

The Cerimedo-Negre Network:

The New Face of Technofascism in Latin America?

The recent arrest of Fernando Cerimedo in Bolivia has uncovered what analysts and progressive governments in the region describe as a sophisticated network of disinformation and cognitive warfare in the service of the far right. Far from being an isolated case, the plot connecting the Argentine consultant with the Spanish businessman Javier Negre reveals a transnational infrastructure with its epicenter in the United States, designed to manipulate public opinion and influence electoral processes against the interests of the great majorities.

Foto: "Mañanera del Pueblo"



1. The Architecture of Disinformation: Bot Farms and Cognitive Warfare

Cerimedo's model, at the head of his agency Numen, is based on the intensive use of social media, political segmentation, and the creation of false or misleading content. His partner, Javier Negre, owner of *La Derecha Diario*, operates a media network that amplifies these discourses.

- **Algorithmic manipulation:** Cerimedo acknowledged having thousands of "trolls" to influence algorithms and install topics on the public agenda. Mexican President Claudia Sheinbaum has denounced the presence of "many robots, many bots, that with money boost news to create something like an opinion."
- **Dirty campaigns:** The duo's specialty includes spreading fake news to erode adversaries and shape public conversation. Colombian President Gustavo Petro assured that forensic information from Cerimedo's phone supports the use of bots to manipulate voters.

The Axis of Power: Washington and Trumpism as the Operations Center

Investigations suggest that Cerimedo and Negre are "pieces of a larger device," articulated with the far right of the Republican Party. The true operations center is in the United States, with Miami as the articulating node.

- **MAGA Connection:** Cerimedo is described as the "representative in Latin America" of Brad Parscale, the digital architect of Trump's campaigns and the MAGA movement. This network includes figures such as Jared Kushner.

Analysts and politicians label this phenomenon "technofascism," defined as the use of technology to manipulate masses and create false narratives that poison public opinion and undermine democracy.

- **Lobbying and intelligence:** Argentine-American lobbyist Damián Merlo, linked to the CIA and Otto Reich, connects Cerimedo with power in Washington. Cerimedo's ex-partner, Nadia Beller, points to him as an intermediary between the CIA and the DEA.

The Puppet Club: Kast, Milei, Bolsonaro, and the New Right

The list of politicians who have benefited from Cerimedo's services is extensive and forms a map of the new hard right in the region:

- **Javier Milei (Argentina):** He was a relevant operator in his 2023 presidential campaign, with documented visits to the Casa Rosada during 2024. His government has tried to distance itself, without success.
- **Jair Bolsonaro (Brazil):** After his 2022 defeat, he spread the false thesis of electoral fraud with Cerimedo's help.
- **José Antonio Kast (Chile):** His government denies that Cerimedo worked for him, but the consultant participated in the "Rechazo" campaign in the constitutional process, coinciding with current La Moneda officials.
- **Rodrigo Paz (Bolivia):** Cerimedo became his political advisor, with an office near the president and management of his digital strategy.
- **Other beneficiaries:** The list includes Nasry Asfura in Honduras, Patricia Bullrich in Argentina, and politicians in Mexico and Colombia.

Technofascism? The Economy of Silence and the Great Majorities

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The key question is why they all apply the same social and economic policy, against popular interests. The answer points to an economic lobby behind the political facade. Cerimedo is not just a consultant; he is a lobbyist who seeks to connect his clients with large companies to obtain million-dollar contracts, for example, in the energy sector. The super-rich who keep complicit silence, such as Mexican businessman Ricardo Salinas Pliego, finance these operations to protect their interests. The investigation into Cerimedo for illicit enrichment in Bolivia, where he earned a million dollars a year, is a sample of this web.

La Derecha Diario and Javier Negre: The Media Arm of the Operation

The alliance between Fernando Cerimedo and the Spaniard Javier Negre, owner and CEO of *La Derecha Diario*, is a fundamental pillar of the network. This portal is not a simple news outlet, but a tool of "digital dirty war" and political propaganda, co-founded by Cerimedo and operated by Negre to spread disinformation on a large scale.

- **Method of operation:** The mechanics, denounced by Mexican President Claudia Sheinbaum, consist of publishing a falsehood or a serious offense and, from there, generating an avalanche of paid and automated publications to simulate a majority public opinion. This method seeks to saturate the digital space with lies, defamations, and scandals.
- **Financing:** A key element is the link between *La Derecha Diario* and Mexican businessman Ricardo Salinas Pliego, who has been pointed out as a local financier of the network in Mexico. Sheinbaum cited statements by Negre himself where he reported that Salinas Pliego hired him.

The Madrid Forum: Cathedral of the New Right and Theater of Alliances

The Madrid Forum, promoted by the Spanish party VOX, functions as a meeting, recognition, and articulation space for the leaders of the regional and global far right. The V Regional Meeting, held in Chile in September 2026, was a perfect showcase for understanding these dynamics.

