Cerimedo recordings tie Fujimori's narrow victory in Peru to US manipulation

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The release of new recordings of Argentine political operative Fernando Cerimedo, imprisoned in Bolivia, has revealed his involvement in a parallel vote-counting system during the second round of the Peruvian presidential elections, held on June 7.

In a conversation with Bolivian President Rodrigo Paz Pereira, reproduced by *La República* on November 7, Cerimedo acknowledges having provided an electoral counting system using artificial intelligence (AI). The Argentine states: "Keiko has now won with the votes from abroad."

A second recording, published by the same newspaper on November 14, reveals his coordination with a group of retired Peruvian Navy officers who organized a parallel electoral counting system called "Ojo de Cóndor" (Condor's Eye). According to one of its members, the connection between the retired naval officers and Cerimedo was established through Brad Parscale, Donald Trump's former campaign manager.

Cerimedo, a former adviser to Paz, has worked for years in the digital campaigns of the Latin American far right. His activities extend across Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, Chile and Peru, and involve, to varying degrees, Javier Milei, Jair Bolsonaro, Santiago Peña, Rodrigo Paz, José Antonio Kast and Keiko Fujimori. He is currently jailed In Bolivia, accused of organizing the attempted murder of his former partner, attorney Nadia Beller.

The new revelations make it possible to examine the Peruvian dimension of these operations and their relationship to Washington's political offensive in Latin America, institutionalized through the "Shield of the Americas," a coalition inaugurated on March 7 in Doral, Florida, with leaders from 12 Latin American and Caribbean countries. Behind its stated objective of combating drug trafficking and crime lies the project of a hemispheric military alliance subordinated to Washington.

Cerimedo's operatives in Peru

An investigation by Ángel Páez and Rosmery Tapara, published by *La República* on October 18, identified four visits by Cerimedo to Peru: December 28, 2024, November 9 and December 9, 2025, and July 27-28, 2026. The last coincided with Fujimori's inauguration as president.

La República reports that Federico Falco, who worked on Javier Milei's 2023 presidential campaign, entered Peru on 22 occasions between June 2024 and September 2026. According to the electoral expenditure declaration submitted to the National Office of Electoral Processes (ONPE), Fujimori's party, Fuerza Popular, paid Falco 32,765 soles for training in social media management.

On February 10, Fujimori attended a gala of the Hispanic-American right wing at Mar-a-Lago, Florida, where Cerimedo received an award for his work as a political consultant and publicly thanked Parscale for providing him with technology and teams. A photograph published by *La República* shows Fujimori alongside Cerimedo, Andrés Rivas and Argentine businessman Damián Valenzuela Mayer. Fujimori has nonetheless denied any personal or working relationship with Cerimedo or any role for him in her campaign.

Operation "Condor's Eye"

Wilson Gómez Barrios Rincón, a former Peruvian Navy officer, confirmed to *La República* that contact with Cerimedo was established through Parscale. Gómez Barrios's former wife, Giselle Giannotti Grados, had contacted the American strategist to contract for AI software.

In his telephone conversation with Gómez Barrios, Cerimedo reveals that some of the personnel involved were working from Argentina: "The data entry operators are all in Argentina." He recommended informing Fuerza Popular of the need to exert pressure to expedite the resolution of 932 contested tally sheets from Lima which, according to his calculations, would give Fujimori an additional 22,000 votes.

Gómez Barrios maintains that "Condor's Eye" was a citizens' initiative independent of political parties, intended to guarantee electoral transparency. However, *El Búho* has reported that the platform was coordinated by Andrés Salas, another former naval officer and a member of Renovación Popular, the far-right party of former Lima Mayor, Rafael López Aliaga. An investigation by *Epicentro TV*, published on November 14, also reproduces a statement by Cerimedo referring to a warning about alleged infiltrators in an internal system, possibly that of the ONPE.

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The votes from abroad

Fujimori and her rival, Roberto Sánchez Palomino of the left-nationalist Juntos por el Perú (Together for Peru), entered an extremely close runoff. Under these circumstances, a change in electoral procedure introduced between the two rounds acquires particular significance.

