

decision-making ability and their right to draw conclusions as they see fit with regard to their own political actions.

Corresponding to the three basic questions posed above, the book is divided into three systematically connected chapters: The Nature of Power – The Concretions of Power – The Practice of Power. Building on our analogy of the struggle for power as a zero-sum game, we could also speak of the opening game, the middle game and the final game of power. Despite this organic and contextual connection, each chapter can be read independently of the others. For example, we offer the hurried reader, who cannot wait to deal with the resources of the power consultant or the specific challenges of political strategy development and implementation, a leap into Chapter 3. Nevertheless, such a leap not only ignores the methodological foundations of power logic, but also the historical and sociological localization – and thus the functional genesis – of the political power consultant. In short, we encourage every reader to take the time to read *Power and its Logic* from beginning to end. Before we proceed *in medias res*, we wish to give a brief overview of the structure, content and method of the book to facilitate navigation through the thematic fields of power.

0.2 STRUCTURE AND SUBSTANCE

In Chapter 1, *The Nature of Power*, we encounter one of the most fundamental questions of the book: What is Power? For this definitional approach, we initiate dialogues with the most important political thinkers of human history: Aristotle, Confucius, Ibn Khaldun, Nicolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, Max Weber, Michel Foucault and many others. After a constructively critical examination of their theses and arguments, we opt for a pragmatic, application-oriented definition: power is doubled potentiality, more precisely, power is the potential assets of individuals and organizations to overcome the potential resistance of other actors.

By virtue of this characterization, power gains a probabilistic component, becoming the subject of strategy and scenario prognoses. In short, power becomes predictable. However, this definition by no means completes the analysis of the nature of power. Based on our definition, we determine whether power follows universal laws that are independent of time and place and are thus utilized in the present-day systems of the United States, Germany or China, as once in ancient Rome or in the medieval Abbasid Empire. The results of this analysis are summarized in a list of cross-cultural principles of power: power is present in all social

fields and permeates all social relationships, it flourishes thanks to our open defenses and our natural pursuit of influence, it is morally neutral and receives shape and ethical valence only through the people.

Power is, as our interim conclusion maintains, an essential, irreducible component of our very existence. Accordingly, it is pointless to reflect upon how to erase it from the face of the earth. Instead, the far more pertinent question concerns how people exercise power in the various fields of society and, in particular, within the realm of politics. Indeed, the true challenge consists of using power legitimately, effectively and efficiently. Therefore, it is important to comprehend the manner in which power is substantiated throughout the various strata of the political community – both as an unconsciously effective structure that we are exposed to and as a conscious resource for the enforcement of individual interests.

In Chapter 2, *The Concretions of Power*, we focus on the manifestations, fields and resources of power. Based on Heinrich Popitz, the doyen of German power research, we classify four basic forms: action power, instrumental power, technical power and authoritative power. Each of these forms has its own characteristics and effects and requires specific skills on the part of the power holder. In addition, each manifests itself in the three major power fields of every society: religion, economics and politics. These fields are characterized not merely by their own symbols, practices and habitus, but also by their own power resources: indispensable means and skills to gain and exercise influence in each field.

However, religion, economics and politics are not only arenas of power struggle, they also compete with one other continuously for power. The field of politics has special status here insofar as it influences all aspects of social life through its institutional order and its collectively binding norms. Therefore, we focus on legitimacy and the resources of political power. The legitimacy question is inextricably linked to the guiding principle of the common good; political decisions and institutions derive their justification first and foremost by acting for the good of the community as a whole. The resource question leads us back to a triad that will accompany us throughout the book: power competence, knowledge of power and instruments of power. These resources of political power form a complex of interdependent conditions, which is why we call them the power vectors. Only actors who master all three vectors are able to survive in the struggle for political power.

Due to the immense importance of these three vectors of the theory and practice of political power, we dedicate the conclusion of Chapter 2 to their detailed discussion. Using the key concept of Aristotle's *téchne*, we define power competence as the practically intuitive mastery of political craft. Power competence – as we show on the basis of historical vignettes from antiquity to the present – is always handed down and practiced in political elites from childhood on. Power

knowledge, on the other hand, comprises *epistémé*, that is knowledge of political strategy, narrative reasoning and administrative technique. Finally, under the heading of instruments of power, we discuss the technological and social tools that actors in the power struggle can and must use: weapons, communications, surveillance technology and mass media, as well as the military, police, intelligence services, administrations and informal networks.

