



March 2026

## **CILIA FLORES: OVER 30 YEARS BUILDING POWER UNDER CHÁVEZ AND MADURO**

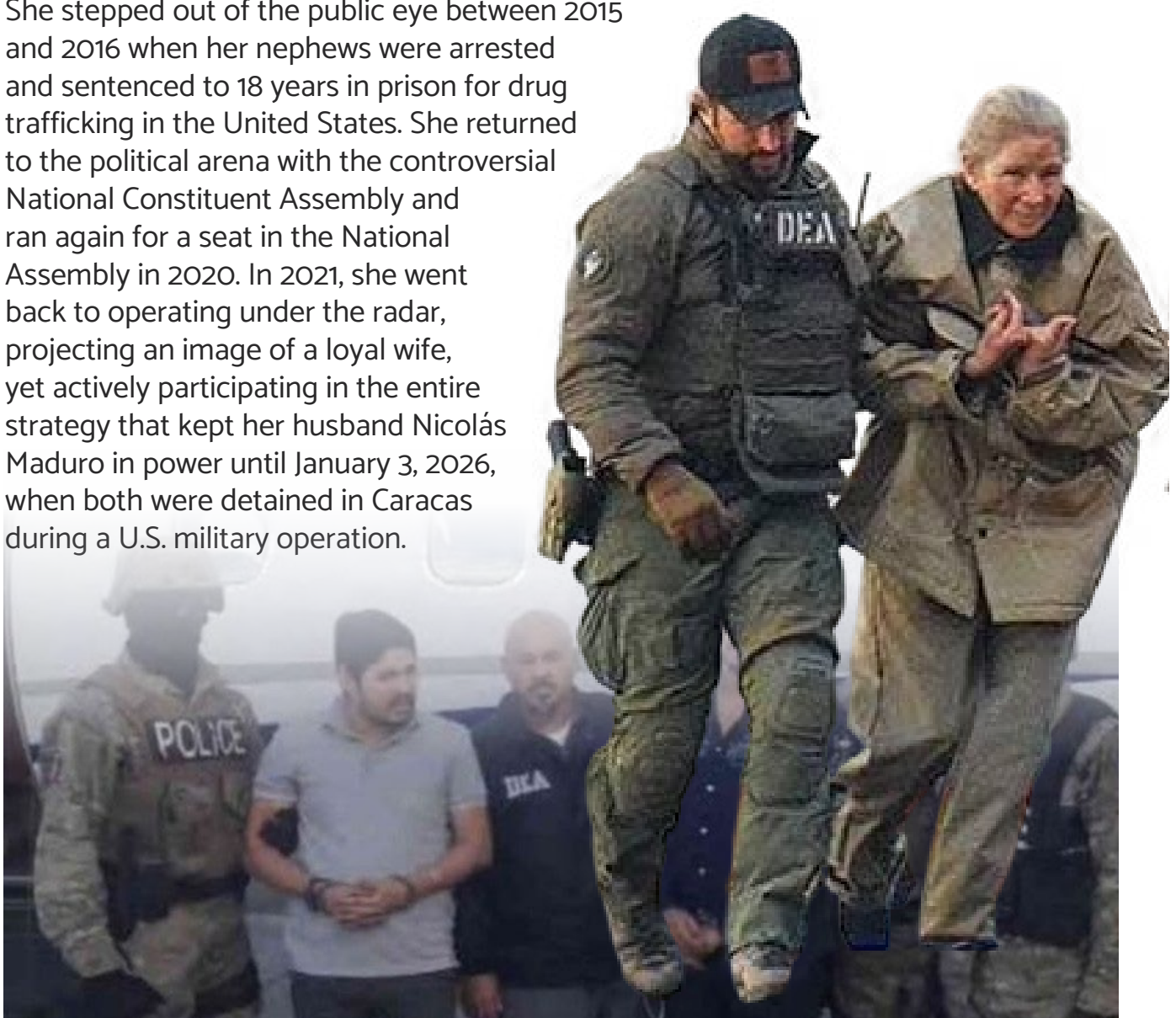
Cilia Flores has been part of *Chavismo* longer than the self-proclaimed Bolivarian Revolution has been in power. She has exerted personal influence over Hugo Chávez at least since he was in prison. The truth is that—if we take the coup attempt in 1992 as a turning point in her *Chavista* destiny—she has spent at least 33 years playing a key role in the initial phase and later in the consolidation of the political-military project.

She started out keeping a low profile in the early days under Chávez, gradually gaining ground within the Chavista structure she helped build, and weaving networks of influence (particularly in the judicial, legislative, electoral, party, and economic spheres).

1 Milenio (2026). De marchas chavistas a prisión en NY: Así es la historia de amor de Maduro y Cilia Flores. Available at: <https://www.milenio.com/internacional/historia-amor-nicolas-maduro-cilia-flores>  
<https://www.milen-io.com/internacional/historia-amor-nicolas-maduro-cilia-flores>

She served as a President of the Venezuelan Parliament from 2000 to 2006, and later as General Counsel. She facilitated the transfer of power from an ailing Hugo Chávez to his partner, Nicolás Maduro, whom she married four months after the Chávez's death, in July 2013—"after 20 years of pestering him," Maduro once said. From then on, she spearheaded a project that was almost her own, but with Maduro as the figurehead.

She stepped out of the public eye between 2015 and 2016 when her nephews were arrested and sentenced to 18 years in prison for drug trafficking in the United States. She returned to the political arena with the controversial National Constituent Assembly and ran again for a seat in the National Assembly in 2020. In 2021, she went back to operating under the radar, projecting an image of a loyal wife, yet actively participating in the entire strategy that kept her husband Nicolás Maduro in power until January 3, 2026, when both were detained in Caracas during a U.S. military operation.





# CILIA FLORES

## THREE DECADES WITH CHAVEZ AND MADURO

### PUBLIC OFFICES



Under Hugo Chávez

1990s

Attorney in Chávez's inner circle

2000 - 2005

Member of Parliament and MVR floor leader

2006 - 2011

President of the National Assembly

2009 - 2011

Vice President of the PSUV

2012 - 2013

General Counsel



Under Nicolás Maduro

2015 - 2017

Member of the National Assembly

2017 - 2020

Member of the National Constituent Assembly

2020 - 2026

Member of the National Assembly

# Cilia Flores's Handpicked Team IN THE JUDICIARY



**Edgar Gavidia Rodríguez**  
First Vice President of the Supreme Court and  
Chair of the Criminal Chamber  
(2014-2026)

**Walter Jacob Gavidia Flores**  
47<sup>th</sup> Provisional Criminal Supervisory Judge and  
9<sup>th</sup> Trial Judge, in Caracas (2008-2015);  
Director of the Propatria 2000 Foundation

