents, it is generally implied that the 3% target should be met with one-third from the Government ($I_k = 1\%$) and two-thirds from businesses ($J_k = 2\%$)."

Five years later, in 2010, the new 'Europe 2020' strategy still wanted "to reach the target of investing 3% of GDP in R&D, in particular by improving the conditions for the private sector to invest in R&D"⁴.

In 2020, the final 'Europe 2020'⁵ report recognised that: "The (total) R&D intensity' reached 2.32%, a 15% improvement on the 2.02% in 2013 but below the overall target of 3%". An increase of 15% with a target of 50% testifies a complete failure.

Table 1 shows that the 1% has not been reached even 22 years after Lisbon.

² https://ec.europa.eu/invest-in-research/pdf/download_en/mep_en01bat3_051219.pdf

³ Page 33 of https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2005:205:0028:0037:EN:PDF

⁴ Page 32 of https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2010:2020:FIN:EN:PDF

⁵ Pages 58-59 of https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:b5a1da8b-be92-11ee-b164-01aa75ed71a1.0001.02/DOC 1&format=PDF

Table 1: After 22 years, the Lisbon target for European government R&D intensity has not been reached while the other two are surpassed.

	Total employment	Female employment	R&D government intensity
Target 2022	70%	60%	1.0%
EU 2000 ⁶	63.1%	53.8%	0.61%
EU 2022 ⁷	74.6%	69.3%	0.74%
Fraction in 2022	106%	116%	74%

In the following years EU has deliberately forgotten the failure to the extent that in the 42-page presentation of the current 'Horizon Europe' programme⁸ - which covers the years 2021-2027 and is depicted on the next page in Fig. 1 - the **3% figure is not mentioned**, not even under 'Reforming and strengthening the European research system'.

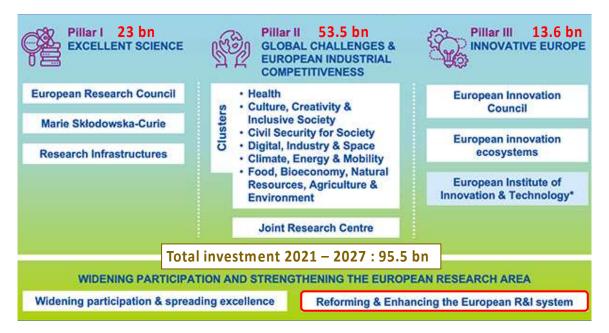


Figure 1. Scheme of the current 'Horizon Europe' programme, which consists of three vertical 'pillars' (the first of which includes basic research) and one horizontal 'pillar'.

This absence is partly justified by the fact that, over the past two decades, it has been realised that R&D intensity is important, but that the transfer of knowledge, from basic and applied research to companies and the resulting development, is determined by many factors⁹:

- o the excellence of research, particularly basic research (Pillar 1 of Fig. 1, p. 4),
- o the focus of government researchers on knowledge transfer,

⁶ https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-statistics-in-focus/-/ks-nk-01-008

⁷ https://amblav.it/eurostat-i-tassi-di-occupazione-nel-2022-rispetto-agli-obiettivi-ue-per-il-2030/

⁸ https://research-and-innovation.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2022-06/rtd-2021-00013-03-00-it-tra-01.pdf

⁹ See for example: <u>www.vttresearch.com/sites/default/files/2021-05/OECD-TIP-RD-intensity-case-studies-synthesis-report.pdf</u>

- o the tools and facilities that foster this transfer,
- the effectiveness of partnerships between universities, public research organisations and companies,
- o the ability of companies to take up and use the knowledge transferred,
- o their investments in applied research and experimental development,
- o the quantity and quality of 'venture capitals',
- o the quality and quantity of private researchers,
- the facilities granted to companies investing in R&D.

Many of these topics are addressed by the 'Horizon Europe' Programme (Fig. 1, p. 6), which is a very positive thing. However, diverting attention, and for so many years, from the Government R&D intensity has created a seriously unbalanced situation, as is illustrated by Fig. 2 (p. 8), in which the intensities of the 27 European Countries are uniformly distributed between 0.14 and 1.1. In 2022 the weighted average of the EU's (government) R&D intensity was 0.74% in 2022, a value obtained by adding the GBARDs of countries with very different intensities: 1.11% of Germany and 0.14% of Romania.

The average values between the two Countries, having maximum and minimum intensities, are reported In column (3) of Table 2. The second row of column (4) shows that **6.1** is the ratio between the I_{22}^{max} value (av. of two countries) and the I_{22}^{min} value (two countries).

Table 2. Indices of expenditure variability in three fields of Government intervention¹⁰.

	(1) Countries	(2) min max	(3) % of GDP (*) I ₂₂ average	(4) Ratio I ₂₂ ^{max} I ₂₂ ^{min}	(5) Normali zed ratio	(6) σ/aver.	(7) Normali zed σ / aver.
R&D intensity.	Ireland+Romania Finland+Germany	min max	0.165% 1.005%	6.10	3.05	0.375	<u>3.40</u>
Education 12	Ireland+Romania Belgium+Sweden	min max	2.95% 6.30%	2.15	1.05	0.11	1.00
Health	Hungary+Latvia Austria+ Czechia	min max	4.60% 9.20%	2.00	1.00	0.18	1.65

^{(*).} Average of the countries of column (1).

The second and third row present the max/min ratios for two important Government activities: **Education** and **Health**, used as a comparison in column (5) by normalising the three figures to the minimum value. One can conclude that, among the 27 Countries, the *disparity in the funds devoted to research* is three times larger than the ones in Education and Health.

^(**) These three ratios have been computed by excluding the countries of column (1).

¹⁰ The quantities in columns (5) and (7) do not depend on the purchasing power in the different countries.

¹¹ Table 3, p. 7.

^{12 -} https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php?title=Government_expenditure_on_education

¹³ https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Government expenditure on health

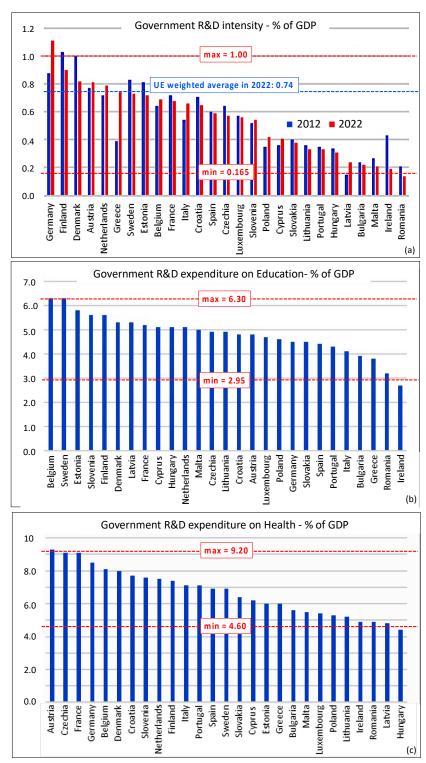


Figure 2. (a) Between 2012 and 2022, government R&D intensity increased in 14 countries - including Greece, Germany, and Italy - and decreased in 13 other countries - including Denmark, Finland, Ireland, and Sweden. Ireland and Romania also decreased and are at their lowest. (b) The same two countries are also at a minimum in government Education while for Public Health they are Latvia and Hungary. In Education, Belgium and Sweden are at the maximum. (c) In government Health, Austria and the Czech Republic are at the maximum.