The mastery and coordination of these three power vectors is a highly mentally and physically demanding task. Accordingly, it can hardly be tackled single-handedly. The political actor is thus a *homo consultandus*, a person in need of consultancy. In this respect, our diagnosis utilizes the term coined by Peter Sloterdijk, the contemporary German philosopher and cultural theorist. Sloterdijk's inspiring characterization recognizes, if you will, the advent of advocacy anthropology. At any rate, the *homo consultandus* must logically be supported by a *homo consultans*, more specifically, a political consultant, to assist in the exercise of power. This *homo consultans* already entered the historical world stage during antiquity, in the form of the Sophist. From this point on, the *homo consultans* has not strayed from the side of the powerful – whether as a medieval royal advisor or as a modern privy councilor. Thus, the central question presents itself: What are the functions, responsibilities, tools and techniques of this decisive protagonist in the representative democracy of our present age?

In Chapter 3, *The Practice of Power*, we answer this question. Moreover, we develop a curriculum for the political power consultant of the 21st century: Power Leadership. This approach, on the one hand, synthesizes the results and findings of our preceding discussion on power and its logic, and on the other hand, draws on the experience gathered in more than two decades of consulting.

This curriculum is both a practical guide for the budding consultant and a source of discussion and stimulation for the experienced power expert familiar with advisory tools. The power leadership approach describes the range of tasks and ethos of the *homo consultans* with regard to advising public officials and institutions as well as economic and civil society interest groups. In short: It lays the foundations for all applications of the political field.

The curriculum revolves – corresponding to the vectors of power – around three guiding principles: empower, condense and influence. Under the heading of empower, we describe techniques by which competencies may be imparted as well as their thematic priorities: political logic, political language and political ethos. This is the point at which the *homo consultandus* is trained for induction in the political arena, and is thus provided with an in-depth understanding of the rules of the zero-sum game of power. Accordingly, in this section, we discuss both the

basic elements of individual coaching and training, and also consulting and positioning for organizations and institutions.

The second buzzword, *condense*, describes the procurement, filtering and prioritization of information as well as its classification and evaluation through analysis tools such as stakeholder mapping or topic identification. The aim of this informational counseling process, which we present using our tried-and-proven four-phase model, is to provide continuously updated and condensed knowledge of the political arena. This knowledge enables consultants and clients to share a common, accurate assessment of external opportunities and threats as well as of internal strengths and weaknesses, and it culminates in the strategy development process based on risk and scenario analysis.

Under the third and last keyword, *influence*, we discuss the task and methods of strategy implementation: team composition, project coordination, planning and organization of political formats and stakeholder dialogues, alliance formation, mobilization and campaigning. Political influencing, the concrete exercise of power in the field of politics through interaction with organizations and persons, is the actual litmus test for the empowering and condensing which precede it. Accordingly, we discuss the practical challenges that arise in this context – from political event management, to sensitive communication with clients and stakeholders, to strategy evaluation – challenges that all power consultants face continually in everyday political life.

The conclusion of the book is a reflection on the ever-growing relevance of globalization for the power consultant and the discipline of global governmental relations. We outline what it means to conceive and coordinate political strategies across national borders and what organizational requirements exist on the part of *homo consultans* and *homo consultandus*. The future of power consulting lies in the political, economic, technological and informational networking of the global power field. The most important challenge for *homo consultans* is to make this power field manageable by constantly optimizing tools and methods.

0.3 METHODS

The chapters on the logic of power, *The Nature of Power*, *The Concretions of Power* and *The Practice of Power*, are all linked to one another by a common methodology. Our analysis and presentation methods are based on the combination of five complementary elements: political theory and philosophy, anthropology, historiography, praxeology and practical experience. The selection is not eclectic. We deliberately chose this set of methods to render the full breadth of the