**Jennifer Karina Fuentes Gómez**  
Executive Director of  
the Judiciary (2025)

**Irving Molina Flores**  
Executive Director of the Judiciary  
Former Supervisory Judge (2013)

**Christian Tyrone Zerpa**  
Supreme Court Justice (2015-2019)

**Maikel Moreno Pérez**  
Former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court  
Criminal Chamber Justice  
(2014-2026)

**Elsa Gómez Moreno**  
Former Vice President of the Supreme  
Court and Criminal Chamber Justice  
(2010-2026)

**Katherine Harington**  
Deputy Prosecutor General (2017)  
President of the Caracas Criminal Court Circuit  
(2023-2025)

**Caryslia Beatriz Rodríguez Rodríguez**  
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (2022-2026)  
Mayor of Caracas (PSUV) (2021)

**Tania D'Amelio**  
2nd Vice President of the Supreme Court and  
Chair of the Constitutional Chamber (2026)  
Commissioner of the National Electoral Council  
(2009-2022)

**Juan José Mendoza Jover**  
Justice (2014-2022) and former Chair of the  
Constitutional Chamber, former military officer;  
former parliamentarian (PSUV)

**Calixto Ortega**  
Parliamentarian (MVR-PSUV) (2000-2013)  
Deputy Foreign Minister for Europe (2013-2015)  
Supreme Court Justice (2015-2022)  
Venezuelan Representative at the International  
Criminal Court (2022)

**María Carolina Ameliach Villarroel**  
Supreme Court Justice (2010-2022)

**Indira Alfonso Izaguirre**  
Supreme Court Justice, former Chair of the  
Electoral Chamber (2014).  
CNE President (2020-2021)  
Parliament Chief of Staff (2003-2005) under  
Francisco Ameliach.

**Michel Adriana Velásquez Grillet**  
Supreme Court Justice at the Constitutional  
Chamber (2017-2026) and ex-wife of  
Carlos Erik Malpica Flores

# OTHER ENTITIES

## **Carlos Erik Malpica Flores**

- He held 16 positions (2005–2016) at the National Assembly, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Office of the Vice President, the Propatria 2000 Foundation, National Treasury, PDVSA, and the Bank for Economic and Social Development (BANDES), among others.

## **Walter Ramón Gavidia Rodríguez**

- Hugo Chávez's bodyguard (1990s).
- Member of the National Assembly (2006–2011).
- Representative at Parlatino.
- President of the Misión Negra Hipólita Foundation (2014).
- Former president of the José Félix Ribas Mission and Hijos de Venezuela Mission.
- President of the Juntos Todo es Posible corporation (2025)
- Member of the N.A. (2025–2030), but resigned in January 2026.

## **Elvis Hidrobo Amoroso**

- President of the National Electoral Council (2026).
- Member of the N.A. (2000–2015)
- Legal counsel of Miraflores (2017) Vice President of the National Constituent Assembly (2017–2018)
- Comptroller General (2018–2023)

## **Gladys Gutiérrez**

- Venezuelan ambassador to Spain (2026)
- Former Justice of the Constitutional Chamber.
- Former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court 2013–2017 and 2022–2024.
- General Counsel (2006–2011)

## **Giuson Fernando Flores**

- Director General of the Presidency of the National Assembly (2005)
- Member of Parlatino (2008)
- Legislative Investigator (2011)
- Manager at the General Counsel's Office (2013– 2017).
- Director (a) of the Administrative Service for Identification, Immigration, and Foreigners (Saime, 2024).

## **Rogers Flores**

- HR Director at the Public Defender's Office.

## **Rubén Flores**

- Head of Mercal in Aragua.

## **Magaly Gutiérrez Viña**

- President of INASS (2014–2017)
- Head of the Amor Mayor Venezuela Mission. Director of El Niño Simón Foundation (2017–2021)
- President of the Venezuelan Social Security Institute
- Minister of Health (2022–2026)

## **Mary Eglis Flores Mora**

- Venezuelan Ambassador to Portugal.
- Venezuelan Consul in Canada (2016)

## **Érika Alexandra Albornoz Gavidia**

- Asset Manager at the Office of the General Counsel (2011–2014).
- Legislature officer.

## **María Adelaida Maduro Moros**

- Director of Public Defender Services.

## **Nicolás Maduro Guerra**

- Member of the National Assembly

## **Efraín Campos Flores**

- Former officer at Parlatino

## **Francisco Ameliach**

- President of Corpozulia (2025). Military officer. Former President of the National Assembly (2003–2005)

## **Tarek William Saab**

- Acting Ombudsman (2026)
- Prosecutor General (2017–2026).

## **Alfredo Ruiz Angulo**

- Former Ombudsman (2017–2026)

## **José Gregorio Vielma Mora**

- Member of Parliament (2026).
- Former Governor of Táchira
- Former Minister of Foreign Trade and International Investment.

## **Manuel Galindo**

- General Counsel (2013)
- Comptroller General (2014–2018)

## **Bladimir Flores**

- Head of Security of the National Assembly (2006 y 2011).
- Former head (a) and inspector of CICPC

## 1. RISE TO POWER WITH HUGO CHÁVEZ: FROM LEGAL CLERK TO KEY FIGURE IN PARLIAMENT

### 1.1 Her role in the early days of Chavismo in the 1990s



She had a close relationship with Hugo Chávez that reportedly began during her visits to the coup plotters in prison. In 1993, she founded the **Bolivarian Circle for Human Rights** and joined the **Bolivarian Revolutionary Movement 200 (MBR-200)**—spearheaded by Hugo Chávez and later renamed the **Fifth Republic Movement (MVR)** in 1997. Cilia Flores was not only part of the team of lawyers that helped Chávez and other coup plotters secure a pardon from then-President Rafael Caldera in 1994, but she was also active in promoting Chávez’s candidacy.

In 1999, Flores played a behind-the-scenes strategic role in the National Constituent Assembly—she was not a candidate, but Nicolás Maduro was nominated and elected by the MVR to represent the Federal District—which Hugo Chávez convened shortly after taking office and which succeeded in passing a new National Constitution in December of that year.

## 1.2 Her move to the new National Assembly



In the year 2000, Cilia Flores took on her first position as a representative of the self-proclaimed Bolivarian Revolution after she was elected to the new—now unicameral—Parliament, and she became leader of the MVR parliamentary bloc in 2002, while Maduro was also a member of Parliament.

The advent of the “revolutionaries” to the National Assembly signaled the beginning of the legislature’s acquiescence to the president’s prerogatives, granting Chávez special powers through enabling acts that allowed the president to enact laws by decree across a wide range of sectors and issues.

Between 2000 and 2012, Chávez issued an estimated 233 decree-laws on various matters, many of a strategic nature. *Chavismo* handed over the powers of the Legislature to the revolutionary leader, to the point of stripping that branch of government of its fundamental function.