In Table 2 as second parameter, the ratio of **standard deviation** σ to the **mean** was chosen; the ratio was calculated by discarding the two maximum and minimum intensity values so that the normalized ratios in column (7) are independent of those in column (5). The value 3.40 of the last column says that also funds for Government research *vary from country to country* **three times more** *than those devoted to Education and Health*.

A **three times greater disparity** in Government research between countries than in Education and Health **is unacceptable** because it implies that many European countries

- 1. do not have the means and research facilities to contribute to Europe's development;
- 2. cannot train their young researchers while preparing them to compete for *European Research Council* grants, which are awarded on the basis of scientific quality alone;
- 3. are not able to offer their *research teams* the minimum conditions to do good research and to participate in European calls for proposals with a reasonable chance of success.

To remedy this situation— also in view of the return to Europe of many scientists who at present work in the States—in the present Report a **20-year Programme** is proposed in the remainder of this Report, partially financed by the EU, which subsidises the **21 countries** to bring them, in no more than 20 years, **to either 0.75%** or close to this value¹⁴.

2. Resources needed for the 20-year Programme

Since the latest GBARD figures published by EUROSTAT are from 2023, in the following the 2023 GBARD values are used for **2025**, **chosen as reference year**. With this choice, , on page 10 lists – for the 27 countries of the Union:

- in column (3): the Debt₂₅/GDP25 ratio (D₂₅) in 2025¹⁵,
- in column (4): the GBARD for 2025 (G₂₅), expressed in millions of euros¹⁶.

In calculating the values in Table 3, it is assumed that each country's GBARD (G_{25+k}) increases, from the previous year, by an amount ΔG_{25+k} , obtained by multiplying G_{25+k-1} by (r-1) > 0. The larger r is, the more rapidly the objective will be reached, but if the new resources are too abundant, they cannot be effectively spent. Hence, a **first rule** was adopted:

A. The annual increases ΔG_{25+k} of GBARD over the previous year may not exceed 7% per year:

$$1 + \Delta G_{25+k}/G_{25+k-1} = r \le 1.07 \qquad (1 \le k \le 20)$$

so that, with the "nominal GDP" growing by 3% per year ($PIL_{25+k} = p^k PIL_{25}$ with **p =1.03**) – of which 2% due to inflation and 2,2% to the increase of the 'real GPD' – the "government R&D intensity" $I_{25+k} = G_{25+k}/PIL_{25+k}$ does not increase by more than 3.88% per year (r/p = 1.07/1.03 = 1.0388).

¹⁴ In 2022, Europe's total GBARD amounted to €117.4 billion and total GDP to €15,920 billion, yielding an intensity of public R&D (I2022) of 0.74%. In 2023, the intensity dropped to I₂₀₂₃ = 0.70%, with a total GBARD of €123.7 billion and a GDP of €17,720 billion. Thus, in just one year, intensity declined by 5.6% due to a sharp 11% increase in nominal GDP (mostly due to inflation), despite a 5.4% rise in Europe's GBARD.

¹⁵ https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php?title=Government finance statistics#General government gross debt

 $^{{}^{16} \}underline{https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/GBA_FUNDMOD/default/table?lang=en\&category=scitech_rd.gba}$

Table 3. Duration n of the programme (Column 8), **GBARD** growth rate (Column 8), and **required new resources** (Column 9) at current prices, assuming nominal GDP increases by 3% per year, of which 2.0% is due to inflation and 2.2% to real GDP growth.

(1)	(2) Country (No-Euro in brackets)	(3) Debt/ GDP 2025 D ₂₅ (%)	(4) GBARD 2025 G ₂₅ (mn)	(5) GDP 2025 GDP ₂₅ (bn)	(6) R&D Inten. 2025 I ₂₅ (%)	(7) Years f Eq (5) with r = 1.07	(8) Years n – Growth rate of GBARD from Eq (5) (r-1)	(9) New resources Eq. (7) R _{25-(o+n)} (mn)
1-RO	(Romania)	48.9	493	325.4	0.152	41.9	20 – 7.00%	11 768
2-IE	Ireland	43.3	1051	510	0.206	33.9	20 – 7.00%	25 087
3-BG	(Bulgaria)	22.9	213	94.7	0.225	31.6	20 – 7.00%	5084
4-MT	Malta	47.4	53	21	0252	28.2	20 – 7.00%	1253
5-LT	Latvia	45.0	118	39.4	0.299	25.1	20 – 7.00%	2817
6-PT	Portugal	97.9	802	267.9	0.299	25.1	20 – 7.00%	19 143
7-HU	(Hungary)	73.4	616	198.0	0.311	23.1	20 – 7.00%	14 704
	G	RUPPO I:	7 Countrie	s (0,10% ≤	I ₂₅ < 0,359	%		79 856
8-SK	Slovakia	56.1	453	122.9	0.368	18.7	19 – 6.93%	9370
9-LT	Lithuania	37.3	278	71.8	0.387	17.3	18 – 6.86%	4961
10-CY	Cyprus	73.6	138.3	31.3	0.442	13.9	14 – 6.96%	1389
11-PL	(Poland)	49.7	3817	749.0	0.510	10.1	11 – 6.67%	21 164
12-CZ	(Czechia)	42.4	1626	317.4	0.512	10.0	10 – 7.00%	7778
13-EL	13-EL Greece 163.9		1281	225.2	0.569	7.50	8 – 6.62%	3574
	GF	RUPPO IIA	: 6 Countrie	es (0.35%≤	I ₂₅ < 0.60)%)		48 236
14-ES	Spain	105.1	8997	1498	0.601	5.81	6 – 6.88%	14 596
15-LU	Luxemb.	25.5	507	81.0	0.626	4.74	5 – 6.79%	565
16-IT	Italy	134.8	13 461	2131	0.632	4.49	5 – 6.59%	14 535
17-Fr	France	109.9	18 266	2822	0.647	3.88	5 – 6.09%	18 104
18-BE	Belgium	103.1	3865	596	0.648	3.84	5 – 6.06%	3810
19-HR	Croatia	61.8	533	78.0	0.683	2.46	5 – 4.95%	422
	GF	RUPPO IIB	6 Countrie	es (0.60% ≤	I ₂₅ < 0.70	%)		52 032
20-SE	(Sweden)	31.5	3908	541	0,722	1.00	1 – 7.00%	273
	G	RUPPO IIO	: 1 Country	(0.70% ≤	l ₂₅ < 0.75%	%)		273
21-NL	Netherl.	45.1	8532	1066	0.800	-	-	-
22-SI	Slovenia	68.4	518	64.0	0.809	-	-	-
23-FI	Finland	77.1	2349	273	0.860	-	-	-
25-AT	Austria	78.6	4095	473	0.866	-	-	-
25-DK	(Denmark)	33.6	3277	376	0.871	-	-	-
26-EE	Estonia	20.2	337	38.2	0.882	=	-	=
27-DE	Germany	62.9	44090	4185	1.053	-	-	=
		GRUPP	O III: 7 Cou	ntries (0.75	5% ≤ I ₂₅)			
			TOTAL	20 0	Countries	with I ₂₅ ≤	0.7 5 %	<u>180 400</u>

The last row of the table shows that the twenty-year Plan 2026–2045 requires a total investment of €180 billion at current prices.

