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The Dictatorial Imprint of Kast:

Technofascism, Servility to Trump, and the Digital Capture of Power in Chile

An analysis of the elements shaping the political project of Chile's President and his ties to the international far-right

The arrival of José Antonio Kast to the Presidency of Chile does not represent a simple administrative change or another democratic alternation in the country's political cycle. The elements accumulated in recent months—from his explicit alignment with Donald Trump to the scandal surrounding Argentine operator Fernando Cerimedo and his bot factory—paint a scenario that demands a deep analysis of the nature of the political project now installed in La Moneda.

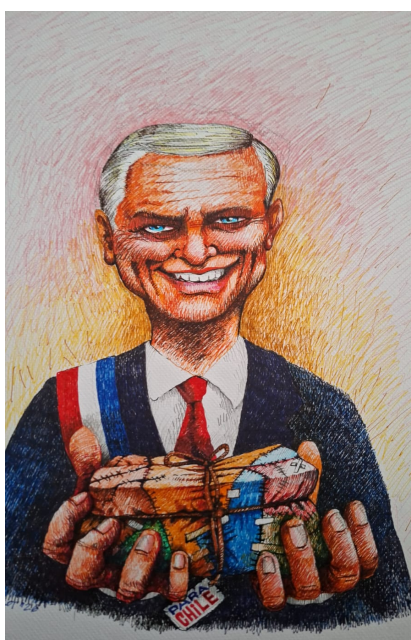


Ilustración: Lucot

The Origin: A Weighty Inheritance

José Antonio Kast comes from a family of German origin. His father, Miguel Kast Rist, arrived in Chile from Germany and was a close collaborator of Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship, implicated in the crimes of the so-called "Caravan of Death" in Paine. This family heritage is not anecdotal: it marks an ideological continuity that Kast has never repudiated.

Throughout his political career, Kast has maintained an ambiguous and complacent position toward the dictatorship. He proposed pardoning convicts over 80 years old with age-related illnesses, including those convicted of human rights violations under Pinochet's government. His political formation began in the Gremialista Movement founded by Jaime

Guzmán, the ideologue of the 1980 Constitution and close collaborator of the dictator. This root is not coincidental: it represents a doctrinal adherence to the political project that Pinochet imposed by force.

In his two previous presidential candidacies (2017 and 2021) and until his victory in 2025, Kast never condemned the fascism or Nazism from which his father came, and he has systematically avoided speaking out against the dictatorship's crimes. On the contrary, he has presented himself as its natural continuator in the realm of ideas.

President of the International Far-Right Organization

Between 2022 and 2023, Kast presided over the international far-right organization that groups together conservative and reactionary forces across the continent. This role was not honorary: it positioned him as the articulator of a political project that seeks to coordinate actions among like-minded governments, share strategies for communication, disinformation, and social control, and establish a common agenda for the region.

This fascist international—as some analysts call it—is not limited to declarations of principles. It operates as a network, shares resources, and finances campaigns through parallel structures. Kast was one of its main promoters and, since then, has maintained close ties with Javier Milei (Argentina), Jair Bolsonaro (Brazil), Rodrigo Paz (Bolivia), Daniel Noboa (Ecuador), and other far-right leaders in Latin America.

The Absorption of the Liberal Right: The End of an Illusion

One of the most notable phenomena of the last decade in Latin America has been the **complete absorption of the so-called "liberal right" by the fascist right**. Parties that in the past claimed to be defenders of representative democracy, the rule of law, and republican values—from Chile Vamos in Chile to Juntos por el Cambio in Argentina, passing through the Colorado Party in Uruguay or the PAN in Mexico—have been swallowed by the authoritarian, militaristic, and reactionary project now embodied by Kast, Milei, Bolsonaro, and their peers.

This is not a convenience alliance: it is an **ideological and organic subordination**. The cadres of the traditional right have accepted without resistance the far-right agenda: climate denialism, persecution of minorities, dismantling of the welfare state, complicity with hate speech, and justification of institutional violence. The old distinction between a "civilized right" and a "fascist right" has become obsolete: today, in practice, the former has renounced its historical flags and has sided with the latter, not out of deep conviction but for electoral calculation, fear of losing power, or simple opportunism.

In this process, democratic values have been the first sacrifice. The defense of the Constitution, the independence of the Judiciary, freedom of the press, political pluralism, and human rights are now considered by this new right as "obstacles" to the "order" they seek to impose. For them, democracy is merely a formal procedure—the vote—but not a system of values or a way of life. Once power is obtained through elections, they feel legitimized to govern without checks and balances, without debate, and without accountability.

