

# Litigating Across Borders: Subnational Actors and Supranational Governance in the Turów Dispute

## **Supplementary materials**

### **A) Statement definition**

A statement, as defined for this analysis, refers to a single, coherent idea expressed by a speaker and reported by the media. These statements can be captured either in direct or indirect speech. To be considered valid, a statement must have a clearly identifiable speaker (person). Group entities, such as "the Czech government," "a municipal authority," or "a group of scientists," are typically not included in the analysis. However, statements made by unnamed but identifiable individuals, such as "a spokesperson of the European Commission," or "representative of the Platform Spolecne pro Vodu", especially in the case where organization is an association of organizations, are considered acceptable.

Certain types of media reporting are excluded from the analysis. Statement containing double reporting, where a journalist or third party interprets a speaker's position rather than directly quoting or paraphrasing them, is omitted. For example, statements like "A reporter from Medium X claims that the Prime Minister is saying..." do not qualify. Similarly, media self-reporting, where an article refers to its own publication or another media outlet's claims (e.g., "Medium X wrote that..."), is not included.

The timeliness of the statement is also a crucial criterion. To be included, a statement must be novel or recently expressed, typically just before the reporting act. If no specific timestamp is provided, the statement's timeliness is assumed. However, repeated statements made in past, such as those made weeks or months prior to being reported, are not considered due to the potential introduction of bias.

Finally, each speaker of the statement must be associated with a clearly identifiable role, or organizational affiliation of the speaker must be identifiable. If a speaker holds multiple affiliations, precedence is given either to the role explicitly mentioned in the article, or the role they are typically known for at that time. For instance, if a single person is a member of a political party, a government minister and a member of an expert committee, their ministerial position takes precedence over the other two roles. These criteria ensure consistency and reliability in coding media-reported statements.

## B) Concept coding scheme<sup>1</sup>

Concept	Concept description/coding rules
<b>activism</b>	Approval of actions of activist collectives Approval of blockades of any type of infrastructure or other types of direct action Support to petitions, open letters and other activist tactics
<b>harm_climate</b>	Continuation of mining activities presented as a source contributing to the ongoing development of climate crisis
<b>harm_energy_sec</b>	Claims suggesting mining termination has adverse impacts on energy security, supply of energy, stability of energy grid Claims suggesting decrease in energy security of Polish citizens Claims of coal as the best and the cheapest available fuel, providing stability of grid or energy supply
<b>harm_environment</b>	Claims suggesting negative impacts of mining operations on the environment, outside of the impact on climate and water availability (specific codes)
<b>harm_geology</b>	Claims suggesting adverse impacts on geological stability of ground in the areas surrounding the mine or due to mining activity
<b>harm_noise</b>	Claims suggesting increased noise levels due to mining Claims suggesting adverse impacts of increased noise levels
<b>harm_other</b>	Suggestions of other types of adverse impacts caused by the mining activity that are not captured through other codes – e.g., increased dusting, light pollution, etc.
<b>harm_property</b>	Claims suggesting adverse impacts of mining on property value, like decreases in house value Other types of harm to the private property
<b>harm_water</b>	Claims suggesting adverse impacts of mining on the availability of groundwater Mentions of increased perceptions of water scarcity, e.g., depletion of water in wells Claims suggesting concerns about water availability in the future
<b>justice_fair_distribution</b>	General claims suggesting financial compensation must be distributed in the just and fair manner General claims suggesting compensation must be appropriate Claims requiring achievement of financial compensation for Czech citizens
<b>justice_fair_procedures</b>	Mentions of fairness/equity of procedures Claims suggesting existing laws, including EIA, and EU environmental regulations are or need to be followed Claims emphasizing transparency, information sharing and proper monitoring Claims focused on adequate scope of potential legal claims
<b>justice_hypocrisy</b>	Claims suggesting hypocrisy of Czech/German side due to the ongoing mining activities in Czech/German mines Claims suggesting Czech/German mines are at least as harmful as Turow mine Claims suggesting Czech/German side should address their issues rather than mining activities in Poland
<b>justice_just_transition</b>	Claims calling for just transition as a solution to the issue Calls for a measured and slow transition away from fossil fuels Mentions of attempts to diversify local economies
<b>justice_national_interest</b>	Explicit claims over protecting/pursuing national interest Explicit claims of the need/requirement to protect own citizens in the face of perceived injustice Explicit claims over accountability to own citizens
<b>justice_social_justice</b>	Claims suggesting indispensability of mining due to social security it provides Claims suggesting mining provides and keeps jobs Claims suggesting regional economic dependence on mining

<sup>1</sup> See Section J for changes in codes following language proofing of the main text.

<b>justice_unjust_ECJ/ justice_unjust_CJEU</b>	Claims presenting the any CJEU decision as unjust Claims suggesting CJEU decisions are perceived as a grievance Claims suggesting CJEU has committed a legal transgression/CJEU has no legal authority to decide over mining in Poland
<b>justice_unjust_practices</b>	Suggestions of malice intent of PGE or Polish government Suggestions of arrogance and/or ignorance of actors over the issue Suggestions of inequitable continuation of coal mining/consumption Suggestions of intentional vandalism by unknown actors
<b>legal_fine</b>	Explicit claims mentioning calling for or approving the fine issued for non-compliance with the CJEU injunction Claims explicating details regarding the fine assessment
<b>legal_injunction</b>	Claims discussing or approving the CJEU injunction Statements approving monitoring of injunction compliance Statements suggesting the necessity of measures (other than fines) to ensure injunction compliance or further enforcement of compliance
<b>mining_non-issue</b>	Suggestions mining activity in Turow or its extension is not perceived as an issue Notions of unproblematic cohabitation with the Turow mine in history Notions that mining has no impact on daily lives
<b>politics_litigation</b>	Explicit claims approving or calling for the CJEU litigation Explicit claims denying the case withdrawal Claims suggesting continuation of litigation is desired/necessary
<b>politics_negotiation</b>	Suggestions of readiness to continue with negotiations Claims explicating negotiation strategies, including threats to withdraw from further negotiations Self-perceived goodwill of sides, e.g. doing maximum to achieve agreement Statements on the necessity of further negotiations Statements on agreement being prepared/worded Requests on the involvement/exclusion of certain actors in negotiations
<b>solutions_agreement</b>	Claims suggesting the bilateral agreement is a solution to the issue Suggestions agreement is a precursor to the withdrawal of the case Claims agreement is as a long-term solution to the issue
<b>solutions_embankment</b>	Claims calling for or approving an embankment or a wall at the edge of pit as a solution (e.g., against noise or dust)
<b>solutions_end_mining</b>	Claims calling for/approving termination of mining activities in Turow, either immediately or in the near future Claims suggesting any other solution or agreement has to tackle the question of the end of mining
<b>solutions_envi_liability</b>	Claims suggesting leveraging EU environmental liability regulations as a solution to the issue
<b>solutions_protect_water</b>	General claims calling for protection of existing water sources without any further specification Claims calling for efforts to maintain/achieve the status quo regarding water stocks
<b>solutions_reimbursement</b>	Claims calling for financial compensation Claims calling for reimbursement of implemented measures Claims suggesting reimbursement has to be part of solution Suggestions requesting financial guarantees
<b>solutions_water_barrier</b>	Claims suggesting the desirability/necessity of completion of the underground barrier to retain or protect underground water levels Claims approving the underground water barrier as a solution to the water issue
<b>solutions_water_infrastructure</b>	Claims suggesting the desirability/necessity of completion of the water transportation systems (aqueducts) as a solution to the issue

## C) Persons and their organizational affiliations<sup>2</sup>

Person	Organizational affiliation	Overall frequency
<b>Richard Brabec</b>	ANO	1
<b>Vit Dostal</b>	Association for International Affairs	10
<b>Michal Lebduska</b>	Association for International Affairs	3
<b>Marian Jurecka</b>	Christian and Democratic Union CZ	5
<b>Tomas Zdechovsky</b>	Christian and Democratic Union CZ	2
<b>Miroslava Nemcova</b>	Civic Democratic Party CZ	1
<b>Pavel Blazek</b>	Civic Democratic Party CZ	1
<b>Pawel Poncylyjusz</b>	Civic Platform PL	2
<b>Radoslaw Sikorski</b>	Civic Platform PL	2
<b>Malgorzata Tracz</b>	Civic Platform PL	1
<b>Marie Pencikova</b>	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	10
<b>Stanislav Mackovik</b>	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	4
<b>Jan Koros</b>	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	3
<b>Jan Dvorak</b>	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	1
<b>Vaclav Cilek</b>	Czech Academy of Science	1
<b>Zdenek Venera</b>	Czech Geological Service	9
<b>Ondrej Nol</b>	Czech Geological Service	6
<b>Milan Brezina</b>	Czech Pirate Party	2
<b>Jan Mecl</b>	Czech Social Democratic Party	1
<b>Josef Jadrny</b>	Czech Social Democratic Party	1
<b>Marek Belka</b>	Democratic Left Alliance PL	3
<b>Radoslaw Gawlik</b>	Eko-Unia	1
<b>Balasz Ujvari</b>	European Commission	4
<b>Tim McPhie</b>	European Commission	2
<b>Christian Wigand</b>	European Commission	1
<b>Didier Reynders</b>	European Commission	1
<b>Rosario Silva Lapuerta</b>	European Court of Justice/Court of Justice of the EU	6
<b>Veronika Holcnerova</b>	Extinction Rebellion CZ	5
<b>Petra Urbanova</b>	Frank Bold	15
<b>Hubert Smolinski</b>	Frank Bold	3
<b>Laura Otypkova</b>	Frank Bold	1
<b>Pavel Franc</b>	Frank Bold	1
<b>Petr Olysar</b>	Frydlant Water Company	1
<b>Andrej Babis</b>	Government CZ	26
<b>Martin Smolek</b>	Government CZ	14
<b>Petr Fiala</b>	Government CZ	12
<b>Vaclav Smolka</b>	Government CZ	1
<b>Mateusz Morawiecki</b>	Government PL	47
<b>Piotr Muller</b>	Government PL	11
<b>Jaroslaw Gowin</b>	Government PL	1
<b>Piotr Wawrzynk</b>	Government PL	1
<b>Nikol Krejcova</b>	Greenpeace CZ	52
<b>Lukas Hrabek</b>	Greenpeace CZ	3
<b>Joanna Flisowska</b>	Greenpeace PL	4
<b>Adam Nadolski</b>	Hands Off Turow	3
<b>Ralf Krupp</b>	Humboldt Stiftung	1
<b>Anna Zalewska</b>	Law and Justice PL	5
<b>Witold Wlaszczykowski</b>	Law and Justice PL	2
<b>Artur Sobon</b>	Law and Justice PL	1
<b>Bogdan Rzonca</b>	Law and Justice PL	1

<sup>2</sup> See Section J for changes in codes following language proofing of the main text.

