Green House Reading List

A central role of the Green House is to reframe the public debate so that an ecological and just worldview becomes widespread, if not hegemonic. One important way that we form our worldviews is through what we read. This list represents the written work that the members of Green House have found most influential on their own work and thinking. We hope it represents a way into a systemically different way of thinking about the world, its peoples, and its future.

For each book there is a comment contributed by the member of Green House who suggested that book. Thus, in a way that is philosophically rather challenge, the ‘I’ refers to a number of different people.


By one of the few great female philosophers, this is one of her more abstract works. It provides a structure for thinking about what it means to be a human being, what sort of beings we are, and the conditions that we need to flourish.


An excellent, thoughtful reflection on the implications of peak oil, financial instability and contemporary ways of life, expressed through theoretical analyses on the current crises we are facing integrated with practical advice and ideas about how individuals, families and communities can prepare for the inevitability of life in a climate changed carbon constrained world. A sort of US version of Rob Hopkins’s The Transition Handbook.


Many members of Green House would style themselves as political ecologists or followers of ecologism. A basis of that position is some understanding of the science of ecology. This is one of the widely available textbooks on the subject; others would no doubt do just as well.


Here Bookchin offers his definitive, provocative and endlessly relevant vision of a non-hierarchal, ecologically-minded and anti-capitalist society that can equitably meet human needs. The technological optimism and the very idea of a ‘post-scarcity’ society may seem misplaced to many Greens, but the reminder that social relations influence our relationship with nature is trenchant and always relevant.


I have always found Bookchin’s work by turns informed, critical, brilliant, provocative, unnecessarily aggressive and partisan but I have always admired the way he combined research and writing with activism. While I don’t subscribe to his ‘eco-anarchist’ politics of ‘social ecology’ his work is a reservoir of ideas from which it is good to occasionally draw (or swim in!).


Most history books still concentrate on rulers and battles. Braudel’s huge book is a fine exemplar of a history book that analyses the effects of environment on how people lived their day to day lives.


Not inherently Green, but a collection of high-quality essays that rescue development thinking from the neo-classical clutches which have been throttling it for a quarter of a century. Edited by the greatest exponent of placing historical evidence once again above *a priori* theoretical dogma.


It is a truism amongst environmentalists that aboriginal peoples lived closer to the earth and so were less environmentally destructive. But what does this mean? What did it feel like to know that the earth was your mother? This book closes the gap between a Western rational mind and that ancient wisdom. It is a travelogue of Chatwin’s exploration of the native Australian songlines.


Gerry Cohen, the Oxford political philosopher who died in 2010, was generally rather uninterested in environmental issues. But his 1995 attack on the extreme libertarian position of Nozick through his assault on the very fundamental notion of self-ownership is of interest to anyone who starts their political philosophy by seeing us as embedded in society and nature and not as individuals. The earlier book on Marx really began the movement for an intelligible, analytic Marxism.

One of the ‘founders’ of green economics and still relevant today amidst talk of de-growth and post-growth economics, combines technical, ecological and ethical issues – though in my view often less forthcoming on the ‘political’ but that quibble aside still a great read.

Herman Daly, (1996) Beyond Growth, Beacon

Daly is the founder of ecological economics. The thinking beautifully exemplified in this book, of what a dynamic equilibrium (‘steady-state’) economy would mean, and why it is essential, is absolutely essential for the new paradigm that Green House means to exemplify and to explore.


I know of no more persuasive argument against warfare.

Jared Diamond (2005), Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Survive (Allen Lane

This book provides the context for how our current capitalist economy. In the past societies that have run out of resources have tended to be regional or island economies (e.g. Easter Island) however the current globalised system means that collapse if humanity continues to use more than a sustainable level of resources could be catastrophic.


The definitive guide so far to the new political ideology that will replace liberalism, namely: ecologism. Not environmentalism.


The original work to provide argument and evidence that economic growth has begun to be destructive, socially and environmentally. Although written in 1992, many of the arguments are still sound and the book is interestingly written and very accessible.

A historical study of the discipline of economics since its birth, which coincided with the birth of industrial capitalism. Explains how economics has evolved in step with capitalism, and largely as a theoretical justification of it.

**John Foster, (2008) *The sustainability mirage*, Earthscan**

One doesn’t have to agree with Foster’s bits and pieces of apologia for capitalism, in order to find the fundamental ideas of this book riveting and powerful. In a nutshell: ‘Sustainability’ runs the risk of being simply the continuation of a failed system; we need to care about the future (not about prolonging what we have got) if we are to save that future.


