

Supplemental Online Appendix

For the manuscript

“GAI-Making and State-Making:

Sovereign AI Race and the Future of Digital Geopolitics”

Content

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Appendix A: Overview of AI Policies and Strategies in Case Study Nations

Time	Policy Name	Country
2017.12	The 2017 FUTURE of AI Act	United States
2019.02	Executive Order on Maintaining American Leadership in Artificial Intelligence	
2020.09	Air Force ArtificialIntelligence Annex to DoD AI Strategy	
2020.01	AI Safety: An Action Planfor the Navy	
2020.11	Artificial Intelligence and National Security	
2022.01	Blueprint for an AI Bill of Rights	
2023.01	Strengthening and Democratizing the U.S. Artificial Intelligence Innovation Ecosystem: An Implementation Plan for a National Artificial Intelligence Research Resource	
2023.01	Artificial Intelligence Risk Management Framework (AI RMF 1.0)	
2023.01	Executive Order on the Safe, Secure, and Trustworthy Development and Use of Artificial Intelligence	
2023.01	2023 DOD Data, Analytics, and AI Adoption Strategy	
2023.05	NATIONAL ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIC PLAN 2023UPDATE	
2023.05	Biden-Harris Administration Announces New Actions to Promote Responsible AI Innovation that Protects Americans' Rights and Safety	
2023.05	Report of the US Commission on Artificial Intelligence	
2023.07	Biden-Harris Administration Secures Voluntary Commitments from Leading Artificial Intelligence Companies to Manage the Risks Posed by AI	
2023.10	Executive Order on the Safe, Secure, and Trustworthy Development and Use of Artificial Intelligence	
2023.11	Political Declaration on Responsible Military Use of Artificial Intelligence and Autonomy	
2025.01	Executive Order on Advancing United States Leadership in Artificial Intelligence Infrastructure	France
2025.01	Framework for Artificial Intelligence Diffusion	
2018.03	Donner un sens à l'intelligence artificielle : pour une stratégie nationale et européenne	
2021.11	STRATÉGIE NATIONALE POUR L'INTELLIGENCE ARTIFICIELLE- 2e phase	
2023.05	Artificial intelligence: the action plan of the CNIL	
2023.05	Artificial Intelligence in France: new support programmes available	Brazil
2024.03	AI: Our ambition for France	
2020.04	Establishes foundations, principles, and guidelines for artificial intelligence development and application in Brazil and establishes other provisions	
2021.07	BRAZILIAN AI STRATEGY (Estratégia Brasileira de Inteligência Artificial)	
2024.06	Brazilian Artificial Intelligence Plan (PBIA) 2024-2028	Singapore
2019.01	National Artificial Intelligence Strategy	
2021.01	AI in Healthcare Guidelines	
2023.12	Singapore National AI Strategy 2.0 (NAIS 2.0)	
2024.05	Model AI Governance Framework for Generative AI	

Appendix B: Primary Language and Users of Leading Large Language Models

LLM Ranking*	Primary Language	Estimated Number of Users*
Gemini-2.5-Pro	English	21 million MAU
ChatGPT-4o	English	530 million MAU
Claude Opus 4	English	3 million MAU
Grok-3	English	31 million MAU
Claude Sonnet 4	English	3 million MAU
DeepSeek-V3-0324	English/Chinese	55 million MAU
Hunyuan-Turbos	Chinese	41 million MAU
Mistral Medium 3	English/Other European Languages	1 million MAU
Qwen2.5-Max	English/Chinese	4 million MAU

*:This ranking is sourced from the Chatbot Arena LLM Leaderboard on the Hugging Face platform.

Source: <https://huggingface.co/spaces/lmarena-ai/chatbot-arena-leaderboard>

Appendix C: Overview of Main Types of Artificial Intelligence Technologies and Their Applications*

AI Type	Core Application Scenarios	Estimated User Scale	Representative Companies	Estimated Valuation
Generative AI	Text, image, video, and code generation; creative content	Billions globally	OpenAI, Anthropic, Stability AI	OpenAI: ~\$90B
Decision-based AI	Recommendation systems, financial risk, supply chain	Hundreds of millions	Palantir, C3.ai	Palantir: ~\$50B
Speech Recognition	Voice assistants, real-time transcription, customer service	Billions (due to device use)	Google, Apple, iFlytek	iFlytek: ~\$12B
Computer Vision	Facial recognition, autonomous driving, security, healthcare	Hundreds of millions	SenseTime, Hikvision, Tesla	SenseTime: ~\$4.5B
Predictive AI	Churn prediction, predictive maintenance, trend forecasting	Tens to hundreds of millions	DataRobot, SAP, Salesforce	Salesforce: ~\$280B
Reinforcement AI	Robotics, gaming AI, autonomous systems	Niche/professional users	DeepMind, OpenAI	DeepMind (acquired by Google)

*Our estimations for users and valuation of leading companies are derived from publicly available user counts, access data, and search volumes, and thus may have significant inaccuracies. Main from: Bond Capital. (2025, May). *Trends – Artificial Intelligence*. https://www.bondcap.com/report/pdf/Trends_Artificial_Intelligence.pdf