<b>Jadwiga Wisnewska</b>	Law and Justice PL	1
<b>Martin Puta</b>	Liberec Region	135
<b>Vaclav Zidek</b>	Liberec Region	21
<b>Filip Trdla</b>	Liberec Region	4
<b>Petra Vavro</b>	Local inhabitants CZ	9
<b>Daniel Gabrys</b>	Local inhabitants CZ	6
<b>Jiri Duda</b>	Local inhabitants CZ	3
<b>Kamil Kronus</b>	Local inhabitants CZ	3
<b>Michael Martin</b>	Local inhabitants CZ	3
<b>Zuzana Pechova</b>	Local inhabitants CZ	3
<b>Eva Pechova</b>	Local inhabitants CZ	2
<b>Roman Sedlacek</b>	Local inhabitants CZ	2
<b>Josef Plestil</b>	Local inhabitants CZ	1
<b>Lubos Andrlík</b>	Local inhabitants CZ	1
<b>Michal Kopecky</b>	Local inhabitants CZ	1
<b>Petr Halbich</b>	Local inhabitants CZ	1
<b>Maria</b>	Local inhabitants PL	2
<b>Marian Wolny</b>	Local inhabitants PL	2
<b>Alexandra</b>	Local inhabitants PL	1
<b>Janina</b>	Local inhabitants PL	1
<b>Jovita</b>	Local inhabitants PL	1
<b>Karolina Haytas</b>	Local inhabitants PL	1
<b>Krzystof Dudziak</b>	Local inhabitants PL	1
<b>Ksawery Wisniewski</b>	Local inhabitants PL	1
<b>Margareta</b>	Local inhabitants PL	1
<b>Sebastian</b>	Local inhabitants PL	1
<b>Cezary Przybylski</b>	Lower Silesian Voivodeship	1
<b>Jan Farsky</b>	Mayors and Independents CZ	1
<b>Richard Brabec</b>	Ministry of Environment CZ	142
<b>Anna Hubackova</b>	Ministry of Environment CZ	38
<b>Vladislav Smrz</b>	Ministry of Environment CZ	15
<b>Petra Roubickova</b>	Ministry of Environment CZ	7
<b>Dominika Pospisilova</b>	Ministry of Environment CZ	6
<b>Ondrej Charvat</b>	Ministry of Environment CZ	4
<b>Michal Kurtyka</b>	Ministry of Environment PL	18
<b>Anna Moskwa</b>	Ministry of Environment PL	8
<b>Aleksander Brzozka</b>	Ministry of Environment PL	1
<b>Jakub Kulhanek</b>	Ministry of Foreign Affairs CZ	6
<b>Miroslaw Jasinski</b>	Ministry of Foreign Affairs PL	14
<b>Pawel Jablonski</b>	Ministry of Foreign Affairs PL	8
<b>Marcin Przydacz</b>	Ministry of Foreign Affairs PL	3
<b>Zbigniew Rau</b>	Ministry of Foreign Affairs PL	1
<b>Michal Wojcik</b>	Ministry of Justice PL	3
<b>Zbigniew Ziobro</b>	Ministry of Justice PL	3
<b>Marcin Romanowski</b>	Ministry of Justice PL	1
<b>Jacek Sasin</b>	Ministry of State Assets PL	1
<b>Wojciech Dobrolowicz</b>	Munic Bogatynia PL	23
<b>Jerzy Stachyra</b>	Munic Bogatynia PL	1
<b>Michael Canov</b>	Munic Chrastava CZ	2
<b>Jiri Stodulka</b>	Munic Frydlant CZ	1
<b>Josef Horinka</b>	Munic Hradek CZ	8
<b>Artur Bielinski</b>	Munic Zgorzelec PL	3
<b>Lukas Kovanda</b>	National Economic Council CZ	1
<b>Anna Ksirova</b>	Parents 4 Future	10
<b>Wojciech Dabrowski</b>	PGE	11
<b>Sandra Apanasionek</b>	PGE	8

<b>Slawomir Wochna</b>	PGE	5
<b>Krzystof Masiuk</b>	PGE	4
<b>Wanda Buk</b>	PGE	2
<b>Wioletta Czemiel Grzybowska</b>	PGE	2
<b>Pawel Silwa</b>	PGE	1
<b>Bogumil Tyszkiewicz</b>	PGE unions	5
<b>Ivana Balakova</b>	Police CZ	1
<b>Andrzej Duda</b>	President PL	1
<b>Renata Kimova</b>	Radio TOK	1
<b>Iveta Kardianova</b>	Severoceske Vodovody	2
<b>Milan Starec</b>	Sousedsky Spolek Uhelna	63
<b>Josef Datek</b>	TGM Water Research Institute	10
<b>Josef Havel</b>	TGM Water Research Institute	1
<b>Janusz Kowalski</b>	United Poland	1
<b>Sebastian Kaleta</b>	United Poland	1
<b>Genowefa Grabowska</b>	Warsaw School of Management	1

## D) Organizations<sup>3</sup>

Organization	Type	Color coding	Frequency
PGE	Company	Red	34
PGE unions	Company	Red	5
Severoceske Vodovody	Company	Red	2
Eko-Unia	ENGO/Environmental Movement	Green	1
Extinction Rebellion CZ	ENGO/Environmental Movement	Green	5
Frank Bold	ENGO/Environmental Movement	Green	20
Greenpeace CZ	ENGO/Environmental Movement	Green	57
Greenpeace PL	ENGO/Environmental Movement	Green	5
Parents 4 Future	ENGO/Environmental Movement	Green	10
Platforma pro Vodu/Platform Spolecne pro Vodu	ENGO/Environmental Movement	Green	12
Czech Academy of Science	Expert Institution	Yellow	1
Association for International Affairs	Expert Institution	Yellow	13
Czech Geological Service	Expert Institution	Yellow	16
Humboldt Stiftung	Expert Institution	Yellow	1
National Economic Council CZ	Expert Institution	Yellow	1
TGM Water Research Institute	Expert Institution	Yellow	11
Warsaw School of Management	Expert Institution	Yellow	1
Hands Off Turow	Local organization	Teal	5
Local inhabitants CZ	Local organization	Teal	39
Local inhabitants PL	Local organization	Teal	13
Sousedsky Spolek Uhelna	Local organization	Teal	63
Gazeta Wyborcza	Media	Black	1
RMF FM/Radio RMF FM	Media	Black	2
Radio TOK	Media	Black	1
Government CZ	National Governance	Cyan	53
Government PL	National Governance	Blue	60
Ministry of Environment CZ	National Governance	Blue	214
Ministry of Environment PL	National Governance	Blue	27
Ministry of Foreign Affairs CZ	National Governance	Blue	6
Ministry of Foreign Affairs PL	National Governance	Blue	26
Ministry of Justice PL	National Governance	Blue	7
Ministry of State Assets PL	National Governance	Blue	1
President PL	National Governance	Blue	1
Police CZ	Other	Black	1
ANO	Political Party	Purple	1
Christian and Democratic Union CZ	Political Party	Purple	7
Civic Democratic Party CZ	Political Party	Purple	2
Civic Platform PL	Political Party	Purple	5
Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	Political Party	Purple	18
Czech Pirate Party	Political Party	Purple	2
Czech Social Democratic Party	Political Party	Purple	3
Democratic Left Alliance PL	Political Party	Purple	3
Law and Justice PL	Political Party	Purple	10
Mayors and Independents CZ	Political Party	Purple	1
United Poland	Political Party	Purple	2
Frydlant Water Company	Regional Governance	Pink	1
Liberec Region	Regional Governance	Pink	160
Lower Silesian Voivodeship	Regional Governance	Pink	1
Munic Bogatynia PL	Regional Governance	Pink	24
Munic Chrastava CZ	Regional Governance	Pink	2
Munic Frydlant CZ	Regional Governance	Pink	1
Munic Hradec CZ	Regional Governance	Pink	8
Munic Zgorzelec PL	Regional Governance	Pink	3
European Commission	Supranational Governance	Dark Blue	19
European Court of Justice/Court of Justice of the EU	Supranational Governance	Dark Blue	8

<sup>3</sup> See Section J for changes in codes following language proofing of the main text.

