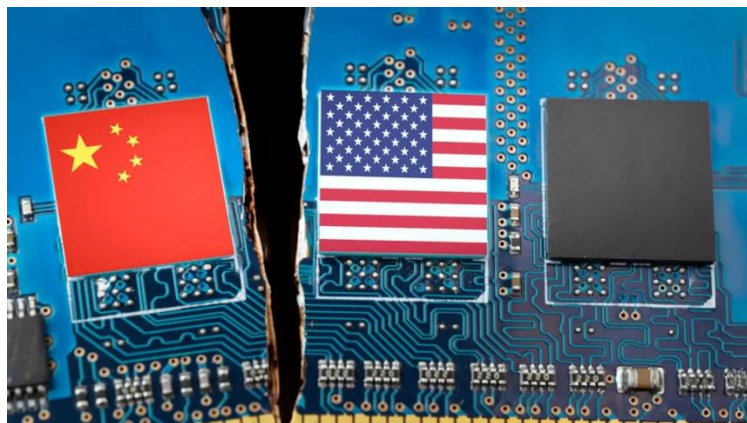


La gobernanza de la IA: La perspectiva europea y latinoamericana

27 de noviembre de 2025



A escala global, asistimos a una competencia de grandes poderes para asegurarse las ventajas económicas, políticas y militares de la IA en un entorno geopolítico cada vez más fragmentado y polarizado

Tabla 1. Elementos y actores clave que estructuran la competición geopolítica por la IA

Componentes geopolíticos	Principales países/regiones	Principales organizaciones
a) <i>Datos</i> Son vitales para la IA, pero es probable que su ventaja se limite a aplicaciones específicas.	China, India, Estados Unidos	Los actores tecnológicos globales más importantes (Meta, Google, ByteDance, Amazon), instituciones financieras
b) <i>Infraestructura física</i> Especialmente los chips y los centros de datos. Hay que tener en cuenta que la energía barata y los abundantes recursos hídricos ayudan a determinar dónde se construye la infraestructura del centro de datos necesaria para el entrenamiento y la inferencia de la IA.	Estados Unidos, Taiwán, Japón, Corea del Sur, Países Bajos	Actores de semiconductores (NVIDIA, TSMC, etc.), empresas de computación en la nube (Amazon Web Services, Azure, Google Cloud, Alibaba Cloud), IBM, Salesforce
c) <i>Modelos algorítmicos / innovación</i>	Estados Unidos, China, Francia, Alemania, Reino Unido	OpenAI, Mistral, Google, Meta, Baidu, Aleph Alpha
d) <i>El talento</i> Es el factor limitante en todos los demás pilares fundamentales.	Estados Unidos, China, Europa, India	Universidades y centros de investigación, Google DeepMind, OpenAI, Anthropic, etc.
e) <i>Regulación</i>	Europa, Estados Unidos, China, Canadá, India, Israel, Japón, Rusia, Singapur, Corea del Sur, EAU	OECD, UE, G-7, G-20, Naciones Unidas, Consejo de Europa

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de Lazard (2023: 12).

La carrera de la IA

- **Modelos de gobernanza tecnológica muy diferenciada**, basadas en diferencias ideológicas sobre el papel de los mercados, el Estado y los derechos individuales:
 - **“La autorregulación capitalista de los Estados Unidos”**
 - **“El tecnoautoritarismo de China”**
 - **“La regulación integral garantista de la UE”**
- Los **“imperios digitales”** (Anu Bradford): las grandes potencias exportan sus modelos de gobernanza digital a otros países, extendiendo su influencia y dando forma al orden digital global de acuerdo con sus valores.
 - Dos niveles o dimensiones estructuran la competición global por la IA:
 - Batallas horizontales (entre estados)
 - Batallas verticales (entre gobiernos y empresas tecnológicas)