The fledgling *Chavista* parliament also weathered challenges such as the 2002 military uprising and the 2004 recall referendum against Hugo Chávez (including the so-called “Tascón list,” which contained the identities of thousands of Venezuelans who voted against Chávez and was used for years to persecute and criminalize critics and opponents).

Cilia Flores was among the first to denounce Chávez’s “kidnapping” following his capture during the 2002 military uprising and to refute his resignation on international media. She was one of the pro-Chávez lawmakers who convened an emergency session to restore constitutional order and swore in Diosdado Cabello—then vice president—so that he could hand over command to Chávez just a few hours later.

### 1.3 Head of Parliament (2006–2011)



Cilia Flores has served in the National Assembly since 2000 and was re-elected to her seat in 2005. In 2006, she became the first woman to preside over the National Assembly, succeeding Nicolás Maduro, who had been appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs by Hugo Chávez that same year.

In 2007, Flores led the discussions on the **constitutional reform** proposed by Chávez, with a National Assembly entirely dominated by the ruling party following the opposition’s withdrawal from the legislature elections. Chávez wanted to amend 33 articles—including provisions for indefinite re-election of the President—but Parliament increased the **number to 69 articles**.

Also at that 2007 National Assembly session, new *Chavismo*-aligned **commissioners of the National Electoral Council (CNE)** were elected, ensuring that the electoral authority would side with the government's interests; however, *Chavismo* lost the constitutional referendum that year.

Then, in 2009, the Legislative Branch led by Cilia Flores approved putting Amendment No. 1 to a referendum to establish **indefinite reelection** for all elected offices—a goal Chávez had failed to achieve in the 2007 referendum.

Meanwhile, Cilia Flores continued to consolidate her influence within the party by becoming one of the founders of the **United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV)** in 2008.

#### 1.4 Legislative Boost for *Chavismo* with Cilia Flores



While Cilia Flores headed the National Assembly, Parliament made the bulk of the decisions that **dismantled the state**. Laws were passed to bolster Chávez's power, which ultimately undermined the constitutional principle of the separation of powers and the stability of institutions.

Furthermore, Cilia Flores is known for the significant role she played in appointing officials to the judiciary and the electoral council during her time in the legislature. With *Chavismo*-aligned justices and judges, Flores ensured the “legality” of the Chávez administration’s decisions through the Supreme Court of Justice and—no less importantly—the appointment of directors of the National Electoral Council by the Constitutional Chamber of the TSJ in 2003, 2005, 2014, 2016, and 2020.<sup>2</sup>

Cilia Flores handed over the presidency of the National Assembly to Fernando Soto Rojas, but remained a member of Parliament and chair of the Committee on Domestic Policy.

## ACTS PASSED DURING CILIA FLORES’S TENURE AS PRESIDENT

	Act	Effect on consolidation of power
2007	Enabling Law	Official Gazette No. 38,617, dated February 1, 2007. It granted Chávez the power to enact laws by decree for 18 months, thereby establishing a militarized and centralized state in areas such as the economy, security, state organization (communes), the armed forces (reform and creation of the militia), and the financial system. <sup>3</sup>
2008	Military Intelligence and Counterintelligence Act, “Snitch Act”	It required anyone to cooperate with intelligence operations under penalty of punishment. Street protests forced Chávez to repeal it 14 days later.

1 Transparencia Venezuela. El reto de designar a los rectores del CNE (2026).

<https://transparenciave.org/el-reto-de-designar-a-los-rectores-del-consejo-nacional-electoral/>

2 Acceso a la Justicia (2019). La historia de un fraude: ¿cómo se construyó la toma del poder absoluto por medio de leyes habilitantes?

<https://accesoalajusticia.org/historia-fraude-como-construyo-toma-poder-absoluto-leyes-habilitantes/>

	Act	Effect on consolidation of power
2010	<b>Organic Law on Communes</b>	Regulates the organization, operation, and relations between the so-called “communes” (a concept not provided for in our Constitution) and the public administration.
	<b>Law on Political Parties, Public Meetings, and Demonstrations</b>	Regulates the operation and financing of political parties, and organization of public demonstrations.
	<b>Enabling Law</b>	A new law granted Chávez extraordinary powers to legislate by decree in specific areas: rural and urban land, infrastructure, transportation, and emergency management; finance and taxation; telecommunications; international cooperation; military armaments; and public safety, among others. <sup>4</sup> The “communal state” model was strengthened, and the executive branch’s influence over the private sector economy was increased. <sup>5</sup>
	<b>Amendment to the Law on Social Responsibility in Radio and Television</b>	The law regulating radio and television broadcasts was expanded to cover the internet and electronic media.

4 BBC (2010) Venezuela: extendidos poderes habilitantes a 18 meses.

[https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2010/12/101217\\_venezuela\\_aprobada\\_habilitante](https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2010/12/101217_venezuela_aprobada_habilitante)

5 Acceso a la Justicia (2019). La historia de un fraude: ¿cómo se construyó la toma del poder absoluto por medio de leyes habilitantes?

<https://accesoalajusticia.org/historia-fraude-como-construyo-toma-poder-absoluto-leyes-habilitantes/>

## 1.5 The Flores Clan (2006–2011)



Cilia Flores’s inner circle consists of at least 30 relatives<sup>6</sup> identified for this report, and some 17 of them have held public office, including during Hugo Chávez’s administration, as is the case with **Carlos Erik Malpica Flores, Walter Gavidia Rodríguez, Bladimir Flores, and Giuson Fernando Flores.**

They have headed various agencies: Petróleos de Venezuela S.A. (PDVSA), the Scientific, Criminal and Forensics Investigations Corps (CICPC), the Administrative Service for Identification, Migration, and Foreigners (SAIME), the Propatria 2000 Foundation, the General Counsel’s Office, and the National Treasury Office. Media reports indicate that between 40<sup>7</sup> and 47<sup>8</sup> close relatives were on the National Assembly’s payroll.

6 Runrunes. Nepotismo en Venezuela, las castas chavistas que concentran poder y privilegios. 2025. Available at: <https://alianza.shorthandstories.com/nepotismo-en-venezuela-las-castas-chavistas-que-concentran-poder-y-privilegios/>

7 Portafolio. Denuncian por nepotismo a la presidenta del Congreso venezolano, Cilia Flores. Julio de 2008. Available at: <https://www.portafolio.co/economia/finanzas/denuncian-nepotismo-presidenta-congreso-venezolana-no-cilia-flores-388616>

8 Armando.info. El sobrino favorito de Cilia Flores: el hombre detrás del tesoro. 22 de noviembre de 2015. Available at: <https://armando.info/el-sobrino-favorito-de-cilia-flores-el-hombre-detras-del-tesoro/>

# CILIA FLORES



## The Flores Garden

### ● SONS



**Walter Jacob Gavidia Flores**  
Oldest son of Cilia Flores and Walter Ramón Gavidia Rodríguez. Served as a judge.  
**Sanctioned by the U.S.**

**Yoswal Alexander Gavidia Flores**  
youngest son of Cilia Flores and Walter Ramón Gavidia Rodríguez.  
**Sanctioned by the U.S.**

**Yosser Daniel Gavidia Flores**  
Second son of Cilia Flores and Walter Ramón Gavidia Rodríguez.  
**Sanctioned by the U.S.**

### ● EX HUSBAND



**Walter Ramón Gavidia Rodríguez**  
Rodríguez. President of Juntos Todo es Posible Corporation.

### ● SIBLINGS



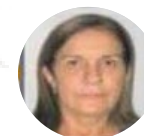
**Giuson Fernando Flores**  
Director of SAIME since December 2024.