## E) Statements and their frequencies<sup>4</sup>

In this section, we present frequencies of statements and their occurrence in the data set. The table in Figure 1 summarizes all concepts and their frequency over the complete time frame.

Concept	Disagreement	Agreement	Total
activism	5	10	15
harm_climate	0	2	2
harm_energy_sec	1	24	25
harm_environment	0	23	23
harm_geology	0	10	10
harm_noise	1	16	17
harm_other	0	7	7
harm_property	0	5	5
harm_water	9	78	87
justice_fair_distribution	2	7	9
justice_fair_procedures	21	64	85
justice_hypocrisy	0	9	9
justice_just_transition	1	14	15
justice_national_interest	0	24	24
justice_social_justice	2	31	33
justice_unjust_ECI/justice_unjust_CJEU	0	22	22
justice_unjust_practices	1	66	67
legal_fine	7	39	46
legal_injunction	1	15	16
mining_non-issue	0	4	4
politics_litigation	4	26	30
politics_negotiation	0	192	192
solutions_agreement	19	61	80
solutions_embankment	0	15	15
solutions_end_mining	21	25	46
solutions_envi_liability	0	6	6
solutions_protect_water	0	6	6
solutions_reimbursement	0	48	48
solutions_water_barrier	17	22	39
solutions_water_infrastructure	2	11	13

Figure 1 - concepts and their frequencies - all periods

<sup>4</sup> See Section J for changes in codes following language proofing of the main text.

## F) Statements over time<sup>5</sup>

This part splits statements over time periods. Each figure represents one of the five sub-periods of the time frame, as discussed in the main body of the article. All figures share the same scale on the x axis. Statements are ordered in a decreasing order by their absolute frequency (i.e., sum of agreements and disagreements), from the most occurring to the least. Negative values signify disagreement, positive values signify agreement with the concept.

It's clear that the first period (Figure 2) is dominated by the "harm\_water" concept, followed by complaints about unfair procedures (e.g., not following laws) and unjust practices, mostly from the Czech side. There's marked disagreement in the concept "justice\_fair\_procedures", with Polish side claiming procedures being not violated. Polish side makes claims about social aspects of mining. The only other contentious concept is "activism" with some actors voicing disagreement with activism taking place.

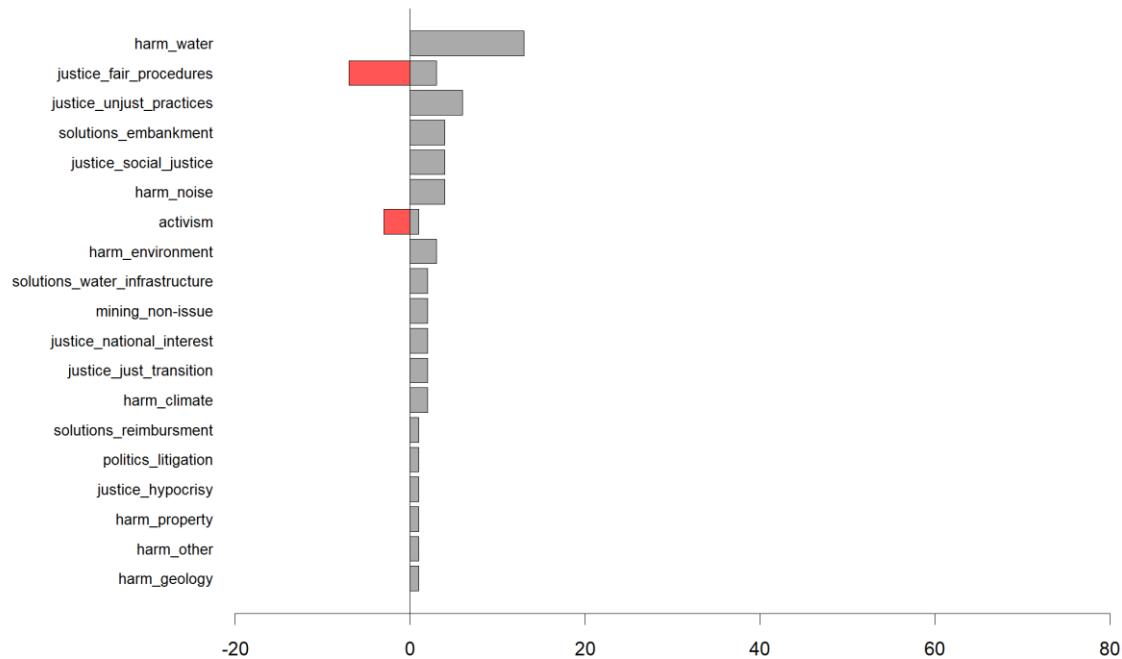


Figure 2 - Period 1 - Februray 26 to April 21, 2021

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<sup>5</sup> See Section J for changes in codes following language proofing of the main text.

Already in the second period (Figure 3), there's discussion about negotiations taking place. That is followed by concepts uttered in the previous periods – harm to water levels and unjust practices. After that, mostly Czech actors comment and agree with the legal injunction, approving it. Solutions are dominated by possible reimbursement claims, as well as a necessity for an agreement as the outcome of the issue. Polish side stresses potential harms to the energy security as an outcome of the injunction, together with social security and potential harm to the environment, should the mining be temporarily stopped. It's worth noting there are first signs of disagreement over the function of the water barrier appearing in this period already.

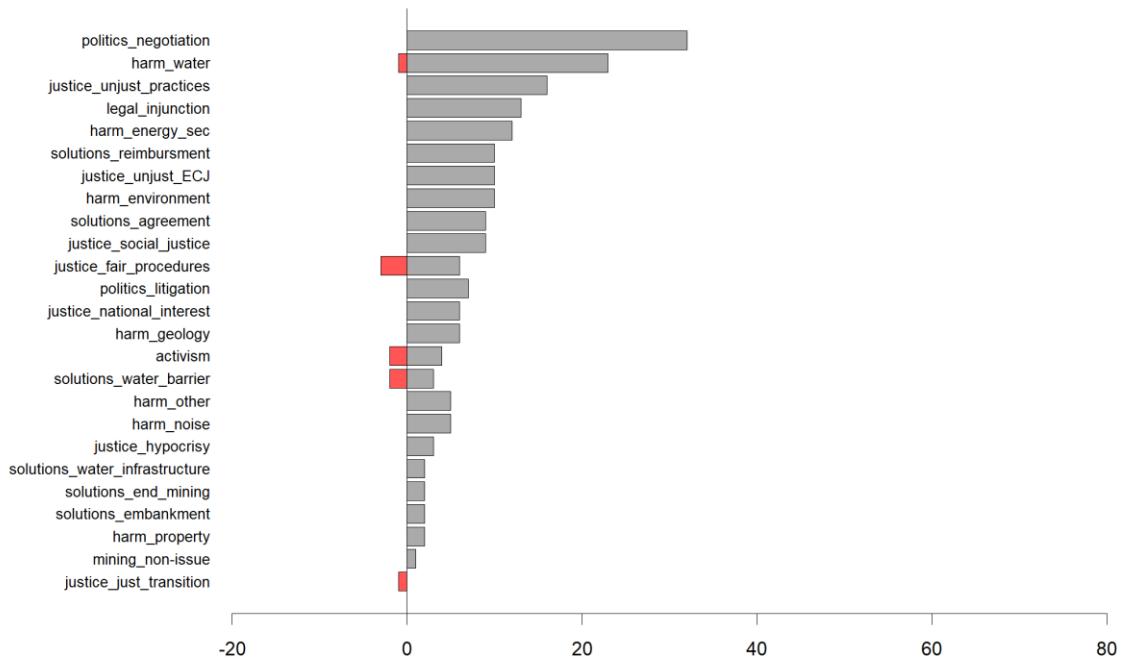


Figure 3 - Period 2 - May 22 to June 7

The third period (Figure 4) sees marked increase in contention over concepts. Discussion about negotiations is becoming more dominant, but this is immediately followed by disagreement over “solutions\_end\_mining”, where actors both on Polish and Czech side don’t share same perspective over the ultimate goal. Increased contention is also associated with fair procedures, but also with existence of harm to water and working of the underground water barrier. Thus, water barrier becomes the most discussed solution and issue, followed by reimbursement. Actors on Czech side approve and ask for fine – it is this period that Czech side increases pressure and petition CJEU to issue fine for non-compliance with the injunction – a request that is fulfilled at the end of this period. Further contention can be also observed in less frequent concepts, albeit the disagreement is relatively less pronounced (see “solutions\_agreement” and “politics\_litigation”).

