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## **The rise of Guillermo Moreno**

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**Abstract:** This article explores the political resurgence of Guillermo Moreno in the context of Argentina's shifting ideological landscape one year after Javier Milei's libertarian administration began. While Milei's government has achieved some macroeconomic stabilization, it faces mounting social and economic challenges, exacerbating public disillusionment with both the ruling coalition and the traditional center-left opposition. In this vacuum, Moreno has emerged as a controversial figure offering a conservative, nationalist reinterpretation of Peronism grounded in Catholic social doctrine, economic nationalism, and labor-centric values. Drawing on doctrinal texts and a rejection of globalist and progressive paradigms, Moreno positions himself as a response to the perceived moral and economic drift of Kirchnerist Peronism. His growing appeal among youth, combined with a savvy digital strategy and critiques of globalization, positions him as both a symptom of and response to Argentina's current political impasse. The article assesses his ideological framework, foreign policy views, and potential as a transformative force, arguing that his rise signals a broader reconfiguration of the Peronist identity and Argentina's geopolitical alignment in a post-globalization era.

## Argentina, one year after Milei

The libertarian administration of Javier Milei in Argentina has been marked by a series of controversies and extravagant moves that have damaged his international reputation. The \$LIBRA cryptocurrency scandal, which Milei promoted before it rapidly collapsed, exposed the fragility of his carefully crafted right-wing rebel image and left many Argentines feeling deceived and wary of his leadership.<sup>1</sup>

Despite achieving some success in reducing inflation and stabilizing macroeconomic indicators, the administration faces a deepening recession, rising unemployment, and social unrest. Tensions have grown as the government maintains a 25% annual interest rate for financial carry traders, while restricting the ability of unions and pensioners to negotiate wages and pension adjustments.<sup>2</sup> This comes as Argentina continues to face high inflation levels, with a 2024 rate of 117%, posing challenges to economic stability and public trust.<sup>3</sup>

However, the opposition appears to have made limited efforts to reflect on its performance during the Alberto Fernández and Cristina Kirchner administrations. Axel Kicillof, current governor of Buenos Aires Province, and his political mentor, Cristina Kirchner, have reportedly begun to show public disagreements, echoing internal divisions that characterised the previous government.<sup>4</sup> Both continue to promote a centre-left discourse that was rejected in the last elections, with little indication of critical reassessment or change in political approach.

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<sup>1</sup> The New York Times, “Milei, Argentina, and the LIBRA Cryptocurrency ‘Rugpull’.” The New York Times en Español, February 16, 2025. <https://www.nytimes.com/es/2025/02/16/espanol/america-latina/milei-argentina-libra-criptomoneda-rugpull.html>

<sup>2</sup> James Grainger, “Betting on Milei, Investors Choose Longer Duration,” Buenos Aires Times, November 27, 2024, <https://www.batimes.com.ar/news/economy/betting-on-milei-argentine-investors-choose-longer-duration.phtml>.

<sup>3</sup> “Inflation in 2024 Was 117.8% and Nearly Halved Compared to the Previous Administration.” Infobae, January 14, 2025. <https://www.infobae.com/economia/2025/01/14/la-inflacion-de-2024-fue-de-1178-y-se-redujo-casi-a-la-mitad-de-la-que-dejo-el-gobierno-anterior>.

<sup>4</sup> Tobias Belgrano, “Political Crisis and Peronist Realpolitik: ‘Alberto Fernandez for Government, Francis J. Underwood to Power,’” The New Global Order, October 30, 2021, <https://thenewglobalorder.com/world-news/cinema-society/political-crisis-and-peronist-realpolitik-alberto-fernandez-for-government-francis-j-underwood-to-power/>.

Amid ongoing criticism directed at both the government and traditional political actors, new political narratives are attempting to gain traction. Guillermo Moreno is offering a conservative and controversial interpretation of Peronism, emphasizing what he describes as a return to the movement's foundational principles.