**Bladimir Flores**  
Has held high posts at CICPC.



**Rogers Flores**  
Former HR director at the Public Defender's Office.



**Eloisa Flores de Malpica**  
Mother of Carlos Erik Malpica Flores.  
**Sanctioned by the U.S. in 2025.**

### ● STEPSON



**Nicolás Maduro Guerra**  
Member of the National Assembly.

## NIECES/NEPHEWS



### Carlos Erik Malpica Flores

Family member who has held the most public offices, including during the Chávez administration. Between 2005 and 2015, he held 16 positions, most of which appointed by Maduro. **Sanctioned by the U.S., Panama, and Canada.**



### Efraín Campos Flores and Franqui Francisco Flores de Freitas

Involved in cocaine trafficking to the U.S. They were indicted and sentenced to 18 years in prison, but were released by U.S. President Joe Biden in exchange for the release of several Americans, including Citgo executives.



### Iriamni Malpica Flores

Linked to companies established in Panama during the heyday of her brother Carlos Erik Malpica Flores



### Marcos Antonio Campos Flores

Secretary of Governor's Office of Carabobo in 2025 .

### Irving Molina Flores

Held positions in the Executive Directorate of the Judiciary. Served as judge until 2014.

### Rubén Flores

Former state director of Mercal Aragua. He is implicated in a corruption case involving Venezuelan trading company Mundo Factory.

### Mary Elgsys Flores Mora

Venezuelan ambassador to Portugal.

### Érika Alexandra Albornos Gavidia

Niece-in-law. She served as the asset manager for the Office of the General Counsel at the Superintendency of Public Assets.

## OTHERS

### Edgar Gavidia Rodríguez

First Vice President of the Supreme Court of Justice and Chair of the Criminal Cassation Chamber.

### Magaly Gutiérrez

Ex-wife of Walter Gavidia Flores. She served as Minister of Health and President of the Venezuelan Social Security Institute.

### Jennifer Karina Fuentes Gómez

Ex-wife of Walter Gavidia Flores. She is affiliated with the judiciary.

### Carlos Evelio Malpica Torrealba

Father of Carlos Erik Malpica Flores. **Sanctioned by the U.S. in 2025.**

### Iriamni Malpica Flores

Sister of Carlos Erik Malpica Flores and niece of Cilia Flores. **Sanctioned by the U.S. in 2025.**

### Damaris del Carmen Hurtado Pérez

Wife of Carlos Erik Malpica Flores. **Sanctioned by the U.S. in 2025.**

### Erica Patricia Malpica Hurtado

Daughter of Carlos Erik Malpica Flores and Damaris del Carmen Hurtado Pérez. **Sanctioned by the U.S. in 2025.**

## 2. TOWARDS *CHAVISMO* WITHOUT CHÁVEZ. MOVE TO THE GENERAL COUNSEL'S OFFICE (2012–2013)



Cilia Flores was appointed General Counsel by President Chávez when he was already gravely ill, though the country was largely kept in the dark regarding this health. As the government's top attorney, she held a strategic position; with her unwavering loyalty, she was tasked with upholding the government's legal defense and supporting the continuity of the so-called Revolution, which was facing one of its most significant challenges: *Chavismo* without Chávez.

With Nicolás Maduro as Chávez's successor, Cilia Flores's power was consolidated, and she began to shape her own personal agenda, with her partner serving as the face of this new narrative.

From her position as General Counsel, Flores made decisions and endorsed legal interpretations that were crucial to Maduro's ability to remain in power, with a Supreme Court tailored to his needs and with her as the architect of that subservience:



### “Administrative Continuity”

A visibly ill Hugo Chávez, who had been newly elected in 2012, was unable to be sworn in by January 2013. This led to various interpretations of the Constitution. The General Counsel’s Office advocated that Chávez continue to perform his duties in the government without the need for a formal swearing-in, thereby preventing a declaration of absolute vacancy and allowing Maduro to lead the executive branch as vice president, without requiring the then-president of the National Assembly, Diosdado Cabello, to assume the office as established by the Venezuelan Constitution.<sup>9</sup>

### Maduro as acting president and candidate

After Chávez’s death was announced on March 5, 2013, the Supreme Court of Justice issued a series of constitutional rulings designed to keep Nicolás Maduro in power and allow him to run in that year’s presidential election even though he was serving as acting president.<sup>10</sup> Cilia Flores once again used “constitutionality” to shield the continued tenure of the man who in a few months would become her legal husband.

In 2015, she was re-elected to the National Assembly, where Chavismo was minority for the first time in 15 years. In the elections held on August 30, 2017, she was elected to the National Constituent Assembly—a body that effectively replaced the opposition-controlled National Assembly—a position she held until 2020.

She was elected to the National Assembly in the 2020 elections and again in the 2025 elections, for the 2026–2030 legislature, but was arrested on January 3, 2026.

9 Diario 2001 (2013) Cilia Flores asegura que Maduro es quien debe encargarse del poder, tras la falta absoluta. <https://2001online.com/la-nacin/cilia-flores-asegura-que-maduro-es-quien-debe-encargarse-del-poder-tras-la-falta-absoluta> Ruling No. 02 of 9 Jan. 2013. <https://accesoalajusticia.org/volviendo-atras-como-justifico-el-tsj-la-ausencia-de-chavez/>

10 El Mundo (2013). El Supremo decide que Maduro puede ser candidato y presidente. <https://www.elmundo.es/america/2013/03/08/venezuela/1362770623.html>

### 3. CILIA FLORES, THE STEALTHY MASTERMIND OF THE MADURISMO ECOSYSTEM

Barely six days had passed since Hugo Chávez's death when Cilia Flores resigned from her post as General Counsel<sup>11</sup> to become the executive secretary of Nicolás Maduro's presidential campaign. At the time—March 2013—Maduro served as Vice President and Minister of Foreign Affairs. She left Manuel Galindo Ballesteros—who had been her deputy—in charge of the General Counsel's Office. Galindo was moved to the Comptroller General's Office, where he served as a key figure for the couple between 2014 and 2018.