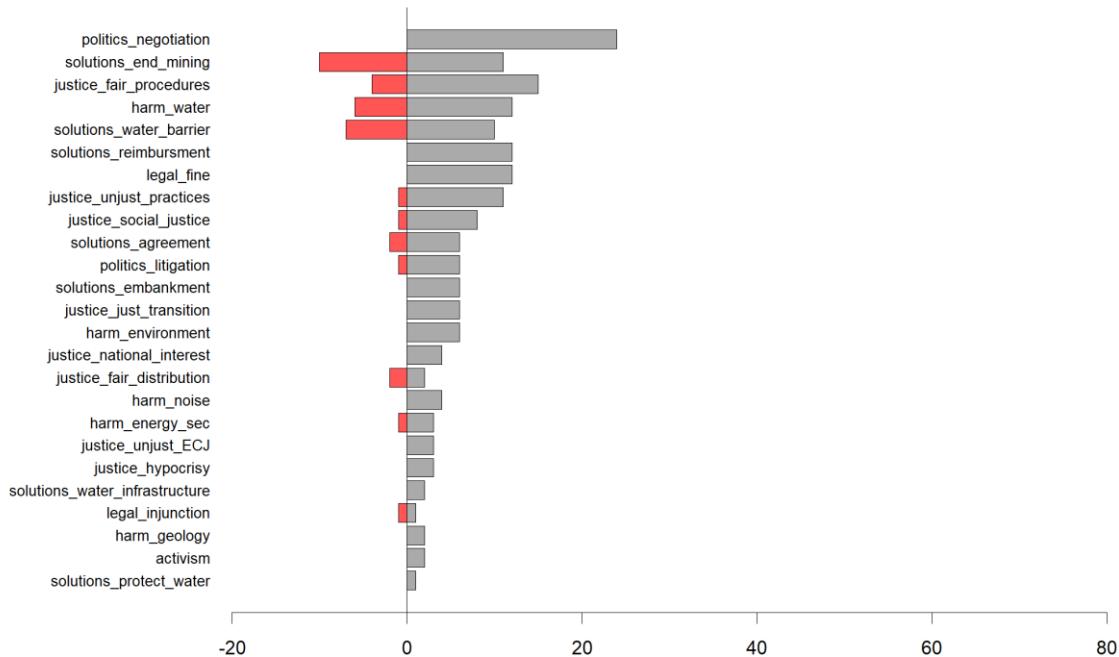


Figure 4 - Period 3 - June 8 to September 20, 2021

The fourth period (Figure 5) is dominated by the coverage of negotiations – both its proceedings and voicing of hopes of agreement as a solution to the issue. Contention is focused on (dis)agreement with fine of 500,000 EUR per day that is imposed on Poland by CJEU, and with end of mining. Here, mostly Czech actors increase their opposition towards prospect of concessions and continuation of mining in case of agreement.

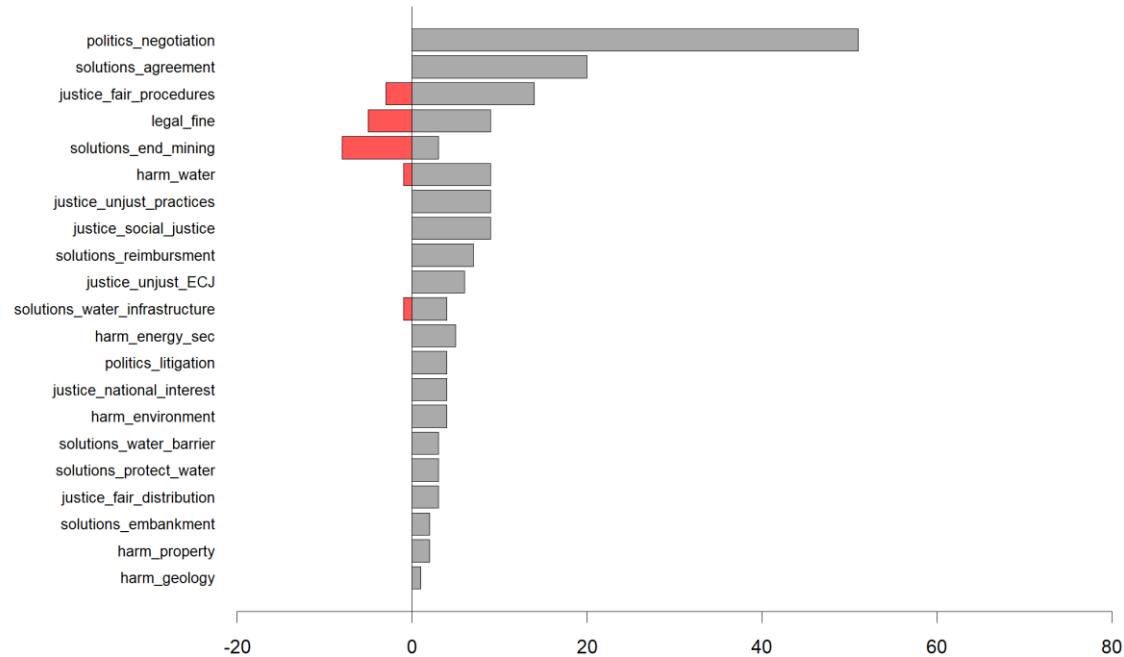


Figure 5 - Period 4 - September 21 to October 8, 2021

Patterns from the last period (Figure 6) over discussions on negotiations remain in place, but more impending termination of the conflict and potential withdrawal of the case from CJEU sees much more contention across concepts. There is marked contention over desirability of reaching bilateral solution with Poland, as well as increased contention over the functioning of the underground water barrier. Along with that, actors disagree over termination of mining as an ultimate goal, as well as termination of litigation and fairness of procedures. This time, however, disagreement over fairness mostly touches untransparent negotiation process. Actors opposed to reaching bilateral claims highlight continued harm to water, while actors desiring conclusion to the conflict highlight reimbursement as the main benefit of conclusion of the case.

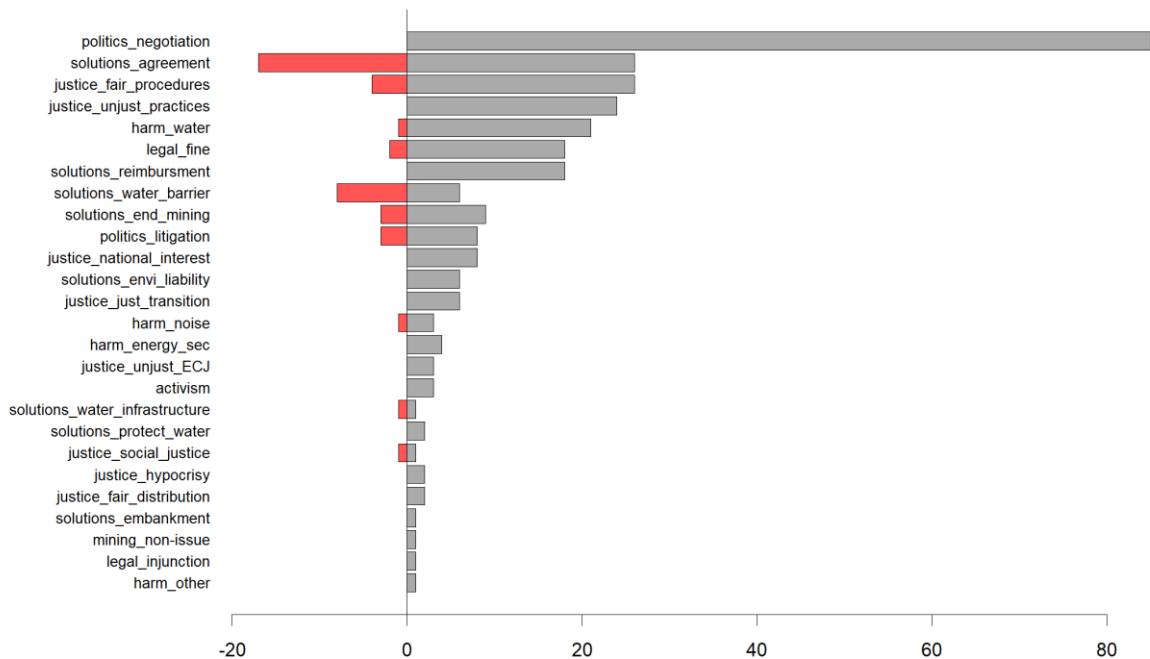


Figure 6 - Period 5 - October 9, 2021 to February 3, 2022

## G) One-mode organization-concept network projections<sup>6</sup>

These five visualizations of the five respective networks show organizations and concepts they subscribe to. Each network shows organizations through their (dis)agreement with concepts.

The color coding of actors represents their type. The color of the tie signifies overall agreement between the two actors, where all disagreement ties are subtracted from agreement ties. Red ties show overall disagreement, while black ties show overall agreement between two actors in that given period. Each tie might be formed as a product of repeated (dis)agreement with single or multiple concepts. This is visualized as width of the tie, which shows the frequency of the (dis)agreement. The layout of the network was altered to minimize the node, edge and cluster overlap. Thus, position of nodes and ties are not indicative.

Each network is also divided into cohesive subgroups using Louvain clustering algorithm. The number of clusters is the result of maximum modularity optimization. Basic network statistics are presented in the main body of the text, as well as in the table below (Figure 7).

Period	Nodes	Edges	Isolates	Density	Average degree	Louv. clusters	Louv. modularity
1P	17	38	0	0.279	4.471	3	0.185
2P	29	111	0	0.273	7.655	4	0.17
3P	27	160	0	0.456	11.852	2	0.548
4P	28	129	0	0.341	9.214	2	0.102
5P	36	262	1	0.416	14.556	3	0.231

Figure 7 - Basic descriptives of one-mode organization projections

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<sup>6</sup> See Section J for changes in codes following language proofing of the main text. Figures list original (unproofed) concept names.