According to the Perfil newspaper, his political career began in the 1970s as an activist in the National Student Front, a left-wing faction of the Peronist Party.<sup>5</sup> In 1972, the group merged with the conservative, Catholic Guardia de Hierro, which opposed the Marxist Guerrilla fighters "Montoneros." After democracy was restored in 1983, Moreno studied Economics and started a hardware business. In 2002, he met Néstor Kirchner and was appointed Secretary of Communications in 2003. He later became Secretary of Internal Commerce, where his interventionist policies against businesses marked a turning point in his career.<sup>6</sup>

### **Who is the hardware dealer?**

During the last 15 years, Peronism has adhered to an international progressive agenda, which included issues such as gender inclusion, acceptance of certain drugs, and the decriminalization of abortion.<sup>7</sup> As these issues remained prominent globally, Peronism (particularly Kirchnerism) positioned itself as a vanguard in the face of postmodern demands.

According to Moreno, the dominance of politically correct discourse has led to uniform responses among politicians and limited the political space for alternative proposals, particularly those addressing economic concerns beyond identity issues. Globalization propelled many young people into a universal middle class that set them apart from their

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<sup>5</sup> "The Wives of Moreno and De Vido Produce a Miniseries on Papel Prensa." Perfil, September 17, 2011. <https://www.perfil.com/noticias/politica/las-esposas-de-moreno-y-de-de-vido-producen-un-unitario-sobre-papel-prensa-20110917-0005.phtml>.

<sup>6</sup> Diego Cabot and Francisco Olivera, *El Buen Salvaje: Unauthorized Biography of the Government's Official Enforcer of Prices*, [https://www.google.com.ar/books/edition/El\\_buen\\_salvaje/A-JfwpQhJ9MC](https://www.google.com.ar/books/edition/El_buen_salvaje/A-JfwpQhJ9MC).

<sup>7</sup> "11 Years Since the Passing of the Equal Marriage Law." Government of Argentina, July 15, 2021. <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/noticias/11-anos-de-la-sancion-de-la-ley-de-matrimonio-igualitario>; "Argentina Mobilizes for Cannabis Legalization." Página 12, June 19, 2023. <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/733916-argentina-se-moviliza-por-la-legalizacion-del-cannabis>.

parents and fostered a new global culture. By 2020, the global middle class was projected to reach 1.38 billion people, or 17.8% of the world's population. However, the COVID-19 pandemic abruptly disrupted this trajectory, as lockdowns, economic crises, and global trade disruptions hit this emerging middle class, reducing their upward mobility and weakening the once-secure growth projections.<sup>8</sup>

Argentina has not been immune to this global shift. The 2023 elections highlighted the mistakes of Cristina Kirchner's brand of Peronism, such as her choice of moderate candidates who adhered to political correctness and the agenda of a shrinking middle class. This political correctness led to a predictable and homogeneous response from the political sphere, limiting creativity and the ability to propose bold policies that went beyond minority rights.

Since 2015, some within Peronism have reportedly feared being perceived as divisive or radical. Moreno argues that this environment contributed to the middle class favoring candidates like Sergio Massa over Javier Milei, suggesting a pattern linked to deeper historical anxieties within Argentine politics. Guillermo Moreno, who previously served in Cristina Kirchner's government, has emerged as a vocal critic of the progressive direction that Peronism has taken in recent years. His message contends that the party has shifted too far from its core values, focusing excessively on minority rights at the expense of broader economic issues.

Moreno was controversial for aggressively pressuring companies to halt price increases during inflation and confronting the Clarin media group, aligning with the government's stance.<sup>9</sup> His most infamous moment came in 2010 when he stormed a meeting

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<sup>8</sup> "The Pandemic Stalls Growth in the Global Middle Class, Pushes Poverty Up Sharply," Pew Research Center, March 18, 2021, <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2021/03/18/the-pandemic-stalls-growth-in-the-global-middle-class-pushes-poverty-up-sharply/>.

<sup>9</sup> "12 Years Since 'Helmet or Gloves': Guillermo Moreno Sentenced to Two Years in Prison for Threats," Perfil, September 11, 2021, <https://www.perfil.com/noticias/actualidad/a-12-anos-de-casco-o-guantes-guillermo-moreno-fue-condenado-a-dos-anos-de-prision-por-amenazas.phtml>.

at Papel Prensa, wearing boxing gloves and demanding, “helmet or gloves?” His confrontational style left a lasting impact on business leaders. When Alberto Fernández became president in 2019, he distanced himself from Moreno’s methods, criticizing them as harmful to Argentina.