Políticas de la IA de la Unión Europea

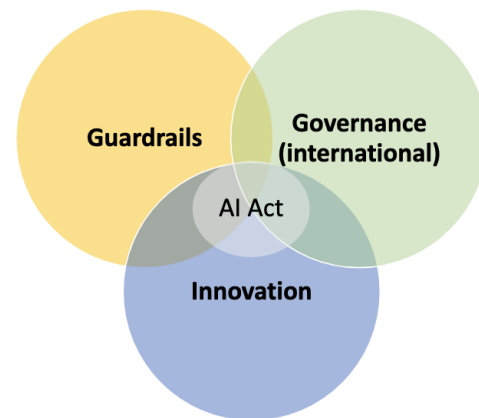
COMISIÓN EUROPEA

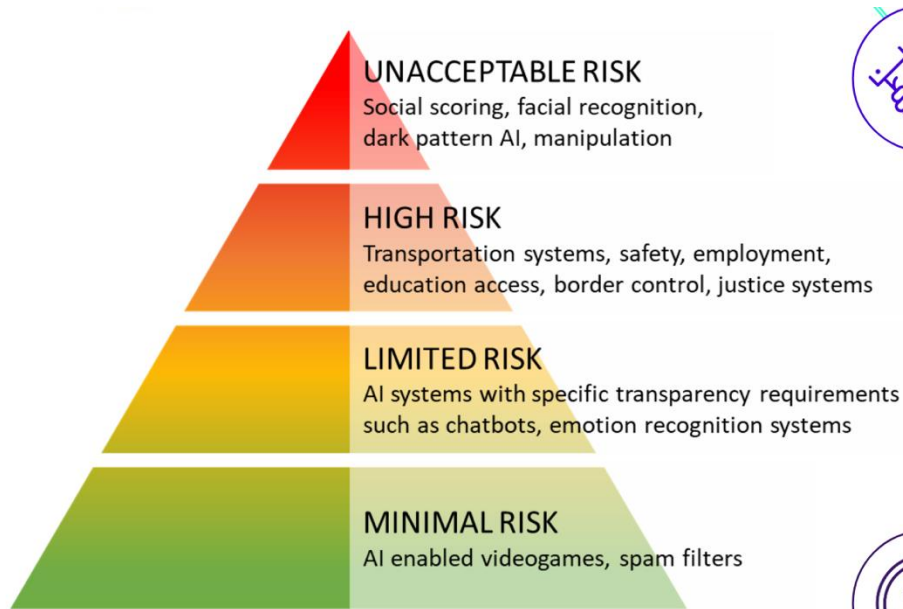
- **Comunicación sobre Inteligencia Artificial para Europa** (Estrategia Europea de IA), (2018): un ambicioso plan para aumentar las inversiones, fortalecer la investigación y la innovación en IA y facilitar el acceso a los datos.
- **Declaración de Cooperación sobre Inteligencia Artificial (2018)**: los Estados miembros de la UE unieron fuerzas en materia de IA para aprovechar su potencial y abordar los problemas derivados de esta tecnología.
- **Plan Coordinado sobre Inteligencia Artificial (2018)**: establece los objetivos y prioridades estratégicos de la Unión Europea en materia de inteligencia artificial.
- **AI Watch (2018)**: monitoriza el desarrollo, la adopción y el impacto de la inteligencia artificial en Europa.
- **Alianza de IA de la UE (2018)**: complementa y apoya la labor del Grupo de Expertos de Alto Nivel en IA y aporta información a la formulación de políticas europeas en materia de IA.

- **Grupo de Expertos de Alto Nivel sobre Inteligencia Artificial (2018):** asesora a la Comisión Europea en su estrategia de IA.
- **Directrices éticas para una IA fiable (2019)**
- **Recomendaciones sobre políticas e inversiones en IA fiable (2019)**
- Lista de evaluación para una IA fiable (ALTAI) (2020)
- Consideraciones sectoriales sobre las recomendaciones sobre políticas e inversiones (2020)
- **Libro Blanco sobre Inteligencia Artificial (2020):** establece un futuro marco regulatorio de IA para la UE y contiene acciones específicas para el apoyo, el desarrollo y la adopción de la IA en la economía y la administración pública de la UE.
- **Asociación de IA, Datos y Robótica en Horizonte Europa (2021):** proporciona un liderazgo sólido en el despliegue generalizado de IA, datos y robótica en sectores y regiones de toda Europa.