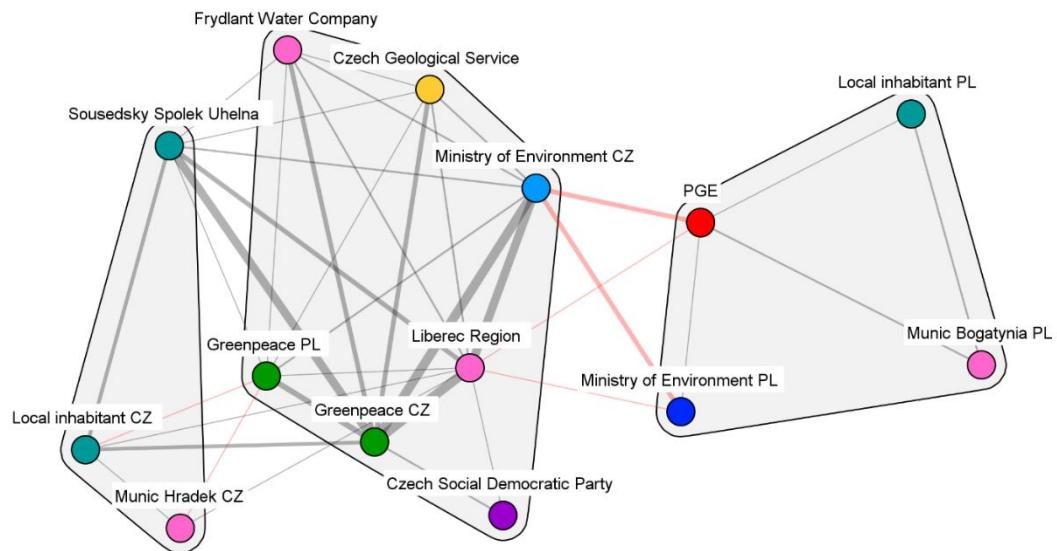


Figure 8 - Period 1 - Februray 26 to April 21, 2021

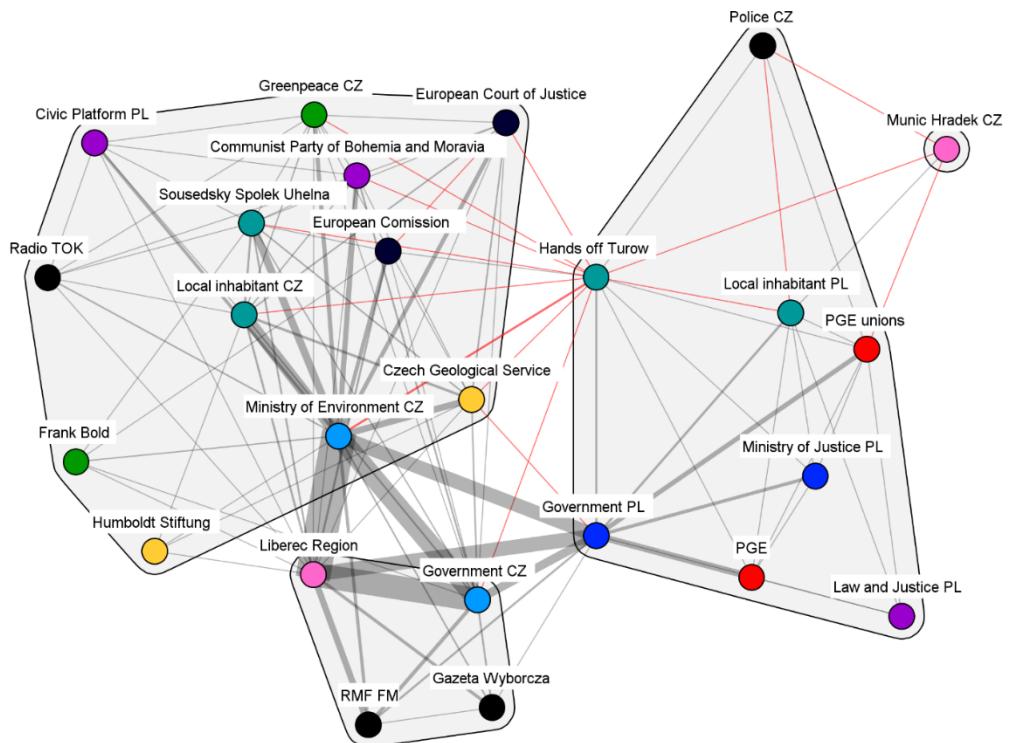


Figure 9 - Period 2 - May 22 to June 7

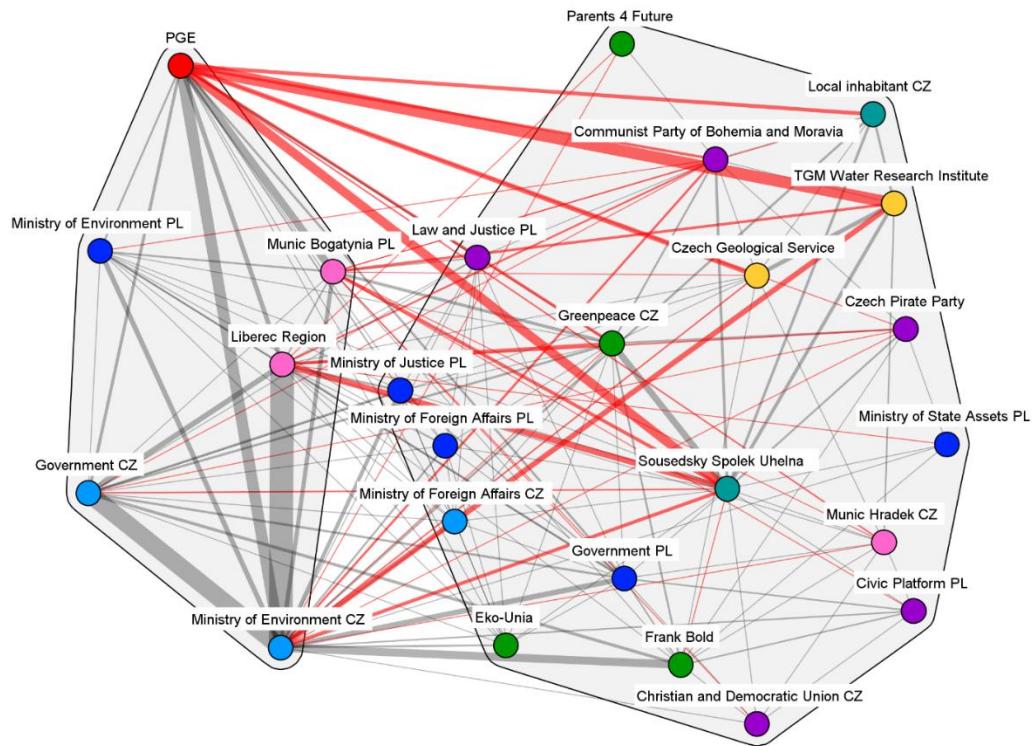


Figure 10 - Period 3 - June 8 to September 20, 2021

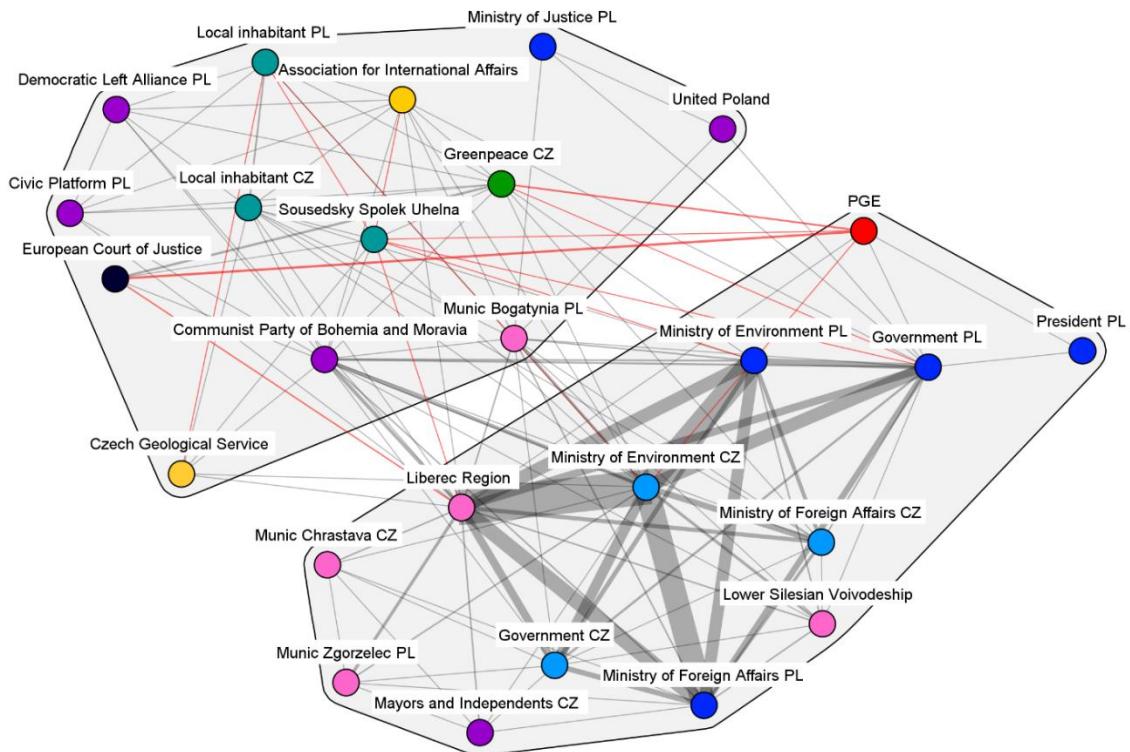


Figure 11 - Period 4 - September 21 to October 8, 2021

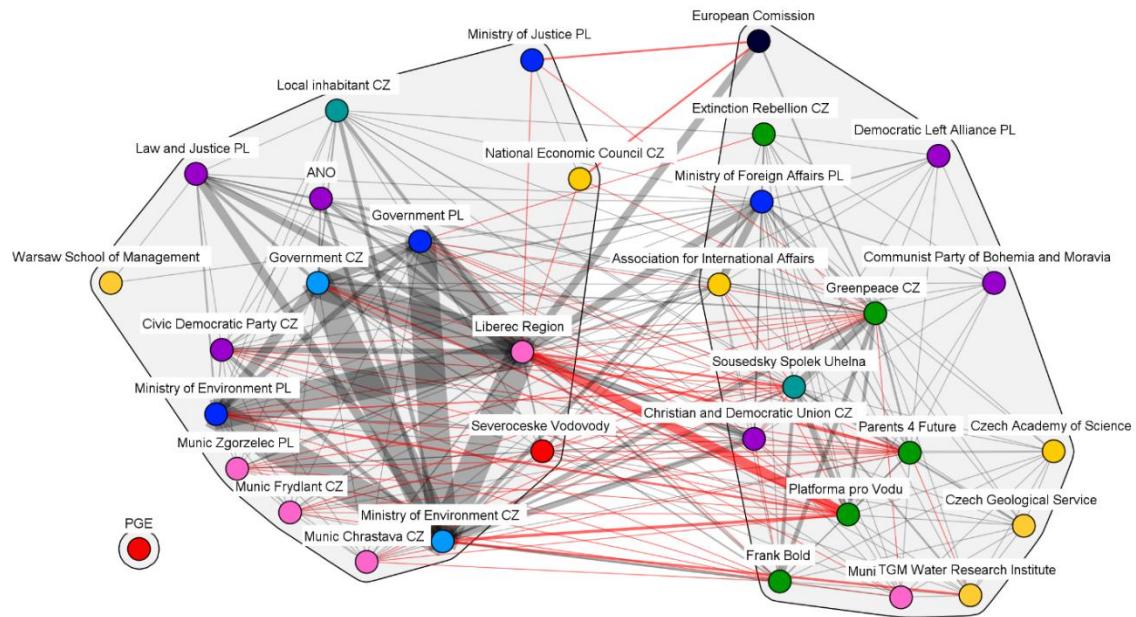


Figure 12 - Period 5 - October 9, 2021 to February 3, 2022

## H) Degree, weighted degree and betweenness tables<sup>7</sup>

### H1) Degree

Organization	Type	Period 1			Period 2			Period 3			Period 4			Period 5		
		Deg.	Deg. Norm	Rank												
<b>ANO</b>	Political Party													12	0.375	19
<b>Association for International Affairs</b>	Expert Institution										10	0.400	12	19	0.594	10
<b>Christian and Democratic Union CZ</b>	Political Party							6	0.250	20				23	0.719	4
<b>Civic Democratic Party CZ</b>	Political Party													17	0.531	13
<b>Civic Platform PL</b>	Political Party				7	0.292	12	6	0.250	21	7	0.280	15			
<b>Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia</b>	Political Party				10	0.417	7	9	0.375	18	17	0.680	3	9	0.281	27
<b>Czech Academy of Science</b>	Expert Institution													12	0.375	20
<b>Czech Geological Service</b>	Expert Institution	6	0.462	4	10	0.417	8	11	0.458	15	5	0.200	21	12	0.375	21
<b>Czech Pirate Party</b>	Political Party							6	0.250	22						
<b>Czech Social Democratic Party</b>	Political Party	2	0.154	10												
<b>Democratic Left Alliance PL</b>	Political Party										7	0.280	16	8	0.250	28
<b>Eko-Unia</b>	ENGO/Environmental Movement							12	0.500	11						
<b>European Commission</b>	Supranational Governance				6	0.250	15							2	0.063	29
<b>European Court of Justice/Court of Justice of the EU</b>	Supranational Governance				8	0.333	10				4	0.160	22			
<b>Extinction Rebellion CZ</b>	ENGO/Environmental Movement													11	0.344	23
<b>Frank Bold</b>	ENGO/Environmental Movement				5	0.208	18	14	0.583	7				15	0.469	15
<b>Frydlant Water Company</b>	Regional Governance	6	0.462	5												
<b>Gazeta Wyborcza</b>	Media				5	0.208	19									
<b>Government CZ</b>	National Governance				13	0.542	3	16	0.667	5	12	0.480	7	20	0.625	8
<b>Government PL</b>	National Governance				12	0.500	4	16	0.667	6	14	0.560	4	18	0.563	12
<b>Greenpeace CZ</b>	ENGO/Environmental Movement	10	0.769	1	10	0.417	9	18	0.750	3	12	0.480	8	25	0.781	2
<b>Greenpeace PL</b>	ENGO/Environmental Movement	6	0.462	6												
<b>Hands off Turow</b>	Local organization				8	0.333	11									
<b>Humboldt Stiftung</b>	Expert Institution				4	0.167	22									
<b>Law and Justice PL</b>	Political Party				4	0.167	23	14	0.583	8				14	0.438	18
<b>Liberec Region</b>	Regional Governance	9	0.692	2	17	0.708	1	17	0.708	4	22	0.880	1	28	0.875	1
<b>Local inhabitants CZ</b>	Local organization	4	0.308	8	11	0.458	6	10	0.417	17	13	0.520	6	21	0.656	6
<b>Local inhabitants PL</b>	Local organization	2	0.154	11	6	0.250	16				8	0.320	14			

<sup>7</sup> See Section J for changes in codes following language proofing of the main text.

Organization	Type	Period 1			Period 2			Period 3			Period 4			Period 5		
		Deg.	Deg. Norm	Rank												
Lower Silesian Voivodeship	Regional Governance									9	0.360	13				
Mayors and Independents CZ	Political Party									6	0.240	18				
Ministry of Environment CZ	National Governance	6	0.462	7	17	0.708	2	23	0.958	1	18	0.720	2	20	0.625	9
Ministry of Environment PL	National Governance	2	0.154	12				13	0.542	9	11	0.440	10	17	0.531	14
Ministry of Foreign Affairs CZ	National Governance							12	0.500	12	11	0.440	11			
Ministry of Foreign Affairs PL	National Governance							12	0.500	13	12	0.480	9	24	0.750	3