In the 2023 elections, as Argentina’s political landscape shifted, Moreno adopted a modern approach to appeal to younger generations, leveraging digital platforms like TikTok and Instagram to spread his conservative-nationalist and Catholic views. His viral social media presence mirrored the strategies of libertarians, helping him connect with younger voters and establish himself as an alternative to the Peronist status quo. Aligning himself with emerging right-wing sentiments and critiquing the failures of Peronism, Moreno used modern digital tactics to reshape the political conversation and position himself as a dynamic force for change in Argentina.

### **Guillermo Moreno: “Progressivism Thinks Wrong and Acts Worse”**

In a February 2025 interview with ITSS Verona, Moreno shared his insights on global trends and Argentina’s political trajectory. He argued that the world is moving away from globalization and towards a resurgence of nationalism. According to Moreno, Peronism must adapt to this shift by refocusing on the needs of the majority and reaffirming its traditional values. “I don’t believe the world is moving towards individualism; it’s moving towards nationalism,” he emphasized.

According to the former official, the idea of work being obsolete, and concepts like universal income, were mere “European nonsense.” Calling on Catholic principles, he asserts that work is the pillar of social order which explains the crisis of the West: “By the sweat of your brow you will eat your bread until you return to the ground,” (Genesis 3:19) a principle he believes has been forgotten or distorted in Western progressive political agendas. Moreno argues that progressivism, in its attempt to adapt to postmodern trends, has severely

undermined the intellectual foundation of a workers' party like Peronism, steering it away from its doctrinal roots.

For Moreno, those roots lie in the early Peronist synthesis of Catholic social doctrine, nationalism, and a strong state role in protecting labor. He sees Cristina Kirchner's second term as having diluted this foundation by embracing a progressive cosmopolitanism, one that prioritized identity politics, global human rights frameworks, and a new class of technocratic policymakers, often disconnected from the traditional working class base. While Kirchnerism claimed the Peronist mantle, Moreno argues it reinterpreted its ethos through a postmodern lens, eroding the centrality of labor and production. In reclaiming Peronism, Moreno leans heavily on the original doctrinal texts, particularly Juan Perón's *Modelo Argentino para el Proyecto Nacional*, and aims to reanchor the movement in a moral, spiritual, and productive vision of society, grounded in work, family, and national sovereignty.

He also criticises the prevailing optimism about technological innovation, arguing that artificial intelligence does not create new value but merely accelerates the circulation of existing knowledge. In his view, true progress stems from human labor, not from automation detached from productive work. "Artificial intelligence is nothing more than 20th-century knowledge circulating faster," he asserts, an argument that reflects skepticism toward the idea that technological development alone can resolve structural economic issues.

According to Moreno, the leftist agenda has prioritised the rights of minorities over the needs of the majority. The clearest example according to Moreno occurred during Alberto Fernández's administration, when non-binary IDs were being issued in a context of widespread impoverishment.<sup>10</sup> Moreno sees this as a fatal mistake for the future of popular

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<sup>10</sup> "The Awkward Moment Alberto Fernández Faced When Announcing Non-Binary IDs: 'We Are Not an X'." Infobae, July 21, 2021, <https://www.infobae.com/politica/2021/07/21/el-incomodo-momento-que-vivio-alberto-fernandez-en-el-anuncio-del-nuevo-dni-para-personas-no-binarias-no-somos-una-x/>.

movements, as it ignores the economic and social realities of the very people it claims to represent.

Moreno believes that the world is not heading toward individualism, but rather toward nationalism. “The concept of the nation is reappearing in the face of the fall of globalization,” he stated, emphasizing that as global forces become more pervasive, there is a growing shift toward reclaiming national identity and sovereignty. According to Moreno, the increasing push for nationalism is a reaction to the erosion of national borders and cultural identities, which has been a hallmark of the globalist agenda.