This absorption has also been possible because the liberal right lacked its own project with the capacity for popular mobilization. Faced with this void, the far-right offered a powerful narrative: exclusionary nationalism, authoritarian order, defense of the traditional family, and a promise of security that justifies any measure, even the most rights-violating. The liberal right, lacking a compass, let itself be swept along by the current and today, in most countries, no longer exists as a differentiated force.

Obedience to Trump and Militaristic Alignment

Kast's relationship with Donald Trump goes beyond mere ideological affinity. Five days before assuming the presidency, Kast traveled to Miami to participate in the "Shield of the Americas" summit organized by the Trump administration, which many interpreted as prioritizing a "kiss-the-ring" gesture toward the American president over the institutional rituals of Chile's presidential transition.

At that summit, Kast not only thanked Trump for his support in the electoral campaign—a gesture that Trump himself displayed arrogantly: "I love it when I give support to someone... they win by 30 points"—but also explicitly endorsed US military intervention in Venezuela. "For us, what had happened in Venezuela had been something very good... there had to be some kind of intervention," Kast declared in Miami.

The Chilean president-elect also urged Trump to "do everything possible so that Cubans can regain their freedom," aligning himself with Washington's blockade and pressure policy against the island.

This servility is not rhetorical: it implies Chile's incorporation into the orbit of the Monroe Doctrine updated by Trump, which includes support for military operations in the region, interference in the internal affairs of Latin American countries, and the subordination of national interests to those of the White House. The Shield of the Americas summit

brought together the presidents aligned with Trump to coordinate actions against organized crime, but also to establish a geopolitical alliance that displaces Chile from its traditional position as a non-aligned country and integrates it into a belligerent right-wing coalition.

The Cerimedo Scandal: The Digital Plot of Power

One of the most disturbing elements of the recent period is the discovery in Bolivia of a "bot farm" linked to Argentine political operator Fernando Cerimedo, currently detained and accused of attempted femicide.

Cerimedo, an advisor to far-right Latin American figures such as Javier Milei and Jair Bolsonaro, worked in Chile. During a raid on his home in La Paz, authorities found an alleged bot farm and US\$50,000 in various currencies. Cerimedo managed thousands of fake social media accounts to intervene in public debate. In an interview, he acknowledged that he managed around 50,000 accounts just for Argentina and that he also had them for Chile.

In Chile, Cerimedo worked on the campaign against the 2021 constitutional proposal and, according to multiple reports, also participated in José Antonio Kast's presidential campaign. His connection to Kast's inner circle is not indirect: Alejandro Irarrázabal, currently the chief of advisors to President Kast, has been identified as one of the links to the Argentine operator. Cerimedo was seen celebrating Kast's runoff victory on the streets of Santiago and gave statements to TVN.

Five opposition deputies have announced actions to clarify the ties between Cerimedo and the government, officiating to Servel (the electoral service) and La Moneda. Deputy Daniel Manoucheri directly challenged the President: "President Kast and the Republican Party must clarify their ties with Fernando Cerimedo. The country deserves to know who has financed these groups."

The Cerimedo case reveals the existence of an infrastructure of disinformation and digital dirty war financed and operated on behalf of the far-right. This is not about isolated "bots" or spontaneous phenomena: it is an organized machine with funding, operators, and clear political objectives.

The Paradox of Electoral Legality and Technofascism

A sharp observation of the current scenario is that, despite evidence of the use of "bots" and disinformation strategies to influence the electoral process, one cannot speak of electoral fraud in the classical sense. There was no tampering with ballot boxes or falsification of votes. However, the manipulation of public debate, the creation of parallel realities through mass disinformation, and foreign digital intervention constitute what some analysts call "technofascism": a form of social control and political manipulation that operates through digital means, without needing to violate the formal mechanisms of democracy.

The votes are legal, but the process was contaminated. The "bot war" distorted public deliberation, fabricated artificial consensuses, and amplified narratives favorable to Kast. This raises an uncomfortable question for democratic systems: what value does formal legality have when the process was vitiated by digital manipulation?

The Map of the Far-Right in the Region and the New Geopolitics of Authoritarianism

Today, Latin America shows a concerning map: the majority of countries are governed by far-right leaders aligned with Trump. Chile now joins this coalition that includes Argentina (Milei), Bolivia (Paz), Costa Rica (Chaves), Paraguay (Peña), El Salvador (Bukele), Ecuador (Noboa), the Dominican Republic (Abinader), Honduras (Asfura), and others. Only Brazil and Mexico, with Lula and Claudia Sheinbaum respectively, maintain progressive or left-wing governments that resist this reactionary wave.