Ley Europea de IA (EU AI Act)

- Entró en vigor el **1 de agosto de 2024** y será plenamente aplicable a partir del **2 de agosto de 2026**.
- Introdujo un **marco jurídico uniforme** para el desarrollo, la provisión, el despliegue y el uso de la IA en la Unión Europea.
- Adopta un **enfoque basado en el riesgo** para la IA y clasifica los sistemas de IA según la **intensidad y el alcance de los riesgos** que podrían generar para la salud, la seguridad o los derechos fundamentales de las personas:
 - Riesgo inaceptable;
 - Riesgo alto;
 - Riesgo limitado;
 - Riesgo mínimo.





First regulation on artificial intelligence



Risk-based approach



Entered into force 1 August 2024

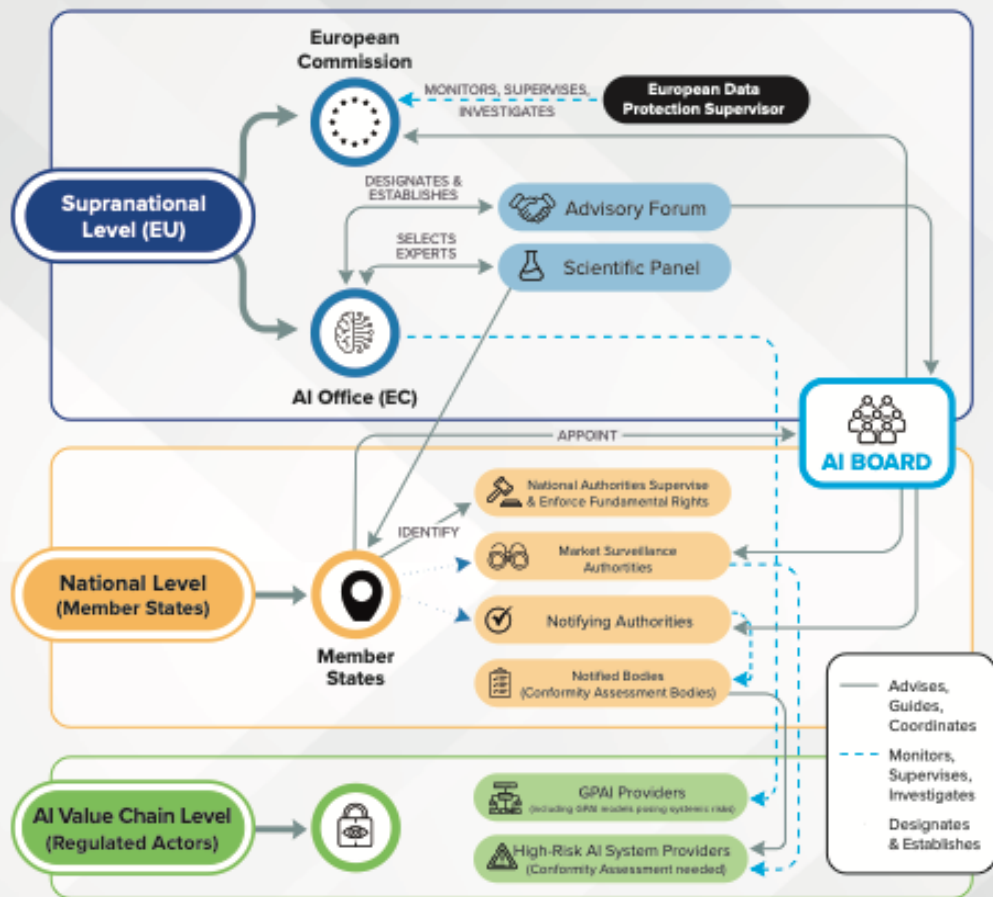


Governance: AI Board, Scientific Panel, Advisory Panel and AI Office

Sistemas de IA con riesgo inaceptable

- Las aplicaciones de IA con riesgo inaceptable **están prohibidas por completo** o exceptuando ciertas circunstancias.
- El artículo 5 de la Ley de IA establece los **sistemas de IA prohibidos**:
 - Utilizar técnicas subliminales, manipuladoras o engañosas para distorsionar el comportamiento y perjudicar la toma de decisiones informada, causando un daño significativo (artículo 5(1)(a));
 - Aprovechar vulnerabilidades relacionadas con la edad, la discapacidad o las circunstancias socioeconómicas para distorsionar el comportamiento, causando un daño significativo (artículo 5(1)(b));
 - Puntuación social, es decir, evaluar o clasificar a individuos o grupos en función del comportamiento social o los rasgos personales, causando un trato perjudicial o desfavorable a dichas personas (artículo 5(1)(c));
 - (…)

EU AI Act – Implementation Dynamics



TOOLS & INSTRUMENTS Supranational & National Enforcement Authorities Will Use for Implementation

The Commission is empowered to adopt Delegated/Implementing Acts, after consulting with the experts designated by each Member State. The power to adopt Delegated Acts is conferred on the Commission for a period of five years from 1 August 2024 and may be tacitly extended thereafter.

The Commission initiated the AI Pact: the AI Office invites stakeholders to participate. First Voluntary Pledges under the AI Pact were signed by over 130 stakeholders on 26 September 2024.

By February 2025: (1) The AI Board should support the Commission to promote AI literacy tools. Providers and deployers of AI systems shall take measures to ensure a sufficient level of AI literacy of users.