Once the seriousness of the environmental crisis could no longer be ignored, the market makers developed a strategy for profiting from it: so-called ‘ecosystem services’. This paper fatally undermines market solutions to ecological problems and also plots a different course for the study of the economy.

**Andre Gorz, (1975) *Ecology as Politics* (South End Press).**

A groundbreaking ecologistic work, making clear that ecology is not politics with radical social justice too. The book also functions along the way as a wonderful introduction to the work of Ivan Illich.

**Helena Norberg-Hodge, (2000) *Ancient Futures* (Random House).**

Do you feel in your gut that there is something deeply wrong with our current concept of ‘development’? Look no further than this moving and well-evidenced work, which provocatively suggests that what is actually needed is ‘counter-development’...


Havel is an inspiration and this classic essay of his is an inspiring read, one which combines key elements of a strategy of non-violent radical change with a focus on the realities of power and the importance of including a cultural dimension in any critique of or alternative to existing power relations and institutions.

**Fred Hirsch, (1976) *Social limits to growth*, Harvard**

Explains brilliantly how problems such as the ubiquity in our ‘affluent society’ of the pursuit of ‘positional goods’ mean that growth simply cannot any longer improve our lot, even leaving aside the ecological limits to growth. As a journalist
who Hirsch quotes puts it, in speaking of cheap flights being opened up to a distant exotic country: “Now that I can afford to come here I know it will be ruined.”

Adam Hochshild (2005), Bury the Chains, Macmillan

This tells the story of how a handful of men defied the slave trade and ignited the first great human-rights movement – and in doing so challenged the mainstream assumptions that underpinned economics of their day.

Rob Hopkins (2008), The Transition Handbook (Totnes, Green Books)

While one can (and should) engage with the seemingly depoliticised character of the Transition Movement, this book is an excellent introduction to the movement, its permacultural roots and the implications of and how we prepare our communities for peak fossil fuels, and a post-growth economy. It also has the laudable feature of being very practical as well as analytical.

Aldous Huxley, (1962) Island

A little known book that Huxley wrote towards the end of his life and one that offers an ‘ectopian’ reply or alternative to his much better known dystopian novel Brave New World. Island’s description and analysis of the fictional Buddhist island of Pala is a wonderful sketch of key features of a sustainable society in my view.


There is nothing one can say to prepare the reader for the experience of reading Illich. Prepare to have all your comfortable assumptions challenged (including assumptions you didn’t know you had), and prepare for a more self-reliant, greener, more convivial future.

I’ve listed all of Illich’s work which I’ve read as I find it hard to pick just one from among them (though if forced would choose Tools for Conviviality). He is a provocative thinker, and a courageous one at that - someone for whom ‘only dead fish go with the flow’ in challenging dominant (and some ‘progressive’) ways of thinking and motivated always by a concern for the ability of ordinary people, if
given the space (even without external support) to cope and flourish and self-organise.


A collection of essays from an anthropological perspective that challenge a number of distinctions and ways of thought that have come to dominate the Western mind-set.

London: Earthscan

This book lays the lie that we can continue to have a global, growth-based capitalist economy and a sustainable future simultaneously. Jackson provides an authoritative account of why decoupling the economy from energy cannot work and why we therefore need for find others ways of defining a future utopia.


A vivid depiction of the absurdities of power, particularly when held without accountability in the hands of one person, namely Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. I might also have recommended Kapuściński’s *The Imperium* (London: Granta Books, 1994), a similarly brilliant *fin de régime* account of all the USSR’s 15 republics; but Kapuściński was an Africa specialist and it is *The Emperor* that made his name internationally. He has been criticised for embroidering his tales, but that does not detract from the food for thought and sheer entertainment that they provide.


The justification of the status quo is overwhelmingly framed in the language and with the concepts of neo-liberal economics. Keen’s book, which is not written from a particularly green point of view, attacks most of the fundamentals of economic theory, including the central theories of demand and supply and the curious treatment of time. It’s strong on criticism, a bit bumptious and offers few creative alternatives, but is very useful when the weight of economic orthodoxy is getting you down. You can read the book on the web at [http://www.debunkingeconomics.com/](http://www.debunkingeconomics.com/).

