introduction and the conclusion should be bound together and dropped from airplanes on European capitals. Even then, eyes to see and ears to hear would still be needed.

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Energy, environment and global health

Networks in contention: the divisive politics of climate change. By Jennifer Hadden. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2015. 222pp. Index. £54.95. ISBN 978 1 10708 958 7.

Non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and activist networks have played an important part in international environmental negotiations for some years. In this clearly written, research-led book, Jennifer Hadden analyses how different types of activists and different networks have sought to influence climate change politics and each other. Her book focuses especially on the 2009 Copenhagen Climate Change Conference, which had aimed to provide a successor agreement to the Kyoto Protocol. The conference failed in this objective, but it attracted the largest number of political protests since climate change conferences began (p. 144).

Hadden analyses these contentious politics by discussing, in cognitive fashion, the different positions and tactics of networks. She compares two broad theories: that organizational behaviour responds to opportunities (based on political process theories), and that tactics reflect an organization's ideology, structure and resources (based on organizational theories) (p. 5). She argues that both theories matter, but her key contribution is the observation that 'organizational decision-making is fundamentally relational: it depends on the actions of other organizations working in the same field' (p. 64). From this position, she argues that 'organizations are more likely to adopt contentious forms of action when their peers have already done so' (p. 64), but also that 'we cannot simply study civil society participation in the UNFCCC [the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change] as if the institution were the target of a single coordinated campaign' (p. 168).

To make this point, Hadden presents detailed research on two complementary networks within climate change activism, based on interviews and social network analysis (which shows the connections and shared values of different groups and activists like a topological map) (pp. 63–88). She looks especially at two complementary networks. The Climate Action Network (CAN) is a longstanding and 'conventional' (p. 89) activist network fighting to achieve strong commitments under the UNFCCC by giving activists a 'single voice' (p. 93). In contrast, the coalition called Climate Justice Now! (CJN) includes NGOs such as Friends of the Earth, ActionAid Asia and Carbon Trade Watch, which seek to challenge various aspects of climate change politics, including some of the proposed solutions to climate change such as carbon trading (p. 116).

These networks differ in both their style and their objectives. CAN focuses largely on influencing current negotiations, for example by preferring to discuss 'equity' (or fair targets) to guide the reduction of greenhouse gases (p. 155). CJN, on the other hand, uses the word 'justice' to include various aspects of social and economic inequality (p. 158), while adopting principles of public protest and disruption used during the anti-World Trade Organization protests in Seattle in 1999 (p. 122). Although Hadden does not say this, one can imagine CAN members in suits and carrying smart phones and CJN activists sporting beards and political T-shirts.

The book argues that the rise of the justice activists at Copenhagen led to discussions about climate change which took into account wider questions about global political and economic structures (p. 151). CAN also reformed its own activities and structure,

for example increasing its presence in developing countries, appointing a director from the Middle East and forming a new committee to consider equity. In the Warsaw climate change meeting in 2013, CAN members also collaborated in a group walkout from the negotiations to demonstrate their frustration with the lack of progress made (p. 161).

Yet Hadden also argues that the climate justice activists became more harmonized in their outlook and moderate in their tactics as a result of greater collaboration and deliberation between different groups (pp. 137–8). In some cases, this trend became stronger as climate justice groups increasingly professionalized, although some large NGOs such as Friends of the Earth have always adopted a contentious approach (p. 139). But Hadden also notes that some activists have now accepted that the UNFCCC might never furnish a solution—they are learning from environmental justice networks to focus on deeper social transformations in order to change consumption and other behaviours.

Hadden's conclusion is that the relationships between organizations—rather than their beliefs or tactics—control how networks contest and merge (p. 9). She also argues that the UNFCCC can only benefit from increasing public participation in negotiations and allowing NGOs access to official documents—although mutually agreed rules to limit activism may be necessary (pp. 170–71). Curiously, though, she does not discuss whether these same proposals should relate to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (the scientific body advising the climate change negotiations).

This scholarly work will be of interest to students and specialists in environmental politics and climate change and to analysts of social movements.

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Europe*

Havel: a life. By Michael Zantovsky. London: Atlantic Books. 2014. 543pp. £19.80. ISBN 978 0 85789 852 4. Available as e-book.

A political biographer is presented with a tricky task. We live our lives into the future, but biographies are written as the past. To live means to embrace the unknown, yet to tell somebody's life amounts to recounting the known and uncovering what is hidden. Even four years after his death, Vaclav Havel remains an enigma. How could a declared 'enemy of the people' become the people's beloved president? What should we make of Havel, the moralist, as distinct from Havel, the political leader? Can the two ever be reconciled?

This is the third major study of Havel's life in English. The lesser-known *Vaclav Havel: civic responsibility in the postmodern age* (James F. Pontuso, Rowman & Littlefield, 2004) is not mentioned in the current book, which is a pity because it complements it very well, focused as it is on Havel's political philosophy developed both in his essays and in his plays. By contrast, John Keane's bestselling *Vaclav Havel: a political tragedy in six acts* (Bloomsbury, 1999) presents Havel as a power-hungry manipulator, rather than a philosopher king eschewing all trappings of power. Keane wanted his Shakespearean story to be spectacular and complete. In his last chapter, he conjured Havel's state funeral more than ten years before Havel died—an artistic device of questionable value and bad moral taste, particularly considering that Havel was diagnosed with lung cancer in 1996. Michael Zantovsky does a far better job of dealing with Havel's life as it was—warts and all (demolishing Keane's account in passing, in numerous footnotes). And what a life it was! From a privileged childhood to an outcast who, defying all odds and lacking formal education, became a hugely successful

* See also Matthias Matthijs and Mark Blyth, *The future of the euro*, pp. 1426–7.

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