(2) The Commission will provide Guidelines on the AI definitions and the prohibited AI practices.

By May 2025: (1) The AI Office will have to publish Code(s) of Practice for General Purpose AI models within nine months after the entry into force. If the AI Office does not deliver on the CoPs for GPAI within 12 months, the Commission may issue relevant implementing acts.

(2) The Commission requests European Standardization Organizations to craft Harmonized Standards; however, there is an expected delay on this – anticipated at the end of 2025). The AI Board and the Advisory Forum are to be consulted for the preparation of a Standardization request.

By August 2025: (1) The Commission should issue Guidance to facilitate compliance with the obligations on serious incident reporting.

(2) The AI Office and the Commission are designing Templates that the AI Board is empowered to request. The Commission and the AI Office are planning to publish their Template(s) on the summary of content used for training of GPAI models, by August 2025.

By February 2026: (1) The Commission (after consulting the European AI Board) has to provide Guidelines specifying the practical implementation for the classification of High Risk AI systems. The Commission shall update guidelines previously adopted when deemed necessary.

(2) The Commission and the AI Office are planning to publish their Template(s), detailing the post-market monitoring plan which providers of high-risk AI systems must set up, as well as the list of elements to be included in the plan.

By August 2026: National Competent Authorities establish Regulatory Sandboxes (to be ensured by Member States). However, the Commission is in charge of adopting implements acts for the establishment and development, while the AI Board is tasked with ensuring their functioning.

By August 2028: The AI Office and the Member States shall encourage and facilitate the drawing up of Codes of Conduct for voluntary application of specific High-Risk AI requirements but also for Non-High-Risk AI systems.

By 2 August 2028 and every three years thereafter, the Commission will evaluate the impact and effectiveness of voluntary codes of conduct.

Commission proposes delaying key part of EU's AI rules

The 'stop the clock' plan would mean application of high-risk AI rules hinges on when standards are completed, but Council and Parliament will still need to okay the delay