P.S.: *Debunking Economics* in particular demolishes the use (or misuse) of mathematics by mainstream economists, and through that their pretensions to having superior scientific method to other social scientists.
J.M. Keynes, The Economic Consequences of the Peace, 1920 (New York: Harcourt Brace & Howe) (I have not found any reference to a British edition, but the text can be downloaded without charge at www.mediafire.com/?o155ynnxemg.)

An insider’s description of botched, emotional policymaking, famously prescient about the consequences of the Versailles peace terms. The book also starts with a vivid description of pre-1914 globalisation (as we would now call it). It is hard to imagine someone in a similar official position today breaking confidences as this work does – a sign of how much less transparent Britain’s political process has become. It is this work that first made Keynes’ name.


This book sets the context of one way in which capitalism seeks to prevent itself as inevitable and uses recession as an opportunity, exploiting vulnerability through fear and insecurity.

Leopold Kohr, (2001), The Breakdown of Nations, Green Books

Leopold Kohr sets out the political context of scale – why institutions that get to big are rarely sustainable: socially, environmentally or in terms of governance. Kohr highlights how, throughout history, those living in smaller states are happier, more peaceful, creative and prosperous. Kohr was the originator of the concept of 'human scale', later popularised by his friend Fritz Schumacher in Small is Beautiful.


A beautifully written and eloquent (almost ‘poetic’ in places) critical analysis and celebration of the non-human world, what our appropriate ethical responses to it should or could be, and has a ‘depth’ to it that goes beyond an academic ‘dry’ analysis.

Laozi (Lao Tzu), The Dao De Jing (Tao Te Ching), around 6th century BC.

The title of this ancient book of wisdom means something like ‘the classic way of virtue’. Everything we need is here: living in harmony with nature, recognising and using our power without ego, and creating harmonious societies. Look no further!

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, 2003, Metaphors we live by, Chicago

This revolutionary work is the intellectual basis for much of the work on ‘reframing’ that is now so crucial to the advancement of the g/Green agenda. ‘Green House’ aims explicitly to further such work: but in fact everyone seriously interested in politics needs to take the time out, at some point, to read this book.

The book in which Lakoff develops in detail his valuable understanding of the left vs. right split in terms of the metaphors of ‘nurturant parent’ vs. ‘strict father’


Nature writing at its best – with a good dose of environmental philosophy thrown in. Here Leopold develops his ‘land ethic’, which ‘changes the role of Homo sapiens from conqueror of the land-community to plain member and citizen of it… it implies respect for his fellow-members, and also respect for the community as such’. Leopold’s ‘preservationism’ contrasts with ‘conservationist’ stances which give nature ethical standing only to the extent that it is useful to us.


A memoir by the widow of the Russian poet, Osip Mandelstam, describing their life of persecution by Stalin’s state before Osip was finally arrested and sent to his death during the Great Purge of 1937. It shows what arbitrary power, as described in Kapuściński’s works, can mean for the people subjected to it. A chilling quotation from the poet in the book: ‘Poetry is respected only in this country – people are killed for it. There’s no place where more people are killed for it.’


This is a trenchant critique of what Martinez-Alier regards as the self-indulgent nature-focused politics of Northern Greens. Too much preserving of nature can lead to too much exploitation of humans – particularly the weakest and most vulnerable. This recognition lies at the heart of environmental justice – the idea that poor people live in poor environments, and that environmental degradation is disproportionately visited upon the poor. A politics of the environment must also be a politics for justice.

Marx, K. (1867). *Capital Volume 1.*

Most Green economists have far more in common with classical political economy (de Quesnay, the much traduced Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo and Marx) than they have with the neo-classical economists who followed the so called marginal revolution in the 1870s. Marx is included here not because Capital is especially wonderful, but as an example of that rich tradition. It’s hard going, but easier if you read it following David Harvey’s on line lectures at [http://davidharvey.org/](http://davidharvey.org/). See also Polanyi below.

Bill McKibben 1989 *The End of Nature* (Random House)
McKibben writes beautifully, and here he argues that Nature has ended because that which defines it – its independence from human beings – has ended. Anthropogenic climate change has influenced ‘every inch and every hour’ of the globe, as he puts it - for the first time in human history nothing is ‘as it would be’ without human influence. Agree or disagree, this is an eloquent paean to what McKibben would argue is a world lost to us for ever.