According to the OECD, Europe's real GDP will grow on average by 1.8% per year between 2015 and 2030¹⁷. **In Table 3**, a GDP growth rate of **2.2% per year** was adopted—25% higher than the OECD figure—based on the assumption that the investments which are being made by tEU to implement the Draghi and Letta Reports and to strengthen Defence will have a positive impact on the GDPs of the 27 countries.

The Programme—which requires a dedicated management structure as discussed in Section 5, p. 19—is aimed at the 21 countries whose public R&D intensity in 2023 was **below 0.75%**. Since $0.75/(r/p)^{20} = 0.75/1.0388^{20} = 0.35\%$, only countries with I_{25} greater than 0.35% can reach the target in no more than 20 years. For this reason, in Table 3 the values $I_{25+k} = 0.35\%$ and $I_{25+k} = 0.75\%$ divide the EU countries into **three Groups**, and Group II in **three Subgroups**:

- o **GROUP I**: 7 countries with $I_{25} < 0.35\%$ that will not be able to reach $I_{25+k} = 0.75\%$ within the 20 years of the Programme;
- **GROUP IIA**: 6 countries with $0.35\% \le I_{25} < 0.60\%$ that will be able to reach $I_{25+k} = 0.75\%$ within 7 to 20 years;
- **GROUP IIB**: 6 countries with $0.35\% \le I_{25} < 0.74\%$ that will be able to reach $I_{25+k} = 0.75\%$ in 5 to 6 years;
- GROUP IIC: 1 country with I₂₅ ≥ 0.70% that is very close to the target and will reach it in 1 year;
- o **GROUP III**: 7 countries that, with **0,75**%, < I₂₅, have not to invest in the Programme.

Note that the groups would change if the rate of increase was reduced from 7% to 6%, as this would result in $I_{25} < 0.42\%$, instead of $I_{25} < 0.35\%$, as the threshold for achieving 0.75% in 20 years, and Slovakia and Lithuania would move from Group IIA to Group I.

Eq. (A3) in the Appendix 1 (p. 19) – with the GDP factor $\mathbf{p} = 1.03$ – and its inverse

$$\mathbf{f} = \ln(0.75/\mathbf{I}_{25}) / \ln(\mathbf{r}/1.03) \qquad \mathbf{r} = (0.75/\mathbf{I}_{25})^{1/\mathbf{f}}$$
 (5)

give one of the infinite pairs of values (\mathbf{r} , \mathbf{f}) that in \mathbf{f} years (with \mathbf{f} being a fractional number) lead from \mathbf{I}_{25} to 0.75%. The \mathbf{f} values listed in column (7) of Table 3 were calculated with the value $\mathbf{r} = \mathbf{1.07}$ established by rule A, and with $\mathbf{p} = \mathbf{1.03}$ so that $\mathbf{f} = 26.25 \ln(0.75/I_{25})$.

The numbers **n** in column (8) are integers **greater than f** and less than or equal to 20. Substituting n for f in the second Eq. (5) gives the **growth rates r** written in red in the same column.

To achieve the results listed above, it will be necessary to invest the new resources $R_{26-(25+n)}$ in column (9) on p. 10, which, for each country, are the sums of the DG_{25+k} increases over $GBARD_{2025}$:

$$R_{26-(25+n)} = \Sigma_{k=1\rightarrow n} DG_{25+k}$$
 (6)

Each DG_{25+k} is the sum of the annual increases $\Delta G_{25+k} = r G_{25+k-1}$ of the previous k years¹⁸:

$$R_{26-(25+n)} = G_{25} [H_n(r) - n]$$
 with $H_n(s) = s (s^n - 1)/(s - 1)$, $(n = 1-20)$ (7)

as demonstrated in the Appendix 1 on page 19. The factor multiplying G_{25} increases rapidly with the number n of years, as is shown by the **red** (**green**) curve in Fig. 3, and, for n = 20 and r = 1.07, is **23.87** (**17.98**).

¹⁷ www.oecd.org/content/dam/oecd/en/publications/reports/2012/02/strategic-transport-infrastructure-needs-to-2030_g1g13d1c/9789264114425-en.pdf?utm_source=chatgpt.com

¹⁸ Example: the annual investments needed, with respect to the reference year 'zero', to pass – in 1 billion steps and in 5 years – from GBARD $_0$ = 10 million to GBARD $_5$ =15 million are: 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 = 15 billion.

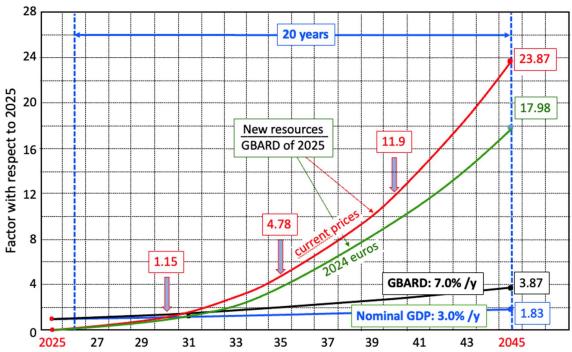


Figure 3. Assumed trends in nominal GDP (blue curve) and GBARD (black curve). The **red curve** represents the ratio $R_{26-(25+n)}/G_{25}$ of Eq. (7). The **green curve** is the factor expressing the new resources in **2025 euro**, as discussed on pages 19-21 of Appendix 1.

The effects of the investments, listed in column (9) of Table 3 on page 10, are shown in **Figure 4**, which illustrates how many years it takes for the countries in Group I to reach 0.75%. Three of them get close: Latvia, Portugal, and Hungary; Romania, starting from 0.152%, arrives at less than 0.35% reaching half of the target value.