Maximilian Henning  Euractiv

- La Comisión Europea ha propuesto **posponer partes de la ley hasta 2027**. Esto se produce tras la intensa presión ejercida por las empresas tecnológicas y la administración Trump.
- Ómnibus digital: nueva iniciativa europea para revisar y simplificar las amplias regulaciones digitales de la UE, incluyendo las regulaciones sobre privacidad y legislación en materia de datos.
- En particular, el Ómnibus ofrece más tiempo a las empresas y organizaciones que implementan tecnologías de IA de alto riesgo, utilizadas para fines como el análisis de currículos, la evaluación de exámenes escolares o la evaluación de solicitudes de préstamos. Estas tecnologías no se verán afectadas por el alcance total de las disposiciones de la AI Act hasta diciembre de 2027, más de un año después de la fecha original de agosto de 2026.
- **¿A qué se debe este retraso en la aplicación de la IA Act?** La Comisión ha atribuido el aplazamiento a la falta de implementación por parte de los Estados miembros y a la necesidad de tiempo de las empresas para adaptarse a las nuevas y complejas normas.
- El grupo de presión de las grandes tecnológicas, CCIA (Computer & Communication Industry Association), que cuenta entre sus miembros con Amazon, Apple, Google o Uber, celebró el retraso propuesto por la Resolución Ómnibus, pero pidió medidas más audaces y claras.
- **¿Cual es el impacto de esta medida?** Si se adopta el Ómnibus Digital, los modelos de IA podrán utilizar datos previamente restringidos para tomar decisiones sobre el acceso a servicios financieros esenciales. Por ejemplo: a una persona se le podría negar un préstamo debido a un modelo de IA sesgado, o se le podrían cobrar primas de seguro más altas en función de su estado de salud previsto.

Las otras geopolíticas de la inteligencia artificial

The other geopolitics of AI

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Resumen: La irrupción y despliegue de la inteligencia artificial (IA) tiene un impacto exponencial en el proceso de transformación y reordenamiento geopolítico global. Si bien Estados Unidos, China y, en menor medida, la Unión Europea (UE) lideran la llamada «carrera» por el desarrollo de la IA en un contexto de confrontación, el desarrollo tecnológico de la IA es mucho más polidécrico y global que el discurso geopolítico de las grandes potencias, con actores y ecosistemas emergentes nada menospreciables. En línea con las llamadas a crear marcos globales de gobernanza de la IA más inclusivos, este artículo explora cuál es el papel del Sur Global en las geopolíticas de la IA. Para ello, analiza los espacios, actores y preocupaciones actualmente invisibilizados en los discursos dominantes sobre la geopolítica de la IA, que son imprescindibles para entender cómo se van a desarrollar los sistemas algorítmicos en los próximos años.

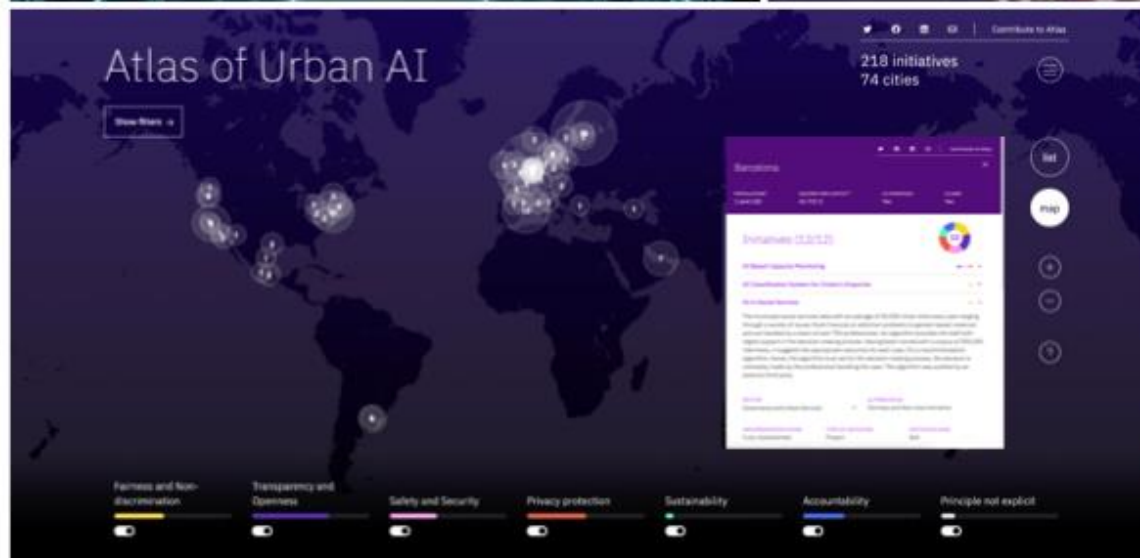
Palabras clave: geopolítica, inteligencia artificial (IA), gigantes tecnológicos, regulación, gobernanza, Sur Global, datos, actores, discursos, colonialismo digital, periferias