From that point on, her role in the government changed. She became a key figure within *Chavismo*, working to legitimize Maduro domestically<sup>12</sup> and prevent potential divisions within the United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV), after Chávez<sup>13</sup> had called on the party to vote for him in the event of a permanent vacancy in the presidency.

Cilia Flores then shifted from exerting influence over the legislative and judicial branches<sup>14</sup> to wielding power across the board once Maduro was sworn in as president in April 2013. However, she fulfilled this new role out of the public eye. Her public appearances began to portray her as a composed woman, Maduro's partner, rarely speaking or merely conveying messages of peace and unity. Behind this persona was not a wife kept from the decisions of the executive branch; on the contrary, her influence helped diversify power among her children, siblings, nephews and nieces, and the family of her ex-husband and father of her first three children. Indeed, her media silence coincides with the period of greatest expansion

11 Diario 2001. Cilia Flores será secretaria ejecutiva del comando de campaña de Maduro. 10 de marzo de 2023. Available at: <https://2001online.com/la-nacin/cilia-flores-sera-secretaria-ejecutiva-del-comando-de-campa-na-de-maduro>

12 The Indian Express. Who is Cilia Flores, the power broker captured alongside Maduro? Available at: <https://indianexpress.com/article/world/who-is-cilia-flores-power-broker-captured-alongside-maduro-10455297/>

13 NTN24. Chávez pide a Venezuela respaldar al vicepresidente Nicolás Maduro en caso de su ausencia. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9XZnWJCVbM>

14 El Diario and The Guardian. Ella era el cerebro y Maduro la fuerza: cuál era el papel de Cilia Flores en Venezuela. Available at: [https://www.eldiario.es/internacional/theguardian/cerebro-maduro-fuerza-papel-cilia-flores-venezuela-la\\_1\\_12891728.amp.html](https://www.eldiario.es/internacional/theguardian/cerebro-maduro-fuerza-papel-cilia-flores-venezuela-la_1_12891728.amp.html)

of her family network in strategic areas of the state.

## A presidential-friendly judiciary dissolved the legitimate National Assembly

The composition of the judiciary continued to align with the government’s directives—now under Maduro—thanks to justices who ensured that no ruling would interfere with its objectives. In December 2014, the pro-government National Assembly appointed a group of Supreme Court justices to fill vacancies, several of



ilia Flores’s family experienced some turmoil the following year. Her nephews, Efraín Antonio Campos Flores and Franqui Francisco Flores de Freitas, were arrested in Haiti on November 10, 2015, on drug trafficking charges and sentenced to 18 years in prison in December 2017. During this period, Cilia Flores limited her public appearances. During the trial in the United States, they confessed to having agreed to collect \$20 million from drug shipments to the United States<sup>21</sup> to finance their aunt’s campaign for a seat in Parliament in the December 2015 elections.

- 15 Suprema Injusticia. Edgar Gavidia Rodríguez, cercano al poder.  
Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/portafolio/edgar-gavidia-rodriguez-2/>
- 16 Transparencia Venezuela. Suprema Injusticia. Ameliach, el magistrada a la que no le gustan los curiosos.  
Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/ameliach-una-magistrada-a-la-que-no-gustan-los-curiosos/>
- 17 Transparencia Venezuela. Suprema Injusticia. Indira Alfonzo Aguirre.  
Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/?s=indira+alfonzo>
- 18 Transparencia Venezuela. Suprema Injusticia. Elsa Janeth Gómez Moreno. Con vínculos con la familia presidencial.  
Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/portafolio/elsa-gomez-moreno/>
- 19 Transparencia Venezuela. Suprema Injusticia. Mendoza, el azote de los partidos opositores y el protector del presidente tampoco puede viajar a EEUU o Canadá. <https://supremainjusticia.org/mendoza-el-azote-de-los-partidos-opositores-y-el-protector-del-presidente-tampoco-puede-viajar-a-eeuu-o-canada/>
- 20 Transparencia Venezuela. Suprema Injusticia. Maikel José Moreno Pérez, 20 años en el TSJ ya garantizados.  
Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/portafolio/maikel-jose-moreno-perez-2/>
- 21 El Nuevo Herald. Sobrino de Maduro quiso vender drogas para financiar la campaña de Cilia Flores.  
Available at: <https://www.elnuevoherald.com/noticias/america-latina/venezuela-es/article102606957.html>

Cilia Flores was re-elected in the 2015 parliamentary elections and became one of the 53 members supporting the government in the National Assembly, which was then in the minority; for the first time in years, Parliament was dominated by the opposition, which won 112 of the 167 seats in the legislature on December 6 of that year.

But Flores’s strategy of using the judiciary to benefit the government—now under her husband’s control—took hold. On December 23, 2015—before the new parliamentarians took office in January 2016—*Chavista* lawmakers rushed on to select shortly before Christmas, in a special session attended by Cilia Flores, another **13 principal and 21 alternate Justices for the Supreme Court of Justice**,<sup>22</sup> all of whom were also linked to the ruling party and especially to Flores. This maneuver—denounced by the opposition—sought to provide judicial protection for the Executive Branch—and for Maduro—against the new opposition-controlled Parliament that was to be sworn in a couple of weeks later.

The judges allied with Cilia Flores who joined the Supreme Court included Calixto Ortega<sup>23</sup> and Christian Zerpa,<sup>24</sup> who left the country in 2019 and admitted that his appointment had been a direct order from the presidential couple to ensure control over the election results and challenges filed by the opposition.<sup>25</sup>



Calixto Ortega



Christian Zerpa

- 22 BBC (2015). ¿Por qué importa tanto los magistrados que designó la Asamblea Nacional? 23 de diciembre de 2015. Available at : [https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2015/12/151222\\_venezuela\\_tsj\\_magistrados\\_dp](https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2015/12/151222_venezuela_tsj_magistrados_dp)
- 23 Transparencia Venezuela. Suprema Injusticia. Calixto Antonio Ortega Ríos, cercano al poder. Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/portafolio/03/>
- 24 Transparencia Venezuela. Suprema Injusticia. Magistrado de la Sala Electoral que avaló sentencia de desacato de la AN huyó a EEUU y dice estar arrepentido. Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/magistrado-de-la-sala-electoral-que-avalo-sentencia-de-desacato-de-la-an-huyo-a-eeuu-y-dice-estar-arrepentido/>
- 25 France24 Español (2019). Christian Zerpa: “no fue mi intención darle un cheque en blanco a Maduro para perpetuarse en el poderr. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8O2dr2jGC5A>

Before the start of the new legislature, Justice **Indira Alfonzo**, then Chair of the Electoral Chamber of the Supreme Court of Justice, **voided the election of four opposition parliamentarians from the state of Amazonas**, in southern Venezuela, on the grounds that they had been elected through an irregular process.<sup>26</sup> That ruling affected the two-third majority that the opposition had achieved through the Democratic Unity Roundtable (MUD).