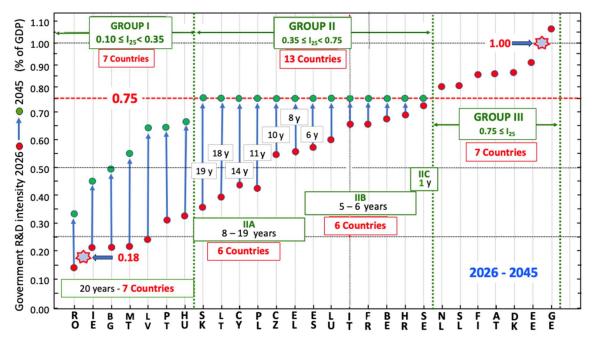


Figure 4. The figure shows that **in 2025** the R&D intensities of the 27 countries were **evenly distributed between 0.18% and 1.00%** (Table 3, p. 7) and that 13 Countries had an intensity larger than 0,35% (Group II) and could arrive to 0,75% in 20 years.

The model used to calculate the required resources is simplistic because

- i. it uses data from 2023 for the reference year 2025,
- ii. it assumes a constant real GDP increase of 2,2% per year,
- iii. it chooses a maximum GBARD increase of **7% per year** so that the Government R&D intensity increases by a maximum of **3.88% per year**.

However, applying these hypotheses results in four interesting pieces of information¹⁹,

- o €180 billion (at current prices) are required to complete the Programme.
- For the 7 countries in Group I (Bulgaria, Latvia, Malta, Ireland, Portugal, Romania, and Hungary), the 0.75% target is not achievable within the 20-year horizon of the Programme assuming a maximum annual increase in public R&D intensity of 3.88% but significant progress will be made: for example, Romania will increase from 0.152% to 1.038820 × 0.14 = 0.325%, while Latvia, Portugal, and Hungary will reach 0.65% (see Fig. 4, p. 12).
- For the 6 countries in Group IIA (Czechia, Cyprus, Greece, Lithuania, Poland, and Slovakia), reaching the 0.75% target with annual increases of 3.88% will require between 8 years (Greece) and 19 years (Slovakia).
- For the 6 countries in Group IIB (Belgium, Croatia, France, Italy, Luxembourg, and Spain), the annual increases in GBARD needed to reach 0.75% in 5 years range between 5.0% and 6.9% and are more manageable than the 7.0% required for the countries of Group I.
- Sweden, the only country in Group IIC, is already very close to the target, which it can reach in 1 year.

3 European Union grants

The disparity among countries — illustrated in **Figure 2a** (p. 8) and **Figure 4** (p. 12) — is the result of the European Union's sustained lack of interest, over the past two decades, in ensuring balanced funding of public research across Member States, despite many declarations to the contrary, beginning with the Lisbon Strategy of 2000.

The more than twenty-year history of this issue leads to the conclusion that motions and recommendations are not sufficient: this disparity will not diminish without targeted and lasting European interventions. To this end a twenty-year plan of financial support is proposed, quantified according to Rule B:

B. Countries that in 2025 have a research intensity $I_{(25)} < 0.75\%$, and that in year k increase their GBARD by DG_{25+k} relative to 2025, will receive from the EU — in the following year — a grant S_{25+k} equal to 50% of that increase:

$$S_{25+k} = 0,50 DG_{25+k}.$$
 (1\le k\le 20) (8)

13

¹⁹ In this Report, euro amounts expressed in millions—typically sums of annual values—are either followed by the label "current prices" or left unspecified. Amounts adjusted for inflation, on the other hand, are explicitly indicated as "euro 2025."

EU grants at current prices, divided by GBARD₂₀₂₅, are listed in Column (4) of **Table 4**, which requires a preliminary remark: 50% of each year's additional investment will be reimbursed by the EU in the following year. However, if in any given year the actual investments fall short of those projected in **Table 3**, the corresponding grant will be reduced proportionally.

To calculate the **resources needed**—both at **current prices** (Column 9, Table 3) and in **2025 euros**—for each country (each having its own value of r, shown in Column 8, Table 3 on page 10, it is useful to introduce two proportional quantities, \mathbf{U} and \mathbf{V} :

$$U = R_{26-(25+n)}/G_{25}$$
 (euro correnti); $V = T_{26-(25+n)}/G_{25}$. (euro 2025). (9)

The product Q = 0.50 V of Column (6) expresses how many times the **total EU subsidies** (in 2025 euros) exceed the GBARD G_{25} invested by each country in the year 2025.

Table 4. Quantities U, V, Q and R&D intensity at the beginning and at the end of the twenty-year Programme.

	(1)	(2) GBARD 2025 G ₂₅ (bn)	(3) Duration n (years) - rate of GBARD (r-1)	(4) U = R _{26-(25+n)} /G ₂₅ (current prices)	(5) V= T _{26-(25+n)} /G ₂₅ Eq. A14 (€ 2025)	(6) Q = 0.50 V (€ 2025)	(7) InitialR &D intens. I ₂₅ (%)	(8) Final R&D Intens. I _{25+n} (%)
G	1-RO	493	20 - 7.00%	23.87	17.98	8.99	0.152	0.325
R	2-IE	1051	20 - 7.00%	23.87	17.98	8.99	0.206	0.441
o	3-BG	213	20 - 7.00%	23.87	17.98	8.99	0.225	0.481
u	4-MT	52,5	20 - 7.00%	23.87	17.98	8.99	0.252	0.539
р	5-LV	118	20 - 7.00%	23.87	17.98	8.99	0.299	0.640
ı	6-PT	802	20 - 7.00%	23.87	17.98	8.99	0.299	0.640
	7-HU	616	20 - 7.00%	23.87	17.98	8.99	0.311	0.665
	8-SK	453	19 – 6.93%	20.68	15.82	7.91	0.368	0.750
	9-LT	278	18 – 6.86%	17.85	13.83	6.92	0.387	0.750
п	10-CY	138.3	14 – 6.96%	10.04	8.251	4.13	0.442	0.750
A	11-PL	3817	11 – 6.67%	5.547	4.753	2.38	0.510	0.750
	12-CZ	1626	10 – 7.00%	4.784	4.153	2.08	0.512	0.750
	13-EL	1281	8 – 6.62%	2.790	2.492	1.25	0.569	0.750
	14-ES	8997	6 – 6.88%	1.622	1.488	0.744	0.601	0.750
	15-LU	507	5 – 6.79%	1.114	1.032	0.516	0.626	0.750
II	16-IT	13 461	5 – 6.59%	1.080	1.005	0.503	0.632	0.750
В	17-Fr	18 266	5 – 6.09%	0.991	0.923	0.462	0.647	0.750
	18-BE	3865	5 – 6.06%	0.986	0.918	0.459	0.648	0.750
	19-HR	533	6 – 6.88%	0.792	0.739	0.370	0.683	0.750
l C	20-SE	3908	1-7.00%	0.0699	0.0690	0.035	0.722	0.750
		60 476	Total in mn	90 200				

The total amount of the reimbursements is €90 billion—half of the €180 billion appearing in the bottom line of Table 3, as expected²⁰.

Which countries are the best funded by the twenty-year Plan?