The report of the Organization of American States (OAS) electoral observation mission indicates that tally sheets from abroad were no longer digitized at the consulates and had to be physically transported to Lima. This eliminated a mechanism for tracing electoral documents, increased dependence on the chain of custody, delayed oversight and raised the risk of loss, deterioration or adulteration of the tally sheets.

Serious irregularities had already occurred in the first round on April 12. In the working-class districts of southern Lima, electoral materials arrived late. The Ombudsman's Office documented that at the start of election day, ballot boxes and ballots had not reached 78 polling locations in Lima, and tally sheets had not reached 81. The ONPE blamed its transport contractor.

On June 16, the ONPE stated that the decision to dispense with the digital application abroad had been made at the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, precisely the ministry responsible for relations with Washington. The ministry cited unspecified technical difficulties in the first round. In a June 12 statement, it said that the materials from 233 polling stations in Buenos Aires and its dependent consulates had been shipped by consolidated cargo, citing security and flight availability.

The historical significance of these decisions is alarming. Fujimori had lost three consecutive presidential elections, in 2011, 2016 and 2021, the last two by fewer than 50,000 votes: 41,057 against Pedro Pablo Kuczynski and 44,263 against Pedro Castillo.

In his conversation with Paz, Cerimedo calculated an advantage of approximately 89,000 votes for Fujimori abroad and predicted a final margin of between 50,000 and 60,000 votes. The final margin was 49,641 votes, according to *La República*.

It is essential to establish when Cerimedo made this remarkably accurate prediction. The content of the conversation suggests that it took place before the ONPE had finished counting the votes from abroad. Where did he obtain his figures, and what information did he have that was not yet public? His reference to infiltrators in a system possibly belonging to the ONPE cannot be forgotten.

On November 11, Leonardo Roca Eguez, chairman of the Bolivian Senate commission investigating Cerimedo, stated that the Peruvian authorities had grounds for their own examination. According to *La República*, a report by Bolivia's Institute of Forensic Investigations records the recovery of 19,098 items from Cerimedo's phone, including 1,108 audio recordings and 92 documents. In Peru, two proposals for a congressional commission of inquiry have been filed.

Over the past decade, Peru has experienced enormous political instability, with nine presidents over the last 10 years, several of them removed by Congress or forced to resign. Fuerza Popular and Renovación Popular played a central role in the confrontations between the executive and Congress, and Washington's hand was visible. On December 6, 2022, one day before Castillo's removal and arrest, US Ambassador Lisa Kenna met with Defense Minister Gustavo Bobbio. The following day, Kenna publicly condemned Castillo's actions before Congress voted to remove him.

Washington has worked intensively to turn South America into a bastion of right-wing governments. A victory for Sánchez would have been another setback, like the one suffered in Brazil, for the hemispheric project of the Shield of the Americas. US imperialism saw in Sánchez, Castillo's ally, the danger of a resurgence of the so-called "pink tide" of Hugo Chávez and Evo Morales. These bourgeois nationalist governments expanded ties with China and Russia as leverage with US imperialism; however, they never challenged capitalist property and ultimately paved the way for the right's return. It is in this context that Cerimedo's statements acquire their significance.

Digital operations aimed at political manipulation find particularly fertile ground where democratic institutions are historically weak. In Peru, two factors converge. The first is the volatility of the international situation, in which the pieces are being rearranged for a confrontation between the US and China. Peru has historically belonged to the sphere of influence of US imperialism, but China has become its principal trading partner and top foreign investor. The second is the belated development of democratic institutions in a country where the fundamental tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution remain unfulfilled.

The historic crisis of US imperialism, which has dominated world capitalist economy and politics since the end of the Second World War, exacerbates antidemocratic tendencies throughout Latin America. The bourgeoisie is increasingly incapable of governing by democratic methods.

The rightward shift of Latin American governments requires a united and independent response from the working class throughout the Americas, including the US, against the capitalist system, which creates dictatorship and war. The digital instruments that today serve to manipulate public opinion and undermine democratic rights must be placed under the control of the working class, as part of building a planned world economy that meets the needs of humanity rather than the profits of a handful of billionaires.



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Washington and the Peruvian right

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