The opposition decided to include the Amazonas legislators despite the court ruling,<sup>27</sup> which became one of the grounds on which the Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court of Justice ruled that the National Assembly was in contempt of court and that all its actions were illegal. At that time, **Gladys Gutiérrez** presided over the Supreme Court of Justice and **Juan José Mendoza** chaired the Constitutional Chamber—both of whom were close allies of Cilia Flores.

“The National Assembly, being in contempt, has dissolved itself,”<sup>28</sup> Cilia Flores told Elvis Hidrobo Amoroso on the Radio Miraflores program *Decisiones* in 2016.

In 2016, the Supreme Court ruled that many of the decisions made by the opposition-controlled Parliament were unlawful and null and void, while the ruling party chose to abstain from its legislative duties. In yet another move to undermine the political rights of Venezuelans, Judge Indira Alfonzo blocked the recall referendum that had been initiated against Nicolás Maduro.<sup>29</sup>

26 Crónica Uno. TSJ suspende proclamación de cuatro diputados electos en Amazonas. 30 December 2015.

Available at: <https://cronica.uno/tsj-suspende-proclamacion-de-cuatro-diputados-electos-en-amazonas/>

27 BBC. Tribunal Supremo de Venezuela declara en desacato a la Asamblea Nacional de mayoría opositora. 11 January 2016.

Available at: [https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2016/01/160111\\_venezuela\\_tsj\\_descato\\_asamblea\\_dp](https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2016/01/160111_venezuela_tsj_descato_asamblea_dp)

28 Diario Panorama. Cilia Flores: La Asamblea Nacional estando en desacato se anuló.

Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ntTgZlh67OI>

29 DW. Denegado el referendo para revocar a Maduro. 11 November 2016.

Available at: <https://www.dw.com/es/denegado-el-referendo-para-revocar-a-maduro/a-36362710>



At the same time, Cilia Flores’s nephew, Carlos Erik Malpica Flores,<sup>39</sup> held at least four positions simultaneously: National Treasurer, director of the Propatria 2000 Foundation, internal director of PDVSA, and director of the Simón Bolívar Fund for Reconstruction. This essentially amounted to total control over the nation’s resources. Meanwhile, the Campos Flores-Flores de Freitas nephews admitted their involvement in attempting to smuggle 800 kilograms of cocaine into the United States

Nicolás Maduro and Cilia Flores’ strategy to seize absolute control of the branches of government continued. In the first 14 months of the National Assembly’s term, the judiciary issued **more than 50 rulings against the opposition-controlled parliament** elected in 2015.

### 3.2 National Constituent Assembly: the parallel *Chavista* parliament

In the first quarter of 2017, the Supreme Court of Justice issued two rulings, Nos. 155 and 156,<sup>40</sup> in which the Constitutional Chamber took over the powers of the Legislative Branch, lifted parliamentary immunity, and granted Maduro the authority to adopt “the civil, economic, military, court, administrative, political, legal, and social measures deemed relevant and necessary to prevent a state of emergency; and within the framework of the State of Emergency and in light of the National Assembly’s continued legislative contempt and failure to act.”

39 Armando.info. El sobrino favorito de Cilia Flores: el hombre detrás del tesoro.

Available at: <https://armando.info/el-sobrino-favorito-de-cilia-flores-el-hombre-detras-del-tesoro/?tztc=1>

40 Transparencia Venezuela. Con dos sentencias el TSJ le dio el último zarpazo a la democracia en Venezuela.

Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/dos-sentencias-tsj-le-dio-ultimo-zarpazo-la-democracia-venezuela/>

41 Transparencia Venezuela. TSJ: “No es necesario ni constitucionalmente obligante someter a referendo la activación de la Constituyente”. Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/tsj-no-es-necesario-ni-constitucionalmente-obligante-someter-a-referendo-la-activacion-de-la-constituyente/>

These decisions were interpreted by the opposition—including then-Prosecutor General Luisa Ortega Díaz—as a breach of the constitutional order, leading to more than four months of protests, repression, arrests, and killings in 2017.

Under the pretext of achieving peace and drafting a new national constitution, the Executive Branch convened a National Constituent Assembly in 2017, which in practice usurped the functions of the opposition-controlled parliament. Members included Cilia Flores. All were elected in a process with obscure results and allegations of vote rigging—involving at least one million votes—made by the company Smartmatic,<sup>42</sup> which has been in charge of supplying electoral technology in Venezuela since at least 2004.

The controversial Constituent Assembly became a tool for criminalizing the opposition.<sup>43</sup> Without having the authority to do so, the assembly members approved the so-called



**Hate Speech Law:** a law that promotes censorship, undermines freedom of expression and association, and imposes penalties of up to 20 years in

**Anti-Blockade Law:** authorizes the inapplicability of laws and mandates secrecy in all public proceedings.

**Law on Agreed Prices**

**Law on Local Supply and Production Committees (CLAP):** a social program that has given rise to transnational corruption.

42 Transparencia Venezuela. Las 3 revelaciones de la demanda de Smartmatic contra el Estado venezolano en el Ciadi. Disponible en: <https://transparenciave.org/las-3-revelaciones-de-la-demanda-de-smartmatic-contra-el-estado-venezolano-en-el-ciadi/>

43 DW (2017). Maduro amenaza a opositores y a la prensa. 31 de julio de 2017. Disponible en: <https://www.dw.com/es/luego-de-la-constituyente-maduro-amenaza-a-opositores-y-a-la-prensa/a-39900630>

Between 2017 and 2020, 32 laws deemed unconstitutional were passed.<sup>44</sup> In addition, the Constituent Assembly assumed responsibility for appointing officials, such as the members of the Citizen Branch, designating:



**Tarek William Saab**  
Prosecutor General



**Alfredo Ruiz Angulo**  
Ombudsman



**Elvis Hidrobo Amoroso**  
Comptroller General



All of them are close to Cilia Flores and Nicolás Maduro.

In 2020, the United Nations Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Venezuela stated in its report that the Supreme Court “has ceased to function as an independent check on the other branches of government,”<sup>45</sup> thereby confirming years of allegations made by other international and national organizations, which warned that the Maduro government had co-opted this branch of government through legal reforms and the successive appointments of senior officials, beginning with the Justices of the Supreme Court and the heads of the Public Prosecutor’s Office, the Comptroller General’s Office, and the Office of the Ombudsman.