Abstract: The rise and deployment of artificial intelligence (AI) is having an exponential impact on the process of transformation and realignment of global geopolitics. While the United States, China and to a lesser extent the European Union (EU) are leading the "race" to develop AI in a climate of confrontation, the technological development of AI is much more multifaceted and global than the geopolitical discourse of the major powers, with emerging actors and ecosystems that should not be underestimated. In line with the calls to create more inclusive frameworks of global AI governance, this paper explores what role the Global South plays in the geopolitics of AI. It analyses the spaces, actors and concerns currently overlooked in the dominant discourses on the geopolitics of AI, perspectives that are essential to understand how algorithmic systems are going to develop in the coming years.

Key words: geopolitics, artificial intelligence (AI), tech giants, regulation, governance, Global South, data, actors, discourses, digital colonialism, peripheries

Las otras geopolíticas de la IA...

1. la soberanía digital y el monopolio de infraestructuras y reguladores;
2. el extractivismo;
3. las pruebas beta y las incompatibilidades contextuales
4. los mercados de datos y los derechos laborales.



1. Introduction

Artificial intelligence (AI) stands as one of the most transformative forces of our era, carrying the promise to reshape our societies. Unsurprisingly, this phenomenon has captured the attention of governments worldwide, and local governments are no exception. A recent survey reveals a strong interest among mayors in exploring the use of AI tools to enhance public service delivery and address critical urban challenges such as traffic congestion, infrastructure upgrades, public safety and disaster damage mitigation. This focus is evident in not merely theoretical surveys: 70% of the surveyed mayors reported testing this technology, albeit with only a minority actively deploying it. Therefore, the insights offered by AI in urban areas is indispensably significant.

However, the enthusiasm surrounding the adoption of "urban AI" is tempered by an equal level of caution in mitigating algorithmic bias. This caution stems from the potential impact of AI systems on rights, as well as the significant social risks and environmental costs associated with the increasing reliance of our societies and governments on AI systems. Furthermore, urban AI applications operate within specific policy contexts, thus warranting distinct political responses. Cities are political entities where local governments have the authority to make decisions that impact millions of lives. It is

no coincidence that the EU AI Act categorization treats common uses of AI systems in urban environments as either high-risk or limited-risk, making it imperative to scrutinize the interconnections between algorithmic systems and their ethical and political implications.

In essence, there is an urgent requirement for cities to acquire knowledge on the ethical deployment of AI. And this is precisely the mission that the Atlas of Urban AI aims to accomplish. Conceived as the flagship project of the Global Observatory of Urban Artificial Intelligence (GOUAI), the Atlas offers a central collection of over 200 initiatives from 70 cities around the globe, establishing itself as the most comprehensive open-access repository of urban artificial intelligence worldwide. Building on the research conducted, this report seeks to analyse the cases included in the Atlas to provide an overall view of best practices and trends characterizing the global evolution of urban AI.

Specifically, the report addresses the following questions: In which regions do local governments exhibit greater engagement in deploying AI systems with an ethical focus? What ethical principles do cities most frequently apply, and what have been those principles operationalized and which ones tend to be overlooked? At what stage of implementation are municipalities in their deployment of AI technology? Are most projects already operational or in

GOVERNANCE OF URBAN AI

Maria Pérez-Orozco

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1. Introduction

By 2050, the United Nations predicts that nearly 70% of the global population will live in urban areas (as opposed to the current 56% (UN-Habitat, 2022)). As the world continues to urbanize at an unprecedented rate, the challenges that cities face – ranging from mobility, provision of services and housing, pollution and urban health, and resource usage – are growing ever more pressing. With this rapid urban growth comes the urgent need to develop innovative solutions to ensure that cities are healthy, supportive of human development, efficient and environmentally friendly.