Ministry of Justice PL	National Governance				5	0.208	20	12	0.500	14	3	0.120	23	1	0.031	31
Ministry of State Assets PL	National Governance							4	0.167	24						
Munic Bogatynia PL	Regional Governance	2	0.154	13				11	0.458	16	14	0.560	5			
Munic Chrastava CZ	Regional Governance									6	0.240	19	11	0.344	24	
Munic Frydlant CZ	Regional Governance												11	0.344	25	
Munic Hradek CZ	Regional Governance	2	0.154	14	1	0.042	25	9	0.375	19				15	0.469	16
Munic Zgorzelec PL	Regional Governance									6	0.240	20	11	0.344	26	
National Economic Council CZ	Expert Institution												1	0.031	32	
Parents 4 Future	ENGO/Environmental Movement							1	0.042	25				19	0.594	11
PGE	Company	4	0.308	9	6	0.250	17	13	0.542	10	3	0.120	24	0	0.000	33
PGE unions	Company				7	0.292	13									
Platforma pro Vodu/Platforma Spolecne pro Vodu	ENGO/Environmental Movement												15	0.469	17	
Police CZ	Other				2	0.083	24									
President PL	National Governance									2	0.080	26				
Radio TOK	Media				7	0.292	14									
RMF FM/Radio RMF FM	Media				5	0.208	21									
Severoceske Vodovody	Company												22	0.688	5	
Sousedsky Spolek Uhelna	Local organization	7	0.538	3	12	0.500	5	23	0.958	2	7	0.280	17	21	0.656	7
TGM Water Research Institute	Expert Institution							6	0.250	23				12	0.375	22
United Poland	Political Party									3	0.120	25				
Warsaw School of Management	Expert Institution												2	0.063	30	

## H2) Weighted degree

Organization	Type	Period 1		Period 2		Period 3		Period 4		Period 5	
		Deg. Weight.	Rank Deg. W.								
ANO	Political Party									84	17
Association for International Affairs	Expert Institution							26	16	130	12
Christian and Democratic Union CZ	Political Party					10	23			164	11
Civic Democratic Party CZ	Political Party									109	15
Civic Platform PL	Political Party			28	16	18	20	8	21		
Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia	Political Party			48	9	23	16	94	8	24	27
Czech Academy of Science	Expert Institution									20	29
Czech Geological Service	Expert Institution	12	6	67	7	35	14	8	22	38	21
Czech Pirate Party	Political Party					15	22				
Czech Social Democratic Party	Political Party	3	11								
Democratic Left Alliance PL	Political Party							8	23	23	28
Eko-Unia	ENGO/Environmental Movement					23	17				
European Commission	Supranational Governance			38	13					65	18
European Court of Justice/Court of Justice of the EU	Supranational Governance			44	10			23	17		
Extinction Rebellion CZ	ENGO/Environmental Movement									38	22
Frank Bold	ENGO/Environmental Movement			12	21	63	9			168	10
Frydlant Water Company	Regional Governance	12	7								
Gazeta Wyborcza	Media			31	15						
Government CZ	National Governance			256	3	122	3	184	6	934	3
Government PL	National Governance			233	4	64	8	226	5	514	5
Greenpeace CZ	ENGO/Environmental Movement	59	1	41	11	96	6	58	10	352	6
Greenpeace PL	ENGO/Environmental Movement	13	5								
Hands off Turow	Local organization			20	17						
Humboldt Stiftung	Expert Institution			5	23						
Law and Justice PL	Political Party			8	22	31	15			178	9
Liberec Region	Regional Governance	34	2	376	2	142	2	533	2	2014	1
Local inhabitants CZ	Local organization	10	8	100	5	40	12	41	12	111	14
Local inhabitants PL	Local organization	3	12	20	18			28	15		
Lower Silesian Voivodeship	Regional Governance							50	11		
Mayors and Independents CZ	Political Party							19	18		
Ministry of Environment CZ	National Governance	32	3	487	1	316	1	688	1	1841	2
Ministry of Environment PL	National Governance	2	13			43	11	372	4	543	4
Ministry of Foreign Affairs CZ	National Governance					23	18	124	7		
Ministry of Foreign Affairs PL	National Governance					23	19	380	3	268	8



