

Chapter 6

Large Language Models and Geopolitical Competition: Governmental Power and the Challenges of a VUCA World

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ABSTRACT

This study examined how China, Russia, India, and the United States implemented strategic policy measures to bolster national LLM firms and establish AI sovereignty during the period of the LLM Cold War. It examined how governments utilized Weimer and Vining's policy instruments and state power marketing to improve digital legitimacy and oppose kakistoscriptocracy. Through documentary analysis, the study uncovered state-centric models in China and Russia that stressed ideological control and cybersecurity, while India and the U.S. adopted market-centric models fostering innovation via public-private partnerships. These strategies demonstrated that AI governance combined technology with political power and epistemology, where managing algorithms and narratives established what is considered truth.

INTRODUCTION

The Cold War has progressed into four distinct phases: Cold War I, Cold War II, the AI Cold War, and the LLM Cold War. During the Cold War I (1947–1991), the United States and the Soviet Union engaged in intense ideological and geo-

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litical competition. Features included mutually assured destruction through nuclear armaments, localized conflicts fought through proxies, and economic revival projects similar to the Marshall Plan, concluding with the USSR's breakup in 1991. Entering the new millennium, Cold War II took shape as China and Russia returned to prominence as major opponents, resulting in economic isolationism, trading disputes, and digital skirmishing concerning vital sectors like telecommunication standards, chip manufacturing, and internet economies. By the 2010s, the AI Cold War intensified greatly, with AI becoming a crucial element in national defense and technological dominance, as the US and China rose as primary AI leaders concentrating on advanced robotics, extensive data processing, and complex cybersecurity initiatives. This rivalry has developed into the LLM Cold War (2020s–Present), as major global powers redirected their attention to Large Language Models (LLMs) to manipulate digital narratives, impact economies, and formulate democratic processes. Governments have limited foreign AI models, enhanced regulations for AI training, and developed national AI ecosystems to guarantee digital sovereignty and technological autonomy. The U.S. (ChatGPT, Gemini, Copilot, Claude AI), China (DeepSeek, Qwen 3), Russia (Yandex GPT-4, RU-GPT-3), and India (Hanooman GPT, Krutrim AI, Bharat GPT) are creating their own LLMs to lessen dependence on international AI and gain control over AI regulation. The LLM Cold War now shapes the geopolitical terrain of the 21st century, as AI-powered automation, digital influence, and intelligence dominance have taken center stage in global power conflicts. Understanding the dynamics of the LLM Cold War is very essential, since any state that effectively utilizes Weimer and Vining's (2017) broad policy strategies to manage governmental power marketing with LLMs and chips, will shape the future of digital governance, cybersecurity, and AI-driven policymaking. Unlike previous AI competitions that focused on automation and military applications, this conflict directly impacts worldwide economic frameworks, policy development, and the strength of democratic structures (particularly thanks to Alibaba Cloud, 2025; Anthropic, 2024; Begum & Chowdary, 2024; Conradi, 2016; CoRover.ai, 2025; Crawford, 2021; DeepSeek, 2025; Diamond Ellis & Schell, 2023; Gaddis, 2005; Gohwong, 2023; Hussaini, 2023; Krutrim, 2025; Jermstiparsert et al., 2023; Lee, 2018; Leffler & Westad, 2010; Lozovsky, 2025; Lucas, 2008; Ma & Scaramucci, 2020; Malak, 2025; Mandal, 2025; Mazzucato, 2023; Miller, 2022; Minnick, 2025; Roberts & Hite, 2000; Sanger, 2024; Seetha Mahalakshmi Healthcare Private Limited, 2025; Shambaugh, 2020; SberBank PJSC, 2025; Shih, 2023; Takach, 2023; Tech Mahindra Limited, 2025; Thompson & Bremmer, 2018; Weimer & Vining, 2017; Westad, 2017; Winston, 2020; Yandex, 2025; Yang, 2023; Yoffie, 2022; Zenglein, 2023). Therefore, the study's objectives were (1) to explore how giant states like China, Russia, India, and U.S. use policy interventions to contribute LLM firms, and (2) to investigate how these governments use policy interventions to do

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