Taking 50% of the new resources from Column (9) of Table 3 (page 10), the reimbursements in current prices to the countries in Groups I and II amount to €79.9 billion and €100.5 billion, respectively. These figures seem to suggest that countries more advanced in public research investment tend to benefit more, particularly those receiving the largest contributions: Ireland (€12.5 billion, current prices), Poland (€10.6 billion), Portugal (€9.6 billion), France (€9.1 billion), Hungary (€7.4 billion), Spain (€7.3 billion), and Italy (€7.3 billion).

However, **focusing on absolute figures is misleading**, as EU subsidies are proportional to G25, the GBARD in the reference year, and countries with a lower G25 inevitably receive fewer subsidies.

Moreover, different countries have programmes of different durations, and for a fair comparison, inflation must be considered. For this reason, Figure 5 presents the Q ratios—from Column (6) of Table 4—which measure **how many times the reimbursements**, expressed in 2025 euros, **exceed each country's 2025 GBARD**.

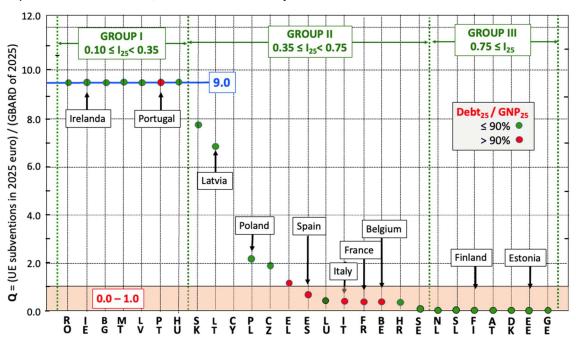


Figure 5. The Q ratio between total EU contributions and GBARD—both referred to 2025 values—is the parameter that best captures the fairness of the twenty-year Programme.

The figure clearly shows that the main beneficiaries of the Programme are the **countries in Group I**, which over twenty years receive, in 2025 euros, reimbursements amounting to **nine times their public research investment** of that same year.

Latvia and Poland receive, respectively, seven times and two and half times, respectively, of what they invested in 2025.

_

²⁰ The formulas for *U* and *V* are provided in the Appendix (page 19), and their numerical values—shown in Columns (4) and (5) of Table 4—are taken from Table A1 (page 20).

The larger and more indebted countries (Belgium, France, Italy²¹, and Spain) show values close to Q = 0.5—that is, over 5–6 years, they receive reimbursements equal to about half of what they invested in public research in 2025.

4. Reasons for a European Research Investment Agency

Investing over 20 years about 75 million (in 2025 Euro) is not enough to guarantee that all the financed countries will eventually educate better scientists and produce better science so to properly contribute to the EU long term development. To reach its goals the Programme requires robust governance, which must not only ensure — by using objective criteria — that the funds are well spent but has also to help each country to improve the transfer of knowledge, from basic and applied research to companies and the resulting development, by acting of the factors that are listed on the pages 6 and 7.

It is thus proposed establishing a dedicated European Research Investment Agency to:

- Monitor Progress: Track R&D intensity and spending in each country annually.
- **Enforce Criteria:** Ensure that EU funds are used exclusively for new research hires, infrastructure, and grants, rather than for covering existing expenses.
- Implement Best Practices: Promote the modification of the rules and the structures of each Country to improve knowledge transfer from Government research to industry. Group II countries will
- **Connect the European countries**: Facilitate knowledge sharing among member states on how to effectively scale up research and innovation ecosystems.
- Evaluate Impact: Measure the success of the program not just in financial terms, but
 also through key performance indicators such as the number of new researchers, joint
 scientific publications, patents filed, knowledge transfer to start-ups, production of
 novel goods, etc.

5. Overview

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Figure 6 was produced using the numerical values of EU reimbursements (in 2025 euros) — year by year — as listed in Tables A2 and A3 (pages 22–25).

The figure shows that across the four five-year periods, the €74.4 billion (in 2025 euros) are distributed as follows: **28.0** – **17.4** – **13.0** – **16.0** billion. The red bars illustrate the year-by-year evolution of EU contributions.

⁻

²¹ For Italy the ratio is Q = 0.50, which is eighteen times lower than that of the Group I countries. In the five-year period 2026–2030, the GBARD sequence is: 14.347 - 15.292 - 16.300 - 17.374 - 18.519 billion euros and the annual increases – relative to 2025 - are 0.887 - 1.832 - 2.840 - 3.914 - 5.059 billion euros. It is worth noting that these annual increases are very similar to the proposal published on the front page of *Corriere della Sera* on 1 October 2020, when – in order to reach 0.75% of GDP in five years – 14 scientists (including the authors of this report) called on the Government to increase GBARD in the sequence 1.00 - 2.00 - 3.00 - 4.00 - 5.00 billion euros.

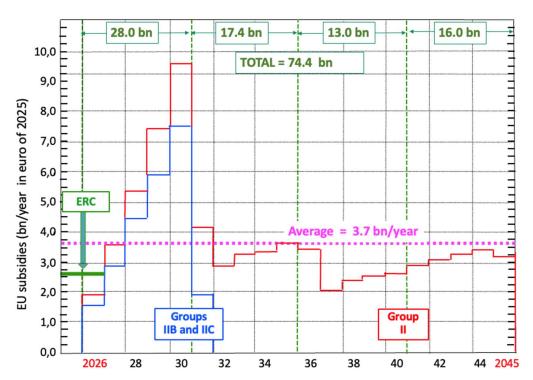


Figura 6. The annual trend of EU investments, expressed in 2025 euros, is compared with the yearly budget of the European Research Council (green segment).

In the figure the blue bars refer to Group I countries and, as expected, show a peak at the end of the five-year phase. Because of this peak, in 2030 spending (in 2025 euros) is more than double the average annual expenditure over the twenty years, which stands at €3.7 billion—as marked by the magenta dashed line.

It is instructive to compare the magenta line with the green segment, which represents the entire annual grant budget of the European Research Council (ERC) awarded solely based on scientific excellence: €2.5 billion per year. According to the 2026–2045 Programme, the EU would therefore invest each year one and a half times what it currently invests in Europe's best researchers through the ERC. This is a more than reasonable amount, as it would place all researchers in all EU countries on equal footing, correcting the disparities among the 27 Member States—a disparity that is unacceptable because, as discussed on page 9, it implies that more than half of European countries:

- lack the means and research infrastructures to contribute over the long term to Europe's economic development;
- are unable to train their young researchers to compete on equal terms for ERC grants awarded solely on the basis of scientific merit;
- cannot offer their research groups even the minimum conditions to conduct highquality basic science or to apply competitively for European funding.

This is not only an injustice—it is a waste.

A further argument in favour of adopting the twenty-year Programme can also be made: the €3.7 billion per year required between 2026 and 2045 represent only a minor adjustment within the broader investment horizon of €750–800 billion annually that, according to the

Draghi Report, **Europe must commit each year** to improve productivity, support the green transition, and safeguard sovereignty.

