

The European Union's concepts of EuroMed regionalism. Norms and values versus capabilities and interests.

EU-foreign policies have always been based on the idea of regionalism, resulting in inter-regional institutional frameworks for example with ASEAN or the AU. With regard to its southern neighbors the EU went even further. In 1995 the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) was inaugurated to create a EuroMed region of peace, stability and shared prosperity. The EMP was a typical project of the 1990ies, when the end of the cold war opened a window of opportunity for new concepts in foreign policies, inspired by the paradigm of *democratic peace*. EU-export of democracy to the (authoritarian) Arab neighbors, combined with their economic development in a free trade zone, was meant to solve the manifold security problems in the region at their roots. Despite a strong normative rhetoric, many EU-member states opposed this normative approach and external democracy promotion was never put into practice. Instead, new institutional frameworks were installed: In 2004, after EU-enlargement, the EMP was complemented by the EU-southern Neighborhood policy (ENP) and - in 2008 - fused with yet another institutional framework, the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM). By doing so, the idea of democratic peace was more and more replaced by a new paradigm, the *securitization* of terrorism (after 9/11) and today the *securitization* of migration. In consequence, EU-Mediterranean policies lost their normative bias and became more and more pragmatic. However, neither the institutional, nor the paradigmatic changes resulted in success. The Arab Spring, which took the EU in 2010/11 by surprise, shed an embarrassing light on the failure of all these approaches: Neither had the EU sincerely promoted democratic change, nor had the EU succeeded in stabilizing the MENA region. Today, the EU's role in the MENA region is limited compared to new actors such as Russia and the Gulf countries. The paper will explain the EU's failures by elaborating on the contradictions and tensions that shape all three concepts of EU-Mediterranean policies (EMP, ENP, UfM), against the background of a rapidly changing regional and international environment.