### H3) Betweenness

Organization	Type	Period 1			Period 2			Period 3			Period 4			Period 5			
		Betw.	Betw. N.	Rank													
<b>ANO</b>	Political Party														17.052	0.034	9
<b>Association for International Affairs</b>	Expert Institution										36.187	0.121	5	15.410	0.031	10	
<b>Christian and Democratic Union CZ</b>	Political Party							3.902	0.014	14				41.984	0.085	3	
<b>Civic Democratic Party CZ</b>	Political Party													43.058	0.087	2	
<b>Civic Platform PL</b>	Political Party				0.000	0.000	20	0.000	0.000	18	26.777	0.089	9				
<b>Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia</b>	Political Party				6.900	0.025	17	65.806	0.238	1	73.096	0.244	1	2.646	0.005	19	
<b>Czech Academy of Science</b>	Expert Institution													20.071	0.040	6	
<b>Czech Geological Service</b>	Expert Institution	6.583	0.084	5	35.333	0.128	6	27.548	0.100	5	34.169	0.114	6	0.000	0.000	23	
<b>Czech Pirate Party</b>	Political Party							8.143	0.030	11							
<b>Czech Social Democratic Party</b>	Political Party	28.500	0.365	3													
<b>Democratic Left Alliance PL</b>	Political Party										26.777	0.089	10	1.777	0.004	21	
<b>Eko-Unia</b>	ENGO/Environmental Movement							9.645	0.035	8							
<b>European Commission</b>	Supranational Governance				7.060	0.026	16							0.000	0.000	24	
<b>European Court of Justice/Court of Justice of the EU</b>	Supranational Governance				0.000	0.000	21				0.000	0.000	19				
<b>Extinction Rebellion CZ</b>	ENGO/Environmental Movement													1.811	0.004	20	
<b>Frank Bold</b>	ENGO/Environmental Movement				17.079	0.062	12	5.208	0.019	13				0.000	0.000	25	
<b>Frydlant Water Company</b>	Regional Governance	6.583	0.084	6													
<b>Gazeta Wyborcza</b>	Media				23.000	0.083	9										
<b>Government CZ</b>	National Governance				5.667	0.021	18	2.142	0.008	16	59.085	0.197	3	0.000	0.000	26	
<b>Government PL</b>	National Governance				35.667	0.129	5	0.000	0.000	19	30.200	0.101	7	19.933	0.040	7	
<b>Greenpeace CZ</b>	ENGO/Environmental Movement	36.000	0.462	2	10.733	0.039	13	19.778	0.072	6	0.000	0.000	20	28.367	0.057	5	
<b>Greenpeace PL</b>	ENGO/Environmental Movement	4.583	0.059	7													
<b>Hands off Turow</b>	Local organization				107.512	0.390	1										
<b>Humboldt Stiftung</b>	Expert Institution				40.795	0.148	3										
<b>Law and Justice PL</b>	Political Party				20.667	0.075	10	46.606	0.169	3				7.067	0.014	17	
<b>Liberec Region</b>	Regional Governance	40.250	0.516	1	84.538	0.306	2	2.625	0.010	15	45.251	0.151	4	0.000	0.000	27	
<b>Local inhabitants CZ</b>	Local organization	0.000	0.000	8	4.543	0.016	19	5.632	0.020	12	29.898	0.100	8	37.232	0.075	4	
<b>Local inhabitants PL</b>	Local organization	0.000	0.000	9	30.167	0.109	8				6.041	0.020	15				
<b>Lower Silesian Voivodeship</b>	Regional Governance										8.430	0.028	14				
<b>Mayors and Independents CZ</b>	Political Party										19.669	0.066	12				
<b>Ministry of Environment CZ</b>	National Governance	0.000	0.000	10	20.167	0.073	11	0.000	0.000	20	20.915	0.070	11	0.000	0.000	28	
<b>Ministry of Environment PL</b>	National Governance	0.000	0.000	11				0.365	0.001	17	0.000	0.000	21	0.000	0.000	29	
<b>Ministry of Foreign Affairs CZ</b>	National Governance							9.645	0.035	9	0.000	0.000	22				
<b>Ministry of Foreign Affairs PL</b>	National Governance							9.645	0.035	10	0.000	0.000	23	5.048	0.010	18	
<b>Ministry of Justice PL</b>	National Governance				34.833	0.126	7	0.000	0.000	21	5.097	0.017	16	0.000	0.000	30	
<b>Ministry of State Assets PL</b>	National Governance							17.043	0.062	7							

Organization	Type	Period 1			Period 2			Period 3			Period 4			Period 5		
		Betw.	Betw. N.	Rank												
Munic Bogatynia PL	Regional Governance	0.000	0.000	12				0.000	0.000	22	69.035	0.230	2			
Munic Chrastava CZ	Regional Governance										19.669	0.066	13	9.584	0.019	13
Munic Frydlant CZ	Regional Governance													9.584	0.019	14
Munic Hradek CZ	Regional Governance	0.000	0.000	13	0.000	0.000	22	27.881	0.101	4				18.380	0.037	8
Munic Zgorzelec PL	Regional Governance										0.000	0.000	24	9.584	0.019	15
National Economic Council CZ	Expert Institution													0.000	0.000	31
Parents 4 Future	ENGO/Environmental Movement							0.000	0.000	24				11.191	0.023	11
PGE	Company	22.000	0.282	4	0.000	0.000	23	0.000	0.000	23	0.000	0.000	25	0.000	0.000	32
PGE unions	Company				10.667	0.039	14									
Platforma pro Vodu/Platform Spolecne pro Vodu	ENGO/Environmental Movement													9.154	0.018	16
Police CZ	Other				0.000	0.000	24									
President PL	National Governance										3.933	0.013	18			
Radio TOK	Media				38.779	0.141	4									
RMF FM/Radio RMF FM	Media				0.000	0.000	25									
Severoceske Vodovody	Company													112.353	0.227	1
Sousedsky Spolek Uhelna	Local organization	0.000	0.000	14	10.500	0.038	15	64.959	0.235	2	0.000	0.000	26	0.000	0.000	33
TGM Water Research Institute	Expert Institution							0.000	0.000	25				10.227	0.021	12
United Poland	Political Party										5.097	0.017	17			
Warsaw School of Management	Expert Institution													1.000	0.002	22

## I Case description

The Turów complex consists of a mining area (Turów mine) as well as Turów Power Station, thermal power plant located right at the northern edge of the mining site. Both the mine and power station are currently operated by Polska Grupa Energetyczna (PGE), state-owned energy company. The complex is located near the Czech and German borders at the tripont. The mine is operational since 1904.

The complex can be considered a key economic pillar of the Lower Silesia region: together it creates around 3 600 direct jobs (2 400 at the mine, 1 200 at the power plant). With a capacity of 1 948 MWe, the power plant covers approximately 5-7% of Poland's annual electricity consumption, i.e. supplies approximately 2.5-3 million households with electricity, and also serves as a supplier of heat and hot water for the town of Bogatynia. According to PGE, up to 15 000 jobs are indirectly connected to the operation of the complex (PGE, n.d.). A rapid shutdown would be a blow to the Polish energy sector, but also to the financial stability of the regional government, the surrounding settlements and many households living in the Lower Silesia region.

The Turów coal mine dispute is a major environmental and political conflict between Poland and the Czech Republic. Its planned extension until 2044 has sparked significant controversy.

## Historical pretext to the conflict

The issue of the Turów mine became politicised in the Czech Republic in 2016, when the Polish state-owned PGE began preparing for its expansion and extension of mining until 2044, as according to the original permit the mine could only be operated until 2020. The Czech Republic, especially through the Ministry of the Environment (Richard Brabec, ANO) and the Liberec Region (Martin Půta, SLK), has gradually warned of the growing negative impacts of cross-border mining, especially the gradual loss of water in the Frýdlant, Hrádek and Chrastava regions (Valchová, 2016). In the same year, it was agreed to create a working group, to which experts from both sides were appointed, including a representative of PGE, and which was tasked with creating a mutually agreed solution to the problem of the impact of the Turów mine on water conditions in the Czech Republic (Ministry of the Environment, 2016).

Despite the existence of the Czech-Polish expert group and the formal participation of the Czech authorities in the transboundary EIA process, the comments of the Czech side were long downplayed by Poland - the Liberec Region in particular was very disappointed with the negotiations and was not satisfied with the approach of the Ministry of Environment. According to the Liberec Region, the decision was made without the Czech side's comments, which should have been provided by the MoE (Trdla, 2019).

