

**Rule of Law Program  
South East Europe**

Dr. iur. Stefanie Ricarda Roos

[www.kas.de/rspsoe](http://www.kas.de/rspsoe)

**“Ceci n’est pas une constitution”  
Constitutionalisation without a  
Constitution**

Sofia (Bulgaria), 17-19 April, 2008

Welcoming Speech

by

Dr. Stefanie Ricarda Roos,  
Director, Rule of Law Program South East Europe,  
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

17 April 2008

Your Excellency, Minister of European  
Affairs,

Dear Mrs. Zlatanova,

Dear Professor Ignatov, Pernice and  
Tanchev,

Honorable Guests,

Ladies and Gentlemen!

It is a great honor and a personal pleasure  
for me to welcome you on behalf of the  
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s Rule of Law  
Program South East Europe to the opening  
session of our international conference “

‘Ceci n’est pas une constitution’ -  
Constitutionalisation without a  
Constitution”.

My name is Stefanie Ricarda Roos. I am the  
director of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s  
Rule of Law Program South East Europe.

I feel privileged to welcome you to this  
conference as it focuses on a topic which I  
perceive to be of utmost importance not  
only for those involved one way or another  
in European politics, policies, and law-  
making, but for the general public, as well.  
The topic and the timing of this conference  
places us in the middle of an essential  
debate regarding the future of the European  
Union. After the demise of the project to  
endow Europe with a constitution-like

**Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V.**

framework, a new treaty gives the Member States of the European Union a chance to start anew in the construction of a political consensus on the common legal framework for the Union. The question to be asked in this context is where does Europe currently stand with regard to its constitutionalisation efforts.

The following two days offer ample opportunities to address and answer this question in depth from the point of view of constitutional law experts from all over Europe and the United States. I would like to seize this opportunity to welcome all members of the *European Constitutional Law Network* and high-ranking academics present here today who will participate in our international conference. Let me express my gratitude to all of you for having agreed to participate in the conference.

I am convinced that during the following days, we will address the implications of the question which I have raised earlier. For the time being, allow me to say a few words about the reasons for which the *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung* through its Rule of Law Program South East Europe decided to get involved in the *European Constitutional Law Networks'* project on the Lisbon Treaty and the future of the European Constitution:

The *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung* is a German political foundation. Among the key concerns of the Foundation is the promotion of the European unification. Drawing on Germany's post-World War II heritage, this has always been a major focus of the foundation's work. It is not by chance that the foundation bears the name of the first German Federal Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer. Rather, the name and principles of Konrad Adenauer are a precept, a mission, and an obligation for us. Some epoch-making decisions will remain connected to the "Adenauer era" forever. In

foreign politics, these include the achievement of national sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Germany, the establishment of close ties with the free West, the reconciliation of France, and – last, but not least – the unification of Europe. Konrad Adenauer is one of the founding fathers of the European Communities. As he put it in 1952 "a new era in the history of Europe begins, based on peace and cooperation."

The same goals of peace and cooperation are supported by the *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung* today, with an emphasis on building common European values and a common identity.

The topic of our international conference, the opening of which we are celebrating this evening, touches a very sensitive issue at the European level given the debates which surrounded the former treaty and the newly achieved compromise regarding the Lisbon Treaty. I believe we need to have the occasion to talk about the meaning of a Constitution at the European level. While it is obvious that for domestic jurisdictions the Constitution is equivalent to the idea of statehood as well as the safeguard for a unitary juridical system and fundamental values. Yet, for the European Union, the concept of a Constitution might have a rather more delicate meaning. A constitution for the European Union could, for example, mean that the European Union needs a clarification of its standing in the eyes of the European citizens and a simplification in its working mechanisms. For the *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*, the concept of a European Constitution makes an appeal to the elements that should provide the connection between European institutions and European citizens. Moreover, the constitutionalisation of Europe could bring a new concept of European enlargement as to mean not

Dr. iur. Stefanie Ricarda Roos

Leiterin Rechtsstaatsprogramm  
Südosteuropa/  
Director Rule of Law Program  
South East Europe

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V.  
Str. Plantelor 50  
RO - 023975 Bucharest,  
ROMANIA

Tel: (004021)323 31 26;

Fax: (004021) 326 04 07

[stefanie.roos@kas.de](mailto:stefanie.roos@kas.de)

[www.kas.de/rspsoe](http://www.kas.de/rspsoe)

**Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V.**

necessarily a wider Europe, but rather, a deeper one.

Regarding EU enlargement, I would like to mention that the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung supports and accompanies the efforts of candidate-countries and recent member-states of the EU in building a common political identity, but also, in becoming self-aware in their new position as fully-fledged members of the European Union. It is for this reason that I am particularly glad that our international conference on the Lisbon Treaty takes place in the capital of one of the two most recent EU Member countries - Sofia. Allow me to express our congratulations to Bulgaria for having joined the European Union last year, and let me assure you that the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung will continue to support the country in its efforts to overcome the remaining deficits, in particular with regard to the justice system. In this context, I would like to thank the Minister of European Affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria, Dr. Grantcharova, for having agreed to deliver a speech in the context of the opening session, and to express a particular thank you to Professor Tanchev and his assistant, Mr. Belov, and the New Bulgarian University for supporting this conference and for hosting us at the University in the following days.

The topic of our international conference touches upon many issues concerning the legal and institutional framework of the European Union. It is, therefore, only natural that the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung supports this event through its Rule of Law Program South East Europe which is based in Bucharest, Romania, and active in eight countries of the region. Many of the issues that will be discussed during the following two days are central to our work in South East Europe: the meaning and importance

of Constitutions, the protection of fundamental human rights in the European Union, community values as they relate to democratic states based on the rule of law, the concept of an area of freedom, security and justice, etc. As our work involves the creation of a regional integration that precedes further European integration, all the topics that will be addressed fall within the range of issues relevant to the work of the Rule of Law Program in the region.

Before I close, I would like to express my special thanks to the European Constitutional Law Network, in particular the Director of the Walter Hallstein-Institute for European Constitutional Law, Professor Pernice, and his assistant, Dr. Angelov. I would also like to extend my thanks to the European Commission Representation in Bulgaria, in particular its head, Mrs. Zlatanova, and all who have contributed to the realization of the event, including my assistant, Mrs. Hariton, without whose great efforts this event could not have been made possible.

I wish us all a good evening with fruitful and inspiring talks and discussions, and a successful conference in the following two days.

Thank you very much for your attention!

Bucharest, April 2008

Dr. Stefanie Ricarda Roos

Dr. iur. Stefanie Ricarda Roos

Leiterin Rechtsstaatsprogramm  
Südosteuropa/  
Director Rule of Law Program  
South East Europe

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V.  
Str. Plantelor 50  
RO - 023975 Bucharest,  
ROMANIA

Tel: (004021)323 31 26;

Fax: (004021) 326 04 07

[stefanie.roos@kas.de](mailto:stefanie.roos@kas.de)

[www.kas.de/rspsoe](http://www.kas.de/rspsoe)