**Meadows, Randers and Meadows, 2004, The limits to growth: the 30 year update (Earthscan)**

A vast propaganda effort has been undertaken since the Club of Rome first issued ‘The limits to growth’ report in 1974, to rubbish their predictions and hypotheses. If one actually takes the trouble to read the 1974, 1994 and 2004 reports, then one can see through this effort. The Meadows/Randers team were fundamentally – in broad terms – right, and visionary. True, they overestimated how rapidly the planet was likely to succumb to world-scale resource-depletion crises; but they actually underestimated how rapidly we would start to succumb to pollution crises. Their warnings need to be heeded very rapidly, now.

**Mary Mellor, 1997, Feminism and Ecology (Cambridge: Polity).**

Mellor’s work is important in linking the two themes of Green House: justice and ecological life. This book provides a theoretical explanation for the relationship between patriarchy (the imbalance between male and female power) and the environmental crisis.


Here Merchant traces the move from an organic to a mechanistic conception of the world from the 14th-17th centuries. Her analysis of the influence of thinkers like Bacon and Descartes is original and unparalleled, and her linking of the move to mechanism with the politics of gender has had a profound influence on the development of ecofeminism. Scholarly yet very readable.

**Mary Midgley, 2000, Science and Poetry (London: Routledge).**

Mary Midgley has to feature in this list because of her fearless assault on the overweening and hegemonic culture of science that dominates public policy-making. Her work is sophisticated, troubling, poetic, and extremely entertaining.

**Ralph Miliband, 1972, Parliamentary socialism (Merlin).**

A definitive history of Parliamentary Labourism. Makes clear that there never was a golden age: Labour ‘sold out’ before it even got into Parliament, way before the disaster of Ramsay MacDonald (let alone Blair). This book enables one to
understand how challenging and how necessary it is for Greens in the House (of Commons) to remain true, and not to go the way of Labour. If only this Miliband were leading that Party...


Not a book, but an article that set the influential ‘deep ecology’ ball rolling. Naess suggests that we need to see ourselves as part of nature, rather than apart from it, and the ethical implication of this new ontology is what he calls ‘biospherical egalitarianism in principle’. This means that we should regard the non-human word as of equal worth to the human world – at least in principle. This ethical revolution lies at the heart of a radical political ecology – and even in less radical guises it has significant implications for our relationship with the non-human natural world.

Peter Nolan, 1995, China’s Rise, Russia’s Fall: Politics, economics and planning in the transition from socialism (London: Macmillan)

A detailed comparison of the approaches to economic reform conducted in China and Russia. Although written by a Sinologist, it gives perhaps the best account of Russia's early reforms, and why they were so catastrophic. It makes it clear that this was due to the policies themselves, and especially the methods of policymaking, rather than supposed differences in national character or culture.


A critique of neo-liberalism and argument for Aristotelian approach to the environmental crisis, and everything else.


A heartfelt polemic rather than an orderly exposition of philosophy, this book is still the basic account in English of the arguments for a democratic state. Very influential in its day – and considered seditious by the UK authorities for its spirited defence of the French Revolution – many of its ideas are still too dangerously radical to have been pursued by the British state. A work of its time, dated especially in its simple equation of political and economic liberty, it is nevertheless a classic that is a joy to read and deserves to be more widely read.

Anne Petifor, 2006, Debtonation: the Coming First World Debt Crisis

Anne Petifor sets out in the this book why the next economic collapse could be (in 2006) expected in Iceland and Britain in particular, and the Western world in general.

Plumwood’s tour de force, linking ecological feminism with other forms of feminism and showing how dominant forms of reason have contributed (and continue to contribute) to the domination of nature. Plumwood sketches a position beyond the dualism of nature/culture, and this was to be the letimotif of the rest of her work. Plumwood is the only person I have known who was attacked by a crocodile and survived. As she put it, ‘Now I know what it is like to be food’.

Karl Polanyi, 1944, *The great transformation* (Beacon).

This great book, a kind of companion volume to and friendly critique of Marx’s *Capital*, can transform one’s politics. It bids to show, through a beautiful sweep of historical analysis, one how ‘the market’ – laisser faire – was planned, and how it inevitably breeds resistance. How the endless project to commodify everything can and must fail.

Jonathon Porritt, 1984, *Seeing Green* (Blackwell)

This was the first book on green politics I ever read, and Porritt’s simple and engaging style made for compelling reading. Of course the world has moved on since then (as has Porritt) but I’m still struck by how much of this book still makes perfect sense. Perhaps that’s the definition of a classic – and this is certainly a classic for me.