The culmination of this phase was the decision of the Polish Ministry of Climate from March 2020, which extended the mining permit of the mine until 2026 without a new transboundary EIA. This step, carried out through an accelerated procedure pursuant to Article 72(2)(k) of the Act of 3 October 2008 "Ustawa o udostępnianiu informacji o środowisku..." of the Polish legislation, was interpreted by the Czech side as a violation of European law (STANOVISKO GENERÁLNÍHO ADVOKÁTA, 2022) (Directive 2011/92/EU, as well as Directive 2003/4/EC and Article 4(3) of the Treaty on European Union). The Czech Ministry of the Environment expressed its official disagreement, the Liberec Region convened emergency meetings and the mayors of the affected municipalities started to publicise the impact on their territory. At the same time, civil society began to get involved in the dispute. In November 2019, citizens of the affected municipalities handed over a petition to the Minister of the Environment with around 700 signatures, appealing and calling for the Czech government to enter the dispute in a more active way (ČTK, 2019). Czech authorities argue that continued mining depletes groundwater, threatening supplies for thousands in nearby Czech towns (Sobota et al., 2024). Additional concerns included air and noise pollution, as well as soil subsidence, which could damage infrastructure (Ondráček et al., 2024). These environmental issues formed the basis of Czechia's opposition to the mine.

In November 2019, these activities led to the issuance of a disapproval opinion on the (EIA) plan to continue mining at the Turów mine. The disapproval opinion was submitted by the Ministry of Environment in cooperation with the Liberec Region and the Czech Geological Survey (Ministry of the Environment, 2019). A petition against the mine expansion containing 13,000 signatures was submitted in March 2020 by representatives of the Liberec Region, local citizens, Frank Bold and Greenpeace to the Petitions Committee of the European Parliament and subsequently to the European Commission (Pintera, 2020). In September 2020, the Ministry of the Environment and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Tomáš Petříček, SOCDEM) sent a complaint to the European Commission regarding the violation of EU law (EU Pilot) by Poland in connection with the extension and extension of the mining permit for the Turów mine (Ministry of the Environment, 2020).

In December 2020, the EC issued a reasoned opinion in which it confirmed Poland's violation of EU law - in particular the EIA Directives (2011/92/EU), access to information (2003/4/EC) and the principle of loyal cooperation (Article 4(3) TFEU). On the other hand, the Strategic Assessment Directive (SEA) (2001/42/EC) and the Water Framework Directive (2000/60/EC) were not infringed, according to the Commission (European Commission, 2020).

## Legal escalation

In February 2021, there was a major shift: In May 2021, the CJEU granted the Czech Republic's request and ordered Poland to temporarily stop mining (*ORDER OF 21. 5. 2021 – CASE C-121/21 R: CZECH REPUBLIC V POLAND*, 2021). However, the Polish government did not respect this legal act, arguing that the mine was critical for national energy security and that closing it would cause economic hardship, invoking Article 194 TFEU, which provides EU member states with rights to determine their own energy policies.

In June 2021, the Czech government approved a framework for negotiating an international agreement with Poland that would lead to the withdrawal of the lawsuit on condition that the Czech Republic meets its requirements - in particular, paying the costs of new sources of drinking water and ensuring compliance with European law. At the same time, it asked the CJEU to impose a penalty of €5 million per day for continued mining in violation of the May 2021 preliminary injunction. The CJEU eventually fined Poland half a million euros (CZK 12.7 million) per day for failing to stop mining at the Turów mine in violation of the May preliminary injunction (Ministry of the Environment, 2021).

In October 2021, elections to the Czech Chamber of Deputies were held in the Czech Republic. The elections were won by the parties of the then opposition and Petr Fiala (ODS; SPOLU) became Prime Minister. ODS has long been close to the Polish PiS party (both parties are part of the European political group ECR). After the appointment of the government, negotiating an intergovernmental agreement became one of the priorities for the new Environment Minister Anna Hubáčková (KDU-ČSL, SPOLU). The SPOLU coalition formed a coalition together with the PIRSTAN coalition, which was composed of the Pirate Party (Greens/EFA) and the STAN movement (EPP). STAN is a partner party of the SLK, which has long been the dominant political force in the Liberec Region and has had a governor since 2012. The

town of Hrádek nad Nisou, which includes the two most affected districts of Uhelná and Václavice, has been led by people associated with the SLK since 2002. With the appointment of the government of Petr Fiala, the STAN movement (SLK) became a ruling party for the first time during the escalation of the Turow case.

## Post-agreement development

The negotiations resulted in a bilateral agreement of 3 February 2022, signed by Prime Ministers Fiala and Morawiecki. The agreement included a financial compensation of EUR 45 million (of which EUR 10 million directly to the Liberec Region), the construction of an underground sealing water barrier and a protective embankment to reduce dust emissions and noise, the introduction of joint monitoring and the establishment of an inspection committee (Sobota et al., 2024). Czechia withdrew its lawsuit from the CJEU on February 4, 2022, effectively resolving the immediate legal dispute, as provided for in Article 1 of the agreement.

In the event that a party fails to comply with the Agreement, Article 13 provides for a dispute settlement procedure: the party that considers that there has been a breach of the Agreement must submit its view to the other party in writing. If the parties fail to reach an agreement within three months, the dispute may be referred to the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) under Article 273 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (TFEU).

The CJEU has jurisdiction to decide whether there has been a breach of the Agreement. If the breach is confirmed, the judgment is binding and the party concerned is obliged to take measures to comply with it within the time limit set by the court. If this is not done, the CJEU may decide on a sanction or fine (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2022).

Since the signing of the agreement, technical measures have been implemented: an underground sealing water barrier, a dust and noise-reducing embankment and measurement infrastructure have been built. The Liberec Region has used part of the funds for environmental projects and monitoring, but at the same time has repeatedly requested access to data and increased public scrutiny. In the meantime, municipalities pointed out that monitoring was not regular, that data was not shared and that the effects of the measures were only partially visible.

In July 2023, the Ministry of the Environment, headed by Petr Hladík (KDU-ČSL), announced that the wall was functional, but admitted that the overall improvement in groundwater levels on the Czech side was still limited (Ministry of the Environment, 2023). In March 2024, a new twist occurred: a Polish court annulled the EIA decision for mining until 2044, citing procedural violations related to Poland's failure to fully assess transboundary impacts as required under the EIA Directive (Zachová & Pištorová, 2024). This opened the possibility of a legal review of the entire extension. Czech and German NGOs (Frank Bold, EkoUnia, Greenpeace) have also been involved in the proceedings

(Tramba, 2024). Subsequently, Prime Minister Fiala declared his intention to reopen the Turów issue in his meeting with the new Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk.

However, Turów complex operations continue temporarily under an emergency provision, pending further legal proceedings. Environmental activists and NGOs continue to advocate for stricter regulations, arguing that Poland has not fully addressed its obligations under EU environmental law (Wróblewski et al., 2023). Protests have been held marking the anniversary of the Czech-Polish agreement, highlighting ongoing issues such as water shortages and structural damage in Czech communities near the mine (Beyond Fossil Fuels, 2024).

## Formal competences and power relations

Actor	Formal roles regarding EIA	Roles in conflict	MLG level
<b>Ministry of the Environment (MZP)</b>	Responsible for EIA assessment, responsibilities delimited by the Act 100/2001 Coll.  Responsibilities regarding regulation of water, air and environment grounded in separate legal documents	Handled EIA, water and environmental protection; prepared documents for the lawsuit; coordinated monitoring and transboundary communication with Poland; participated in the negotiation of the agreement.	National level
<b>Ministry of Foreign Affairs CZ (MZV)</b>	Responsibilities regarding negotiations of international and intergovernmental agreements  Coordinates legal action in front of the CJEU	Handled legal proceedings before the CJEU; participated in the negotiation of the agreement.	National level
<b>Prime Minister</b>	Constitutionally grounded power to coordinate the Government  Signs international agreements	Politically coordinated the State's action; signed the Czech-Polish agreement.	National level

<b>Regional administration</b>	<p>An “affected party” based on the Act 100/2001 Coll. – allowed to comment on and raise objections in the EIA procedure</p> <p>Under the same act, obliged to protect “regional interests”</p> <p>Based on Act 129/2000 Coll., governs regional projects</p>	<p>Commented on the EIA; represented regional interests; managed part of the financial compensation (€10 million); implemented monitoring and measures in the affected area.</p>	Sub-state level
<b>Municipalities</b>	<p>An “affected party” based on the Act 100/2001 Coll. – allowed to comment on and raise objections in the EIA procedure</p> <p>Based on Act 128/2000 Coll., has separate authority in protection of public interest (e.g., protection of water, clean air)</p>	<p>Documented impacts of mining, participated in EIA proceedings, communicated with the region and the state, formulated demands for water resource protection and compensation.</p>	Sub-state level
<b>Non-governmental organizations and civil society organizations</b>	<p>Act 100/2000 Coll. acknowledges right of affected publics to submit complaints and due to that, participate in subsequent proceedings.</p> <p>Allowed to organize and protest</p>	<p>provided legal support; organized campaigns and legal initiatives; mobilized the public and monitored local impacts.</p>	Sub-state level

## J Typographical errors in coding

This section lists codes that were altered during the proof-reading process of the article. The main text contains the corrected codes; however, the supplementary material presents both the erroneous and corrected versions for transparency. Minor typographical errors were corrected, while in cases of more substantial adjustments, both versions are provided. Changes in the corrected version are highlighted.

Original version	Corrected version
European Comission	European Commission
European Court of Justice	<b>Court of Justice of the EU</b>
justice_unjust_ECJ	justice_unjust_CJEU
Local inhabitant CZ	Local inhabitants CZ
Local inhabitant PL	Local inhabitants PL
Platforma pro Vodu	<b>Platform Spolecne</b> pro Vodu
RMF FM	<b>Radio</b> RMF FM
solutions_reimbursement	solutions_reimbursement

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