### **Guillermo Moreno on Europe’s Decline in the New Global Order**

In his analysis of Europe’s role in the evolving global landscape, Guillermo Moreno critiques the continent’s waning influence, particularly Germany’s status as a significant casualty of the new order. He emphasizes how Germany, once benefiting from globalization, now faces severe repercussions due to its over-reliance on global markets, especially in energy. According to Moreno, the clear consequence has been the destruction of the German industrial complex, particularly in comparison to China, as clearly seen in the automotive industry. He sees this decline of European influence as a clear sign of how the global power structure is shifting, which is also reflected in how other European nations, like France, are reevaluating their stances on globalization.

In France, Moreno highlights what he sees as an evolving political climate under President Emmanuel Macron, whom he describes as having moved away from his earlier globalist posture. “Macron, who was once a symbol of globalization, now puts the flag on his football jersey,” he says, using this shift as an example of European nations rethinking their positions in response to rising nationalist sentiments.

In contrast, Moreno offers a highly controversial critique of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, stating “Zelensky is everything that should not be done; he destroyed a

country. He lost his country.” According to Moreno, Zelensky’s reliance on international support to resist Russia’s invasion is, in his words, “the peak of surrender,” arguing that this strategy has led to the loss of nearly 20% of Ukraine’s territory and access to key natural resources. This view sharply diverges from widespread international support for Ukraine and reflects Moreno’s broader skepticism toward globalist alliances and military dependency.

While European leaders like Macron are reevaluating their positions, Moreno draws a distinction between European and American nationalism (America as a continent, including Latin America). He explains, “European nationalism is exclusionary, xenophobic,” while “American nationalism is inclusive, based on the mixing of peoples.” Moreno aligns the latter with the core principles of Peronism, which has historically celebrated societal diversity and unity. This stands in contrast to the more insular and ethnocentric forms of nationalism found in Europe today.

### **On the Middle East and Israel’s Shifting Role**

Continuing the interview, Moreno provided his perspective on Argentina’s historical relationship with Israel and the evolving dynamics in the Middle East. Moreno reaffirms Argentina’s long-standing support to Israel, stating, “Peronism has always stood by Israel.”<sup>11</sup> Argentina, under Perón, was the first country in Latin America to recognize the State of Israel.” He further expresses solidarity with Israel through the phrase “Compañero Netanyahu,” a traditional Peronist expression that highlights his support for Netanyahu in the internal debate in Israel between nationalism (Netanyahu) and globalist social democracy.<sup>12</sup>

However, Moreno also addresses the changing geopolitical landscape in the Middle East. “The Middle East can no longer be an international energy supplier in this context.

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<sup>11</sup> “The Day the Israeli Government Inaugurated the ‘President Perón Forest’ in Jerusalem.” Infobae, February 5, 2022, <https://www.infobae.com/sociedad/2022/02/05/el-dia-que-el-gobierno-de-israel-inauguro-el-bosque-presidente-peron-en-una-colina-de-jerusalen/>.

<sup>12</sup> “Moreno Allegedly Traveled to Israel to Gain Netanyahu’s Support.” La Postal de Mar del Plata, May 3, 2025. <https://lapostaldemardelplata.com/Moreno-habria-viajado-a-Israel-para-obtener-el-apoyo-de-Netanyahu-5972>.

Europe will be supplied by Russia,” he states, emphasizing the shifting power dynamics in the region. According to Moreno, this change alters the strategic importance of Middle Eastern countries and influences global power structures, marking the end of the region's role as a central player in the global energy market.

The future of peace in the region, Moreno argues, is intricately tied to preventing China or Europe from gaining a competitive advantage through oil supplies. “Peace in the Middle East is linked to oil production, enough for neither China nor Europe to gain a competitive advantage,” he notes. This new reality requires countries in the region to adapt to a world where their energy resources no longer hold the same level of leverage in global geopolitics.

Moreno also affirms Netanyahu is also aware of the shifting role in the Middle East, noting that Israel has lost its hegemonic position in the region. “Netanyahu understood that Israel’s hegemony in the Middle East is over,” he explains, citing the rise of Saudi Arabia as a new pro-Western actor in the region. This change in alliances is a key development in the broader shift in Middle Eastern geopolitics.”He traveled to Moscow more times than to Washington,” says Moreno, underscoring the reorientation of Israeli foreign policy towards Russia and the waning influence of traditional Western alliances.