* *

Three Concluding Remarks

First, the **twenty-year Programme is ambitious** because – as shown in Fig. 4 on page 12 – after 5 to 20 years, the R&D intensity of the 21 EU countries currently below 0.75% will reach:

- **0.75% for 13 countries** (Group II): Belgium, Czechia, Cyprus, Croatia, Estonia, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden;
- around 0.70% for 3 countries in Group I: Lithuania, Portugal, and Hungary;
- between 0.40% and 0.50% for 4 countries in Group I: Bulgaria, Latvia, Malta, and Ireland;
- 0.33% for Romania, which in 2025 starts from an intensity of just 0.15%.

Second, the **twenty-year Programme** is fair because, under rule B (p. 13), it funds all countries in Groups I and II while **giving preference** – as shown in Fig. 5 on page 15 – to the **Group I countries**, which are the furthest from the 0.75% target. The more advanced countries receive, in proportion to their 2025 investment in public research, **eighteen times less** than the countries in Group I.

Third, the financial commitment required from the EU is reasonable. As shown in Fig. 6 (page 16), across the four five-year periods, the EU would need to invest €28.0 billion, €17.4 billion, €13.0 billion, and €16.0 billion respectively – for a total of €74.4 billion (all in 2025 euros). Over the 2025–2044 period, the average annual investment – €3.7 billion in 2025 euros – corresponds to one and a half times the amount allocated in 2022 (also in 2025 euros) to the European Research Council²² grants, which support European researchers, especially young ones, solely based on scientific excellence, regardless of nationality. It is, in fact, more than reasonable to invest an equal amount in strengthening the public research systems of the Union, thereby creating the necessary conditions for researchers from all EU countries – including those returning from the US through European and national programmes now being developed – to have access to the means and infrastructure required to contribute to Europe's long-term development. This would also allow them to compete on equal footing in excellence-based EU programmes without needing to emigrate again.

To conclude, it should be emphasized that the investments made over the twenty years of the Programme will only be effective for Europe's long-term economic development if, in parallel, each financed country promotes specific national programmes focused on the themes outlined on page 6 and 7. Moreover, the European Research Investment Agency, introduced in Section 4 (p. 16) and tasked with coordinating the Programme, will need the support of the advanced countries, which are not financed, to push the less virtuous countries to adopt best practices and to remove the many obstacles that currently hinder the transfer of knowledge from basic research to industry.

²² See pag. 21 of di https://opag.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/3a11d526-ceab-11ed-a05c-01aa75ed71a1

Acknowledgments

We are very grateful to Rossana Camilloni and Giovanni Stefani for their insightful critical feedback, thorough proofreading, careful checking of calculations, and suggestions for corrections and improvements, and to Alessandro De Angelis for his critical reading of the report, his contribution to the drafting of the Appeal published in *Corriere della Sera* on April 12 and for his continued efforts to promote and disseminate it.

APPENDIX

New resources to be invested by the EU, expressed — year by year — in current euros and in 2025 euros

A1. New resources over twenty years in current euros

Using the symbol f to denote the (fractional) number of years that are needed to go – with a GBARD grow rate equal to (r-1) – from $I_{25} = G_{25}/PIL_{25}$ (initial government R&D intensity) to $I_{25+f} = G_{25+f}/PIL_{25+f} = 0.75\%$, with a 3% annual increase in nominal GDP (p = 1.03), one can write

$$r^f G_{25} / (p^f PIL_{25}) = (r/p)^f I_{25} = 0.75\%,$$
 (A1)

from which one derives

$$\mathbf{r} = (0.75/\mathbf{I}_{25})^{1/f}$$
, (\mathbf{I}_{25} in %; p = 1.03) (A2)

and also

$$f = \ln(0.75/I_{25}) / \ln(r/1.03)$$
. (I₂₅ in %; p = 1.03) (A3)

Having fixed the intensity I_{25} , Eqs. (A2) and (A3) give the infinite number of pairs f - (r -1) leading to 0.75%. In the specific case r = 1.07 and p = 1.03, Eq. (A3) becomes

$$\mathbf{f} = 26.25 \ln(0.75/\mathbf{I}_{25})$$
 (r = 1.07; p = 1.03) (A4)

* * *

To calculate the **new resources** $R_{26-(25+j)}$ during the n years of each country's Programme, it is useful to consider the case n = 5 and calculate the sum $\Sigma_{k=1\rightarrow n}$ DG_{25+k} of the increases DG_{25+k} = (G_{25+k} - G₂₅) with respect to 2025, with k ranging from 1 to 5:

$$\mathbf{R_{26-(25+n)}} = \Sigma_{k=1} \rightarrow_{n} \mathbf{DG_{25+k}} = G_{25}(r^{1} - 1) + G_{25}(r^{2} - 1) + G_{25}(r^{3} - 1) + G_{25}(r^{4} - 1) + G_{25}(r^{5} - 1) =$$

$$= \mathbf{G_{25}} [\mathbf{r}(\mathbf{r^{n}} - 1)/(\mathbf{r} - 1) - \mathbf{n}]. \qquad (n = 1, 20; \text{ in the example: } n = 5) \qquad (A5)$$

where the sum of a geometric progression $\sum_{k=1}^{n} x^k = x (x^n - 1) / (x - 1)$ was used.

It is useful for the following to define the function

$$H_n(s) = s (s^n - 1)/(s - 1)$$
 so that $R_{26-(25+n)} = G_{25} [H_n(r) - n]$. (A6)

To obtain the subsidies paid in n years by the EU (the following year), one must multiply Eq. (A6) by the **factor 0.5** of rule B (p. 13):

$$S_{26-(25+n)} = 0.50 R_{25-(25+n)} = 0.50 G_{25} [H_n(r) - n].$$
 (n = 1, 20) (A7)

For r = 1.07, n = 20 this equation becomes

$$S_{26-45} = 23.87/2 G_{25} = 11,94 G_{25}$$
 (r = 1.07; n = 20) (A8)

To obtain the subsidies in the time interval **from m to n years**, it is sufficient to calculate the difference

$$S_{(25+m)-(25+n)} = S_{26-(25+n)} - S_{26-(25+m)}$$
. (n > m; m, n = 1, 20) (A9)

A2. Annual allocation of new resources in 2025 euros

In the above formulae the yearly amounts have been summed so that the results are at 'current prices'. To calculate the **new resources T_{26-(25+n)} in '2025 euros'**, each term of Eq. (A5) has to be divided by the inflation factor g (in the model: g = 1.02):

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbf{T_{26-(25+n)}} &= G_{25} \left(r^{1} - 1 \right) / g^{1} + G_{25} \left(r^{2} - 1 \right) / g^{2} + G_{25} \left(r^{3} - 1 \right) / g^{3} + G_{25} \left(r^{4} - 1 \right) / g^{4} + G_{25} \left(r^{5} - 1 \right) / g^{5} + \dots = \\ &= G_{25} \left\{ \left[\left(\frac{r}{g} \right)^{1} - \left(\frac{1}{g} \right)^{1} \right] + \left[\left(\frac{r}{g} \right)^{2} - \left(\frac{1}{g} \right)^{2} \right] + \left[\left(\frac{r}{g} \right)^{3} - \left(\frac{1}{g} \right)^{3} \right] + \left[\left(\frac{r}{g} \right)^{4} - \left(\frac{1}{g} \right)^{4} \right] \left[\left(\frac{r}{g} \right)^{5} - \left(\frac{1}{g} \right)^{5} \right] + \dots \right\} \\ &\qquad \qquad \mathbf{T_{26-(25+n)}} = G_{25} \left[\mathbf{H_{n}} \left(\frac{r}{g} \right) - \mathbf{H_{n}} \left(\frac{1}{g} \right) \right]. \end{aligned} \tag{A10}$$

In writing Eq. (A10), the function $H_n(s)$ defined by formula (A6) was used.