44 Súmate. Executive Summary to the National Constituent Assembly. Available at: [https://www.sumate.org/documentos/RESUMEN\\_EJECUTIVO\\_ANC\\_SUMATE.pdf#:~:text=Presidente%20de%20la%20República%20es%20inconstitucional%2C%20ya,que%20los%20integrantes%20de%20la%20ANC%20serian](https://www.sumate.org/documentos/RESUMEN_EJECUTIVO_ANC_SUMATE.pdf#:~:text=Presidente%20de%20la%20República%20es%20inconstitucional%2C%20ya,que%20los%20integrantes%20de%20la%20ANC%20serian)

45 Acceso a la justicia (2020). Rol de la justicia venezolana según la Misión Internacional Independiente de Determinación de Hechos. Available at: <https://accesoalajusticia.org/rol-de-la-justicia-venezolana-segun-la-mision-internacional-independiente-de-determinacion-de-hechos/>

### 3.3 The Strings of Power

Another move came in June 2020: The Supreme Court of Justice appointed two of its justices—both part of Cilia Flores’ inner circle—to lead the National Electoral Council: **Indira Alfonzo Izaguirre** as president and **Gladys Gutiérrez Alvarado** as chief electoral commissioner,<sup>46</sup> after the justices had previously cited legislative inaction on the part of the National Assembly.

In 2021, Cilia Flores returned to Parliament, which was once again controlled by the ruling party. At the start of the legislature, she served on the Electoral Nominations Committee, which ultimately selected the members of the National Electoral Council: **Pedro Calzadilla**,<sup>47</sup> **Alexis Corredor**, and former deputy **Tania D’Amelio Cardiet**, another figure close to Flores who was confirmed in her position as electoral director (a post she had held since 2009) and later appointed, in April 2022, as a justice of the Supreme Court of Justice.<sup>48</sup> D’Amelio served in three branches of government, always linked to the presidential family.

The Maduro-Flores duo had secured control of the criminal justice system by having completely co-opted the Criminal Cassation Chamber of the Supreme Court of Justice at that time with figures such as Justices Elsa Gómez Moreno and Maikel Moreno Pérez, and the 2022 appointment of Carmen Marisela Castro Gilly,<sup>49</sup> who served as acting public defender from 2019 to 2022 and is considered close to María Adelaida Maduro Moros, Nicolás Maduro’s sister. Also noteworthy is the role of Caryslia Rodríguez,<sup>50</sup> appointed by Parliament in 2022 as a Justice on the Electoral Chamber of the Supreme Court.

46 Transparencia Venezuela (2020). Suprema Injusticia. Dos rectoras del CNE impuesto por el TSJ están sancionadas por gobiernos extranjeros. Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/dos-rectoras-del-cne-impuesto-por-el-tsj-es-tan-sancionadas-por-gobiernos-extranjeros/>

47 Efecto Cocuyo. Exministro Pedro Calzadilla es el nuevo presidente del CNE. 5 de mayo de 2021. Available at: <https://efectococuyo.com/politica/exministro-pedro-calzadilla-es-el-nuevo-presidente-del-cne/>

48 Transparencia Venezuela. Suprema Injusticia. Tania D’Amelio Cardiet. De la Asamblea Nacional, al CNE, hasta el TSJ. <https://supremainjusticia.org/portafolio/tania-damelio-cardiet/>

49 Transparencia Venezuela. Suprema Injusticia. Carmen Marisela Castro Gilly: Una magistrada que viene con el aval de la extinta Constituyente. Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/portafolio/carmen-marisela-castro-gilly/>

50 Transparencia Venezuela. Suprema Injusticia. Caryslia Rodríguez Rodríguez. Leal al comandante Chávez y a Nicolás Maduro. <https://supremainjusticia.org/portafolio/caryslia-beatriz-rodriguez-rodriguez/>

She suspended the results of the opposition primaries conducted by the opposition’s National Primary Commission rather than by the National Electoral Council, as the CNE had refused to oversee the process in which María Corina Machado emerged as the winner.<sup>51</sup>

Following the 2024 presidential election, in which the Principal Commissioner of the electoral authority **Elvis Hidrobo Amoroso** declared Nicolás Maduro the winner while failing to publish detailed results,<sup>52</sup> Carylisa Rodríguez–Chief Justice of the Supreme Court since January 2024–certified the alleged results issued by the National Electoral Council,<sup>53</sup> while urging the CNE to publish the final results in the Electoral Gazette, which never happened.

### 3.4 Cilia Flores Wanted by the U.S. Justice System



Cilia Flores has been subject to U.S. sanctions since September 2018.<sup>54</sup> The Treasury Department based its decision on her direct involvement in facilitating acts of corruption. Canada and the European Union joined these measures, considering that she supported the undermining of democracy. That year, another presidential election was held, which was rejected by the opposition due to violations of the electoral calendar and the disqualification of political leaders and parties.

- 51 DW. Supremo de Venezuela suspende efectos de elecciones primarias. 30 October 2023. Available at: <https://www.dw.com/es/tribunal-supremo-de-venezuela-cesa-todos-los-efectos-de-elecciones-primarias/a-67257797>
- 52 BBC. El Consejo Nacional Electoral de Venezuela ratifica que Maduro ganó las elecciones pero aún no muestra las actas. 2 August 2024. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/articulos/clkykd4v0zeo>
- 53 Transparencia Venezuela. Suprema Injusticia. Un peritaje anónimo del TSJ ratifica la proclamación de Nicolás Maduro hecha por el CNE tras las elecciones del 28 de julio. Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/un-peritaje-anonimo-del-tsj-ratifica-la-proclamacion-de-nicolas-maduro-hecha-por-el-cne-tras-las-elecciones-del-28-de-julio/>
- 54 BBC. Venezuela: Estados Unidos sanciona a Cilia Flores y Maduro responde llamándolos cobardes. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-45639259>

In January 2026, Cilia Flores—already in custody—was named for the first time in the same case file as Maduro. This refers to a criminal indictment filed in the United States following the military operation in Caracas, in which Flores is identified as a member of an alleged drug trafficking and narco-terrorism network comprising high-ranking Venezuelan officials and their family members.<sup>55</sup> According to that court document, cocaine was allegedly trafficked from Venezuela to U.S. territory via sea and air routes, with a volume estimated by the State Department at between 200 and 250 tons annually for 2020.

The prosecution claims that Cilia Flores allegedly participated in a meeting around 2007 in which she accepted “hundreds of thousands of dollars” in bribes to act as an intermediary between a drug trafficker and the then-director of the National Anti-Drug Office, Néstor Reverol Torres, who was later indicted in New York on drug trafficking charges and is currently a fugitive.