### **“The New Order Embraces Classic Peronist Ideals”**

Returning to Argentina’s role in the new global context, Moreno argues that Argentina must focus on its industrialization process and distance itself from China, aligning with the Western efforts for re-industrialization. Argentina’s natural market lies in Hispanic America, not in engaging in disputes with the US over NAFTA. The real challenge is competing with Brazil in the industrial market, which would require pushing China out of the region.

During an interview on the progressive radio station Futurock, while Moreno defended Donald Trump's industrialization project, claiming it was the same economic

agenda he pursued during his time as Secretary of Commerce, he was interrupted with the argument, “Argentina is not the US.” To this, he sharply responded, “Then why are you guys social democratic if this is not Europe either?”<sup>13</sup>

When asked whether Argentina should respond to Trump’s tariffs as Mexico and Canada did, Moreno answers unequivocally: “There’s no need to get involved in their market disputes. Instead, Argentina should focus on industrial competition with Brazil,” positioning itself as a leader in the Western re-industrialization effort. He connects Argentina’s industrialization to Trump’s plans for the US, framing it in terms of “nations with an industrial memory.”

As for the upcoming elections, Moreno is confident that Peronism will emerge victorious in October.<sup>14</sup> He critiques Javier Milei’s economic policies as flawed but acknowledges that the last two governments were disastrous. Ultimately, Moreno believes Peronism, under his leadership, can guide Argentina toward a more prosperous and self-sustaining future.

### **What would a traditional Peronist Argentina under Moreno look like?**

Although Moreno is still far from leading the polls, his figure today functions both as a symptom and a signal: the exhaustion of progressive discourses within Peronism, the need to reinterpret nationalism through a productive lens, and the reconfiguration of international alignments following the decline of globalization. In this context, a potential rise of Moreno to power would represent a bet on an industrialist economic model, firmly anchored in classical Peronist doctrine, emphasizing work as the organizing principle of society and national sovereignty as the cornerstone of foreign policy.

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<sup>13</sup> “Guillermo Moreno on Peronism and the Global Order.” YouTube. Accessed June 15, 2025. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ymDVgVnpmsY>.

<sup>14</sup> “Moreno in 2025: ‘Peronism Will Win the Election by a Landslide’.” La Capital Mar del Plata, April 7, 2025. <https://www.lacapitalmdp.com/moreno-en-2025-el-peronismo-gana-la-eleccion-de-punta-a-punta/>.

Moreno's increasing support among younger demographics is noteworthy, particularly given the historical challenges Peronism has faced in engaging this group. A significant element of his appeal stems from his posture of defiance and refusal to embody the image of political defeatism that has characterized much of the traditional Peronist leadership. This assertive, populist, and rebellious demeanor resonates with young Peronists who are disillusioned by the perceived stagnation and compromises of the established party. Moreno's capacity to position himself as an outsider challenging entrenched political structures provides him with a distinctive political charisma that mobilizes youth engagement.

Moreno's approach to nationalism is particularly innovative in the Latin American context, where nationalist movements have historically struggled to gain lasting traction. His narrative of inclusive nationalism, which emphasizes racial diversity, nationalistic cohesion, and national unity rather than racism or xenophobia, positions him as a rare figure on the international stage. This inclusive nationalism aligns with Peronism's tradition of celebrating social mixing with national unity, contrasting sharply with the often ethnocentric nationalism seen in Europe or the US.

On the international front, Moreno advocates a pragmatic foreign policy, with strong ties to Latin America and a distancing from China, aligning with the Western-led reindustrialization efforts spearheaded by the US. His support for nationalist leaders like Donald Trump and Benjamin Netanyahu marks a clear break from the recent Kirchnerist diplomatic tradition, which leaned more toward multilateral organizations and a globalist view of human rights.

Domestically, his agenda promises a social order centered on traditional values, with a state active in the economy but critical of the "social-democratic state" of recent decades. For some, this represents a necessary restoration; for others, a dangerous rollback. In any case, Moreno's emergence as a relevant political actor forces a rethinking of the country's

ideological map and raises the question of whether he is a passing phenomenon, or a persistent response to unresolved fractures within Peronism and the Argentine political system.

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