It should be noted that – with 1/g = (1 - x) and x tending to 0 – the function $H_n(1/g)$ tends to n so that for g = 1, Eq. (A10) becomes Eq. (A6).

To compute – for each value of r – the new resources in current prices and in 2025 euros it is useful to introduce the quantities U and \mathbf{V}

$$U = R_{26-(25+n)}/G_{25}; V = T_{26-(25+n)}/G_{25}; P = V/U$$
 (A12)

which are given by the formulae

$$U = R_{26-(25+n)} / G_{25} = [H_n(r) - j]$$
 (A13)

$$V = T_{26-(25+n)} / G_{25} = \left[H_n(\frac{r}{a}) - H_n(\frac{1}{a}) \right]$$
 (A14)

with the function $H_n(s)$ defined in Eq. (A6).

In columns (5)-(8) of Table A2, the values of the four quantities U, V, P = V/U and $Q = 0.35 \times V$ with g = 1.02 are collected for all countries in Groups I and II.

Table A1 - Values of parameters U, V, and R for an inflation factor g = 1.02 (1/g = 0.9804).

	(1)	(2) GBARD 2025 G ₂₅ (mn)	(3) New resources R _{26-(25+n)} (mn)	(4) Years n and rate (r-1) from Table 3	(5) U = R _{26-(25+n)} /G ₂₅ (curr. prices)	(6) V= T _{26(25+n} /G ₂₅ Eq. A14 (€ 25)	(7) P = V/U	(8) Q = 0.50 V	(9) R = PR _{26(25+n)} : 180 400
	GROUP. I	3346	79 856	20-7.00%	23865	17.987	0.753	8.990	0-3333
	Slovakia	453	9370	19-6.93%	20.68	15.82	0.765	7.095	0.0397
G R	Lithuania	278	4961	18-6.86%	17.85	13.83	0.775	6.922	0.0213
O	Cyprus	138,3	1389	14-6.96%	10.04	8.51	0.822	4.125	0.0063
Р	(Poland)	3817	21164	11-6.67%	5.547	4.53	0.857	2.234	0.1005
II A	(Czechia)	1626	7778	10-7.00%	4.784	4.53	0.868	2.076	0.0374
A	Greece	1281	3574	8-6.62%	2.790	2.492	0.893	1.245	0.0177
			48 236						0.2229

	(1)	(2) GBARD 2025 G ₂₅ (bn)	(3) New resources R _{26-(25+n)} (bn)	(4) Years n and rate (r-1) from Table 3	(5) U = R _{26-(25+n)} /G ₂₅ (curr. prices)	(6) V= T _{26(25+n} /G ₂₅ Eq. A14 (€ 25)	(7) P = V/U	(8) Q = 0.50 V	(9) R = PR _{26(25+n)} /180 400
G R	Spain	8997	14596	6-6.88%	1.622	1.488	0.917	0.7437	0.0744
U	Luxemb.	507	565	5-6.79%	1.114	1.032	0.933	0.5183	0.0029
P P	Italy	13461	14535	5-6.59%	1.080	1.005	0.931	0.5017	0.0750
0	France	18266	18104	5-6.09%	0.991	0.923	0.931	0.4606	0.0934
II B	Belgium	3865	3810	5-6.06%	0.986	0.918	0.931	0.4581	0.0197
	Croatia	533	422	5-4.95%	0.792	0.739	0.933	0.3687	0.0022
			52 032						0.2676
II C	(Sweden)	3908	273	1-7.00%	0.0699	0.0690	0.987	0.0340	0.0015
		TOTALE	180.4 bn				factor v the wei P = V/U		0.8253

The last row of the table shows that the **weighted average** of the ratios P = V/U

$$R = \sum \left(\frac{R \ 26 - (25 + k)}{180 \ 400 \ mn} \right) \left(\frac{V}{U} \right),$$

is 82.5%. This means that the €0.50 × 180.4 billion = €90.2 billion (in current prices), reimbursed by the Union over the 20 years of the Plan, correspond to €0.825 × 90.2 = €74.4 billion (in 2025 euros). Consequently, the average annual expenditure over the 20 years, expressed in 2025 euros, amounts to €74.4 / 20 = €3.7 billion per year. This is shown graphically in Fig. 6 on page 16.

* * *

The ratio Q of column (8), obtained by multiplying Eq. (A14) by 0.59, measures how much the EU subsidies (expressed in 2025 euros) are greater than G25:

$$Q = (subsidies in 2025 euros) / G25 = 0.50 V.$$
 (A15)

The values of Q in column (8) are graphed in Fig. 5 on p. 15.

It is important to highlight that, moving from the countries in Group I to the three Group II B countries (France, Italy, and Spain) that receive the largest subsidies, the value of Q drops from 9.0 to around 0.5—an eighteen-fold decrease. This factor offers a *quantitative measure* of how strongly the twenty-year Programme favours countries that are lagging furthest behind in terms of public research funding.

A3. Annual distribution of new resources in 2025 euros

To calculate the annual allocation of **new resources—expressed in 2025 euros—**we return to the first of Eqs. (A10), in which the factors $1/g^k$ (with g = 1.02) account for inflation:

$$T_{25-(25+n)} = G_{25}(r^1-1)/g^1 + G_{25}(r^2-1)/g^2 + G_{25}(r^3-1)/g^3 + G_{25}(r^4-1)/g^4 + G_{25}(r^5-1)/g^5 + ...$$

The new resources (in 2025 euros) are simply the terms of this progression. Thus, for the k-th year:

(new resources needed in the k-th year – 2025 euros) =
$$G_{25} \left[\left(\frac{r}{g} \right)^k - \left(\frac{1}{g} \right)^k \right]$$
. (A16)

This is the formula used to compute the values listed in Table A2, which is divided into three sections.