But this new geopolitics of authoritarianism has an unprecedented characteristic: **the far-right no longer operates only from nation-states, but as a coordinated supranational power.** The "Shield of the Americas" summits, Kast's presidency of the international far-right organization, the funds circulating among the campaigns of Milei, Bolsonaro, and Kast, operators like Cerimedo crossing borders to install bot farms in different countries, the influence of American and European think tanks on these governments' policies: all of this constitutes a power structure that transcends national sovereignties.

This fascist international is not limited to sharing rhetoric. It coordinates legislative strategies, shares models of repression and social control, exchanges advisors and funding, and acts as a geopolitical bloc that pressures countries that still resist. The pressure on Mexico and Brazil is constant: from diplomatic interference to the financing of opposition movements, including mass disinformation campaigns. The Cerimedo case is just the tip of the iceberg of a network seeking to replicate throughout the region the model of digital capture of power.

The Strategic Paradox: How to Combat a Supranational Power from Within States?

This diagnosis leads to a paradox of enormous strategic relevance: **technofascism, due to its supranational character, can only be effectively combated from within the nation-states themselves, but these states are precisely being captured by that same technofascism.** It is the problem of the dog chasing its own tail.

The left and progressivism in Latin America have historically tended to think of resistance from civil society, social movements, and grassroots organizations. And certainly, that dimension remains fundamental. However, technofascism has demonstrated a capacity for capturing state institutions that makes social resistance alone insufficient. When the executive branch, the legislature, electoral bodies, the media, and even social networks are under the control of this reactionary international, civil society is left disarmed.

The lesson of recent years is clear: **resistance to technofascism necessarily requires electoral victories and governance.** It is not enough to protest in the streets if state power remains in the hands of those who dismantle the rule of law. It is not enough to denounce on social media if social media is dominated by bots that fabricate artificial majorities. It is not enough to organize movements if those movements cannot translate into governments that can exercise real power.

Brazil and Mexico are today the only two bastions in the region where this equation has not yet been resolved in favor of technofascism. But the pressure on Lula and Sheinbaum is immense. And the question hanging in the air is: can these governments, with their limitations and contradictions, articulate a coordinated regional response that confronts the supranational power of the far-right? Or will technofascism end up swallowing these last redoubts as well?

Building an alternative therefore requires a two-track strategy: **institutional strengthening from the states that still resist** (regulation of social media, combating disinformation, judicial independence, defense of electoral processes) and, at the same time, **regional coordination** that allows the democratic bloc to confront the far-right bloc and recover the agenda of Latin American integration.

More Than a President, a Symptom and a Challenge

José Antonio Kast, elected by popular vote, nevertheless represents a phenomenon that transcends his figure. He is the symptom of a crisis of liberal democracy, captured by disinformation networks and political operators who use technology to mold popular will. He is the continuator of an authoritarian tradition that in Chile has a name: Pinochet. And he is the executor of a geopolitical agenda that originates not in Chile but in Washington.

But beyond this, Kast is the expression of a broader process: the absorption of the liberal right by the fascist right throughout Latin America, the end of the illusion of a "democratic right," and the consolidation of a supranational power that operates in coordination to impose its project in the region.

The Cerimedo scandal, the bot farm, the ties to Trump, the fascist family heritage, and the militaristic alignment are not isolated pieces. They are the elements of a puzzle that reveals the same image: a project of power that combines formal legality with digital manipulation, international servility with domestic authoritarianism, and supranational coordination with the capture of nation-states.

The task for Chilean and Latin American society remains to unravel these plots, resist the digital colonization of politics, and defend democratic spaces from capture by disinformation operators. But there also remains the strategic task of understanding that, in this scenario, the struggle for states—to recover them, to strengthen them, to defend them from capture—is as urgent as the struggle in the streets.

The paradox of technofascism is that, because it is supranational, it demands a response that is also capable of articulating itself beyond borders, but at the same time necessarily passes through the recovery of nation-states. While Cerimedo remains detained in Bolivia, while Chilean deputies demand answers, and while Brazil and Mexico stand as resistances, the question remains open: how far will the reach of this fascist international extend, and how long can the countries that remain outside its orbit resist?

The answer is not written. It depends on the ability of democracy, progressivism, and the Latin American left to learn the lessons of this defeat, to understand the nature of the power they face, and to build, from defeat, a new strategy of resistance and victory.

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This is Sudaka Editorial's contribution in the face of the avalanche of bots and false information, which, according to studies, now reaches 50% of what is disseminated on social media.

Today, more than ever, it is necessary to strengthen an informational commitment that defends democratic values, which are being called into question by the advance of the new fascism.

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