One of the most discussed developments in addressing these challenges is the integration of technology, and more specifically artificial intelligence (AI), into urban settings. However, as AI becomes more widely adopted, concerns about its sustainability – both environmental and social – are emerging. In this work, we explore the concept of sustainable AI, focusing on the role it should have in the deployment of these technologies in urban settings. We explore the environmental, social and economic considerations of AI deployment in cities, highlighting the benefits, challenges and future directions for AI as the quest for sustainable and equitable urban futures.

2. The pursuit of sustainability

Sustainability and more specifically sustainable development, as it is currently defined by the United Nations (Bridle, 1988), refers to the ability to make development meet present and future human needs (e.g. health and well-being, quality education, decent work, social equality) and how to do so within environmental limits as precepts. Sustainability is commonly divided into three pillars:

1. **Environmental sustainability** living within the means of our natural resources and protecting and supporting our ecosystems. In urban settings, a key challenge is reducing greenhouse gas emissions

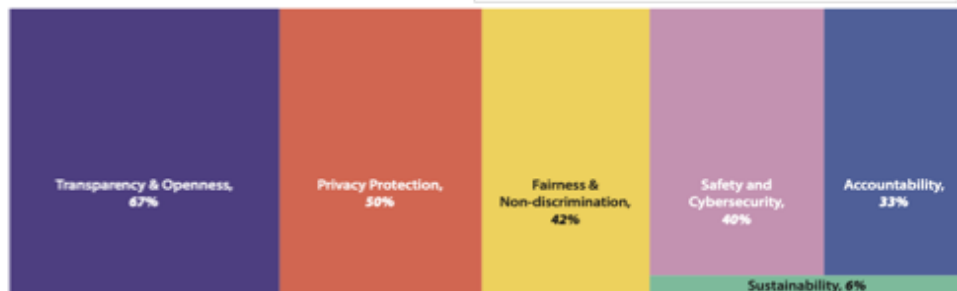
Table 2. Policy mechanisms alignment with ethical principles

POLICY MECHANISMS (PM)	ETHICAL PRINCIPLES			
	Accountability and transparency	Privacy and data governance	Fairness and non-discrimination	Sustainability
[1] AI strategies	X	X	X	X
	Local AI ethical principles	X	X	X
	Guidelines, playbooks and manuals	X	X	X
	Internal protocol for AI use			
[2] Local regulations and laws	X	X	X	X
	Legal compliance mechanisms	X	X	X
	Regulatory standards	X	X	X
	International regulatory standards	X	X	X
[3] Public algorithm register		X	X	
	Municipal website disclosing all AI relevant information	X		
	Municipal directory of procured AI tools for internal use	X		
[4] Risk assessment and management	X	X	X	X
	Human rights impact assessments	X	X	X
	Environmental impact assessment			X
[5] Audits	X	X	X	X
	Self-assessment tools	X	X	X
	Internal monitoring and reporting			
[6] Human-in-the-loop		X	X	
	Feedback and objection procedures accessible for citizens	X		
[7] Procurement clauses	X	X	X	X
	Internal protocols for AI procurement			
[8] Advisory and oversight bodies	X	X	X	X
	Alliances, communities of practice and learning groups	X	X	X
[10] Municipal staff training	X	X	X	X
	Municipal AI team			
	Municipal AI body			
	Multidisciplinary approach		X	
[11] Innovative AI centres, hubs and laboratories				
	Local AI observatories			
	Regulatory sandboxes		X	
[12] Public engagement	X		X	X
	Public education (digital literacy)		X	X
	Local AI ethics boards	X	X	X
[13] Data governance	X	X	X	X
[14] Testing frameworks and toolkits	X	X	X	X
	Fiscal incentives (tax credits, subsidies, etc)			X
	Workforce retraining programmes			
	Rating frameworks	X	X	X

Source: Authors

Table legend: Yellow (PM aligned with a specific ethical principle or several simultaneously); Blue (cross-cutting or customizable PM that serves all ethical principles); Green (PM not associated to a specific ethical principle but relevant for a responsible deployment of algorithmic systems in general); Dark grey (PM explicitly mentioned in the chapters of Part I, see Annex I); Light grey (PM not mentioned in the chapters of Part I).

Figure 3. GOUAI's Ethical Principles



Source: Authors