Table A2. The new resources required in year k, expressed in **2025 euros**, are calculated using Eq. (A16) (with g = 1.02 and p = 1.03). The values of (r/g - 1) are shown in red in Column (2) and those of $(1/g)^k$ are also in red in the top Row, Column (4)-(23) for the years k = 1-20.

(1)	(2) Year –	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9) Year	(10)
Country	percent. with inflation	G ₂₅ (mn)	Year k =1 (mn)	Year 2 (mn)	Year 3 (mn)	Year 4 (mn)	Year 5 (mn)	Year 6 (mn)	Year k =7 (mn)
	n-(r/g-1)	1/g ^k	0.980	0. 961	0.942	0.924	0.906	0.888	0.871
Group I	20-4.90%	3346	230	466	709	961	1220	1487	1764
Slovakia	19-4.83%	453	30.8	62.4	95.0	126	163	199	236
Lithuania	18-4.76%	278	18.7	37.9	57.7	78	99	121	143
Cyprus	14-4.86%	138.3	9.43	19.1	29.1	39.4	50.1	61.0	72.4
(Poland)	11-4.58%	3817	250	506	769	1040	1317	1604	1899
(Czechia)	10-4.90%	1626	112	226	345	467	593	723	857
Greece	8-4.53%	1281	83.1	168	256	346	438	534	632
Group IIA			504	1019	1552	2096	2660	3242	3839
Spain	6-4.78%	8997	606	1230	1872	2533	3214	3917	-
Luxemb.	5-4.70%	507	33.8	68.4	104	141	179	-	-
Italy	5-4.50%	13461	870	1761	2677	3617	4583	-	-
France	5-4.01%	18266	1090	2203	3341	4503	5691	-	-
Belgium	5-3.98%	3865	239	464	703	948	1197	-	-
Croatia	5-2.89%	533	25.9	51.9	78.3	105	132	-	-
(Sweden)	1-4.90%	3908	268					-	-
Groups IIB + IIC			3133	5778	8775	11 847	14 996	3917	-
Totals	in mn	8640	3867	7263	11036	14 904	18 876	8646	5603
		1 st five-year period: 55 946 mn							

(1) Country	(2) Year – percent. with inflation	(3) G ₂₅ (mn)	(11) Year 8 (mn)	(12) Year 9 (mn)	(13) Year 10 (mn)	(14) Year 11 (mn)	(15) Year 12 (mn)	(16) Year 13 (mn)	(17) Year k =14 (mn)
	n-(r/g-1)	1/g ^k	0.854	0.837	0.820	0.804	0.789	0.773	0.758
Group I	20-4.90%	3346	2050	2346	2654	2972	3302	3645	4001
Slovakia	19-4.83%	453	274	314	354	397	441	486	533
Lithuania	18-4.76%	278	166	190	214	240	267	294	322
Cyprus	14-4.86%	138,3	84.1	96.3	109	122	135	149	164
(Poland)	11-4.58%	3817	2204	2518	2842	3176	-	-	-
(Czechia)	10-4.90%	1626	996	1140	1290	-	-	-	-
Greece	8-4.53%	1281	733	-	-	-	-	-	-
Group IIA			4457	4258	4809	3935	843	929	1019
Spain	6-4.78%	8997	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Luxemb.	5-4.70%	507	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	5-4.50%	13461	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
France	5-4.01%	18266	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Belgium	5-3.98%	3865	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Croatia	5-2.89%	533	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(Sweden)	1-4.90%	3908	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Groups IIB + IIC			-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Totals i	n mn	6507	6604	7463	6907	4145	4574	5020
	2 nd five-	year perio	3 rd five-year period: 25 951 mn						

(1) Country	(2) Year – percent. with inflation	(3) G ₂₅ (mn)	(18) Year 15 (mn)	(19) Year 16 (mn)	(20) Year 17 (mn)	(21) Year 18 (mn)	(22) Year 19 (mn)	(23) Year 20 (mn)	(30)
	n-(r/g-1)	1/g ^k	0.743	0.728	0.714	0.700	0.686	0.673	
Group I	20-4.90%	3346	4371	4756	5156	5573	6007	6458	60 128
Slovakia	19-4.83%	453	583	634	687	742	799	-	7156
Lithuania	18-4.76%	278	351	383	414	447	-	-	3838
Cyprus	14-4.86%	138.3	ı	-	-	-	-	-	1140
(Poland)	11-4.58%	3817	ı	-	-	-	-	-	18 125
(Czechia)	10-4.90%	1626	-	-	-	-	-	-	6749
Greece	8-4.53%	1281	-	-	-	-	-	-	3190
Group IIA			934	1017	1101	1189	799	-	40 198
Spain	6-4.78%	8997	-	-	-	-	-	-	13 372
Luxemb.	5-4.70%	507	-	-	-	-	-	-	526
Italy	5-4.50%	13461	-	-	-	-	-	-	13 508
France	5-4.01%	18266	-	-	-	-	-	-	16 828
Belgium	5-3.98%	3865	-	-	-	-	-	-	3551
Croatia	5-2.89%	533	-	-	-	-	-	-	393
(Sweden)	1-4.90%	3908	-	-	-	-	-	-	268
Group IIB + IIC			-	-	-	-	-	-	48 446
	Totals in	n mn	5305	605 5773 6257 6562 6806 6458					
		4 th five-year period: 31 856 mn							

The last rows of the three sections of the table indicate that the resources needed—expressed in 2025 euros—for the four five-year periods amount to: **56.0** + **34.8** + **26.0** + **31.9** = **148.7** billion euros. These correspond to a total of 50% reimbursements from the EU over twenty years amounting to **74.4** billion euros, which—as already stated—corresponds to an average of **3.7** billion euros per year.

For clarity, Table A3 lists—year by year—the new resources required to implement the twenty-year Plan (in blue), along with the EU grants (in red), which are obtained by dividing the new resources by two.

Table A3. The new resources needed—listed year by year in **millions of 2025 euros**)—appear (in blue) in the first and third rows. When multiplied by 0.50, they yield the corresponding EU grants (in red). The five-year totals of the EU contributions are shown in the penultimate row.

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Resources	3867	7263	11036	14 904	18 876	8646	5603	6507	6604	7463	
Subsidies	1934	3631	5518	7452	9438	4323	2801	3254	3302	3731	
Anno	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
Resources	6907	4145	4574	5020	5305	5773	6257	6562	6806	6458	
Subsidies	3454	2072	2287	2510	2652	2886	3129	3281	3403	3229	
1 st five-years period 2 nd five-years period Subs. – 28,0 Mrd Subs. – 17,4 Mrd						years pe — 13,0 N			e-years . – 16,0	•	
	UE subsidies on 20 years: 74,4 mn (euro2025) (*)										

^(*) To maintain the achieved R&D intensity, each country—after the n years indicated in column (2) —must increase its GBARD at its own expense by 3% per year, to keep pace with the growth of nominal GDP.

Using the red figures in the last rows of the second line of Table A4, the **histogram in Figure 6** was constructed. Its content is discussed on page 16.