- **Stellar presences:** The event included the participation of Argentine President Javier Milei (who inaugurated it) and Chilean President José Antonio Kast (who closed it), alongside American figures such as Ambassador Brandon Judd. The coincidence of these leaders in the same forum, despite the scandals that splatter them, evidences their political and strategic alignment.
- **A "hub" of the plot:** Chilean deputy José Montalva explicitly pointed out that, if he were not in preventive detention, Fernando Cerimedo would have been present at this summit, given the high level of his contacts. The event thus becomes a "cathedral" where the alliances that are later executed in each country's electoral campaigns are woven.

The Technological Architecture: Parscale, Bot Farms, and the Role of the U.S.

The power of this network resides not only in media manipulation, but in its technological infrastructure, whose nerve center is in the United States, and whose purpose is to intervene in Latin American politics in the service of Washington's strategic interests.

- **Brad Parscale, the technology provider:** Former head of Donald Trump's digital campaign, Brad Parscale, is the crucial technological link of the network. Through his company, he provides the *Campaign Nucleus* platform, which Cerimedo used in the campaigns of Milei, Paz, and Asfura. Parscale is not a mere consultant, but the owner of an infrastructure of political influence that he sells as a business to conservative candidates.
- **Operation on the ground:** Cerimedo summarized the relationship by saying that Parscale "set up all the infrastructure I work with." This infrastructure includes data management, predictive segmentation of voters, and the deployment of "mini bot farms" to manipulate trends on social media, as documented in Bolivia.

The final objective: The network seeks to capture Latin American governments for the far right, aligning them as "vassals of Washington." Cerimedo's arrest exposes that this is one more gear of a vast criminal and mafia structure anchored in the U.S., with Republican figures such as Marco Rubio and Mario Díaz-Balart, and with the geopolitical goal of reinforcing U.S. control in its "backyard" against China.

3. Other Pieces of the Puzzle

The network extends to other actors and countries. In Bolivia, President Rodrigo Paz acknowledged his link with Cerimedo and is being investigated for corruption and drug trafficking. In Chile, the case has forced Congress to create an investigative commission to clarify Cerimedo's influence in electoral processes and his relationship with officials of the Kast government. Former Colombian President Gustavo Petro has also pointed to him for manipulation in his country's elections.

This web, with centers in Madrid, Miami, and Washington, confirms that we are not facing isolated events, but a coordinated continental strategy to manipulate democracy.

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Glossary of General Media

These media have carried out continuous coverage and analysis of the Cerimedo-Negre plot.

- **La Gaceta (Argentina):** Details the continental reach of Cerimedo's network, from his agency Numen to his connections in Washington and his link with Brad Parscale.
- **La Tercera (Chile):** Offers editorial coverage of the V Madrid Forum Meeting in Santiago, highlighting the participation of Presidents Kast and Milei and the differences in their speeches.
- **SinEmbargo (Mexico):** Publishes an investigation linking Brad Parscale to a propaganda campaign for Israel, using the same technology as Cerimedo in Latin America.
- **SinEmbargo (Mexico):** Analyzes the connections of the electoral manipulation network in Mexico, citing specialists who warn about the use of bots and their influence in upcoming elections.
- **Revista Noticias (Argentina):** Confirms that Fernando Cerimedo sold his stake in *La Derecha Diario* to Javier Negre after his arrest in Bolivia.
- **El Mostrador (Chile):** Publishes a profile of the attendees at the Madrid Forum, identifying the political leaders and U.S. figures present at the meeting.
- **La Jornada (Mexico):** Details the investigation into Brad Parscale, describing his company Clock Tower X and his role as technology provider for Cerimedo's campaigns and the Israeli government.
- **MDZ Online (Argentina):** Publishes an exclusive interview with Javier Negre, where he addresses Cerimedo's disassociation from *La Derecha Diario* and his distancing from the Milei government.
- **El Ancasti (Argentina):** Analyzes the phenomenon of disinformation, linking Cerimedo's methods with the current use of artificial intelligence to create false testimonies in electoral campaigns, as in Brazil.
- **Página | 12 (Argentina):** Covers how the right distances itself from Cerimedo after his arrest, publishing statements by Javier Negre and a communiqué from *La Derecha Diario*.

Media Focused on the Latin American Political Ecosystem

These media and platforms have specialized in covering and analyzing the political spectrum, being fundamental to understanding the ideological context of this plot.

- **[swissinfo.ch](https://www.swissinfo.ch):** Reproduces the statements of Mexican President Claudia Sheinbaum, who directly accused Cerimedo and Negre of operating a fake news network in Latin America, financed by the right.
- **Infobae:** Reports on the start of the V Madrid Forum Meeting and the security approach with participation of U.S. government officials.

Interviews and Expert Analysis

These sources provide analysis and perspectives from figures knowledgeable about the functioning of the extreme right.

- **Tribuna de Periodistas (Argentina):** Publishes an investigation by a specialized journalist on the financing of *La Derecha Diario* with 708,000 euros in public money from governments of the Popular Party in Spain.
- **SinEmbargo – Interview with Juan Carlos Monedero:** Presents the interview with political scientist Juan Carlos Monedero, who analyzes the figure of Javier Negre, his past in Spain, and his role in the plot.



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