James Robertson is ‘the grandfather of green economics’ and his prescient work from the last decade of the 20th century is visionary and inspiring still. Here he addresses particularly the issues of work and livelihood, and suggests a route for transition from the dominant role of wage labour in the economy.


A very sane little book on eco-socialism, which unusually treats the environmental disaster of state socialism every bit as critically as the eco-vandalism of capitalism and points the way to a realistic if austere alternative.


Herman Scheer sets out a clear vision of how an economy powered by renewable energy is possible, and necessary.

The book that gave the slogan to the environmental movement, this is an iconoclastic look at the capitalist economy from a man who trained as an academic economist and later worked for the National Coal Board. Schumacher thought creatively and wrote and spoke in a lively and engaging way and the book is a helpful introduction to a different way of thinking about what an economy might be for.


The best single introduction to the emerging discipline of Green Economics, with useful short introductions to a lot of the other authors on this list.


An interesting supplement to the other two 1974 books here, Limits to Growth and Small is Beautiful, and the spirit of that 1970s first wave of ecologism. Here is the book that showed mid 1970s idealists how to actually do it, though not many did. An opinionated precursor of much of today’s transition thinking.


Here one of the best-known ‘developing world’ feminists shows how the exploitation of nature and the exploitation of nature are intimately linked, especially in the developing world. She uses the term ‘maldevelopment’ to describe how mainstream development paths lead to deepening exploitation, and opens up a women-led alternative of harmony, sustainability and diversity.


An extraordinary exploration by an art historian of the nature of the relationship between ourselves and our creative products. If part of the problem that we face is our disconnection from the natural world, this book guides us towards finding a way that our work might put us back into physical connection with ourselves and with nature.

Snow, C.P. (1959) *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution*

This is a classic text and one I continually return to and use in my quest to defend interdisciplinary thinking and research. Snow’s book, though of course very dated at this stage, was one of the first to clearly and succinctly, identify the problem of the divide between science/technology and the humanities/social science. While
he might not have put it this way in my view this short book predicted the progressive ‘de-politicisation’ and ‘de-ethicising’ of science and technology and the ‘dis-embedding’ of social science and the humanities from issues of energy, resources and other ecological and metabolic issues.

**RH Tawney, (1948), *The Acquisitive Society***

This is an ethical, philosophical and economic critique of capitalism, and sets out clearly a purposeful alternative, where ownership and speculation do not lead to increases in consumption and inequality. It argues strongly for greater priority for production as opposed to 'brain workers' in society, a focus on producer responsibility as an antidote to unconstrained capitalism that 'assigns to economic activity itself its proper place as the servant, not the master, of society.'


These three books are essentially the same book re-written with the core thesis developed over time. Essentially, Taylor offers an ‘rational choice’ defence of anarchism and a critique of the state which while I can’t say I find completely persuasive, I have always like the way he combined rational choice with historical and normative argument.


A detailed account of how resistance emerged in England in the early decades of the 19th century to the processes that Polanyi’s great work described. Makes it clear that the working class movement was not a spontaneous reaction to capitalism but was thoughtfully built up, piece by piece, in the throes of political conflict. This leads one to some optimism about the possibilities of success for democratic alternatives to the injustices of today's world system.


Look beyond some of the ‘New-Age’-ish formulations, and this book is simply the best ecologistic ‘self-help’ / consciousness-transforming work that there is.

**(UNEP, 2002) *Global Environmental Outlook 3*  

Sets out 4 different global development scenarios till 2032, an interesting comparison to the Limits to Growth report done by the Club of Rome.

This careful book covers a lot of the same ground as Jackson above, but applying no growth to Canada rather than the UK, and including some useful and interesting simulations.


A (very) critical biography written by a Soviet general, based on Communist Party archives when they were first made public. Demonstrates once and for all that Communist political *method* was at the far end of the spectrum to Green practice, and fatally undermined the goals that those very methods were meant to realise.

**Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett, 2009, *The spirit level: Why more equal societies almost always do better* (Allen Lane).**

This was by fairly common consent the book of the year in 2010, a sensation. Deservedly so. It suggests why everyone from Thatcher to Rawls ([http://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/rupert-read/philosophical-and-political-implications-of-spirit-level-response-to-gerry-ha](http://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/rupert-read/philosophical-and-political-implications-of-spirit-level-response-to-gerry-ha) ) is wrong: inequality is an evil in itself, and any decent society (especially one in dynamic equilibrium) must reduce / eliminate it to the greatest extent possible.