The court document states that between 2004 and 2015, Cilia Flores and Nicolás Maduro allegedly worked together to traffic cocaine with the support of military bodyguards and armed groups.<sup>56</sup>

Following this accusation, Swiss authorities announced



- 55 Transparencia Venezuela (2026). Los 6 motivos de la acusación contra Maduro y su esposa en EE.UU. 12 January 2026. Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/los-6-motivos-de-la-acusacion-contra-a-maduro-y-su-esposa-en-eeuu/>
- 56 Transparencia Venezuela. Exfuncionarios venezolanos que han vinculado a altos cargos con el narcotráfico. 17 September 2025. Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/exfuncionarios-venezolanos-que-han-vinculado-a-altos-cargos-venezolanos-con-el-narcotrafico/>
- 57 Transparencia Venezuela. Suiza no solo congeló las cuentas a Maduro sino a otros 36 venezolanos por cuatro años. 27 January 2026. Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/suiza-no-solo-congelo-las-cuentas-a-maduro-sino-a-otros-36-venezolanos-por-cuatro-anos/>

the freezing of assets belonging to Nicolás Maduro, Cilia Flores,<sup>57</sup> their children, and another group of former officials, current officials, and businessmen such as Jorge Arreaza,<sup>58</sup> Alejandro Betancourt López,<sup>59</sup> Nervis Villalobos,<sup>61</sup> Haiman El Troudi,<sup>61</sup> and Carmelo Urdaneta Aquí.<sup>62</sup> As of February 2026, Switzerland has frozen at least \$880 million in assets that were embezzled from Venezuela; only \$309 million is subject to a court order issued on January 5, 2026.

The removal of Nicolás Maduro and Cilia Flores marked the beginning of an internal reshuffle, in which Delcy Rodríguez, as interim president, has gradually sidelined the couple's key allies to bring in her own people. This is the case with **Álex Saab**, who headed the Ministry of Industries and National Production; **Magaly Gutiérrez Viña**, former Minister of Health and former president of the Venezuelan Institute of Social Security; and **Tarek William Saab**, who submitted his resignation to the National Assembly and was appointed acting Ombudsman. Furthermore, the Cuban missions—primarily responsible for the security of the President—were expelled, and certain agencies attached to the Vice President, known as “missions” were eliminated.<sup>63</sup>

In March 2026, Delcy Rodríguez's ally **Gustavo González López** replaced Vladimir Padrino López, who had served as defense minister for more than 11 years under Chávez and Maduro. Rodríguez had ensured that General González López remained close to her as head of the Honor Guard and director of the General Directorate of Military Counterintelligence (DGCIM), a position he was appointed to just hours after the U.S. military operation in Caracas.

59 Transparencia Venezuela (2025). El 'Bolichico' Alejandro Betancourt termina en una comisaría británica por segunda vez en menos de dos meses. 8 December 2025. Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/el-bolichico-alejandro-betancourt-termina-en-una-comisaria-britanica-por-segunda-vez-en-menos-de-dos-meses/>

60 Transparencia Venezuela (2023). Nervis Villalobos suma 16 investigaciones con proceso abierto en Liechtenstein. <https://transparenciave.org/nervis-villalobos-suma-16-investigaciones/>

61 Corruptómetro (2023). Identificación de propiedades vinculadas a El Troudi en Francia demuestra la importancia de conocer los beneficiarios finales. Available at: <https://corruptometro.org/noticias/identificacion-de-propiedades-vinculadas-a-el-troudi-en-francia-demuestra-la-importancia-de-conocer-los-beneficiarios-finales/>

62 Transparencia Venezuela (2022). Suprema Injusticia. La historia de Urdaneta Aquí: condenado a 4 años por desfalco de \$1.200 millones a Pdvsa. Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/la-historia-de-urdaneta-aqui-condenado-a-4-anos-por-desfalco-de-1-200-millones-a-pdvsa/>

63 Transparencia Venezuela (2026) ¿Liquidación exprés de misiones sin rendir cuentas? Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/liquidacion-expres-de-misiones-sin-rendir-cuentas/>

## 4. CILIA FLORES'S CHOSEN FEW

If we examine Cilia Flores's role from the time she defended Chávez following the failed coup d'état in February 1992 against former President Carlos Andrés Pérez through to Maduro's presidency, she emerges as a key figure in the legal and legislative spheres who strived to centralize state power in the president, foster unity within Chavismo through the political party, and subsequently legitimize Maduro internally. This mechanism helped consolidate a political model that guaranteed absolute control under his authority, while her family network exploited their privileged position for financial gain with impunity.

### 4.1 In the Judiciary

#### Edgar Gavidia Rodríguez

Brother of Cilia Flores's first husband, Walter Ramón Gavidia Rodríguez.



In 2014, he was appointed by the National Assembly as a Supreme Court Justice.<sup>64</sup> As of the first quarter of 2026, he serves as the court's first Vice President and as Chair of the Criminal Cassation Chamber.<sup>65</sup>

64 Transparencia Venezuela. El nepotismo se pasea impunemente por el Poder Judicial.

Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/project/el-nepotismo-se-pasea-impunemente-por-el-poder-judicial/>

65 Suprema Injusticia. Edgar Gavidia Rodríguez, cercano al poder.

Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/portafolio/edgar-gavidia-rodriguez-2/>

## Walter Jacob Gavidia Flores

Son of Cilia Flores



Between 2008 and 2015, he served as the 47th Provisional Judge of the Court of First Instance for Supervisory Functions in the Caracas Metropolitan Area and as a judge of the 9th Court of First Instance for Trial Functions in the Criminal Judicial Circuit, also in the capital city, where he heard the cases of several protesters detained during the wave of protests that took place in 2014, known as “La Salida” (The Way Out). He also served as a director of the Propatria 2000 Foundation.

He was sanctioned by the U.S.

Since 2025, she has served as Administrative Director of the Judiciary. She is the niece of Supreme Court Justice Elsa Gómez Moreno.

## Jennifer Karina Fuentes Gómez

Former wife of Walter Jacob Gavidia Flores



## Bladimir Flores

Brother of Cilia Flores



Served as head of security of the National Assembly between 2006 and 2011. Later, he was head of the Scientific, Criminal, and Forensic Investigations Corps (CICPC) and then an inspector at the same agency.

## Irving Molina Flores

Nephew of Cilia Flores



He held various positions in the Executive Directorate of the Judiciary. Until 2014, he served as a national judge.<sup>66</sup>

A former judge appointed in December 2015 by the National Assembly, which was controlled by the ruling party, through a selection process known as “express judges.”

He had previously served as a deputy in the National Assembly for the ruling PSUV. In 2019, he denounced a lack of independence in the judiciary, resigned from his post, and fled to the United States.

## Christian Tyrone Zerpa

An ally of the Maduro-Flores duo at the Supreme Court



## Maikel Moreno Pérez

Key ally of Maduro-Flores at the Supreme Court



Expresidente del Tribunal Supremo de Former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (2017–2022) and Justice of the Criminal Cassation Chamber (2014–2026). He is the member of the highest court to have been sanctioned by the most countries in the world—42 in total. In 2020, he was charged with corruption in the United States.<sup>67</sup>

66 Transparencia Venezuela. El nepotismo se pasea impunemente por el Poder Judicial.

Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/project/el-nepotismo-se-pasea-impunemente-por-el-poder-judicial/>

67 Transparencia Venezuela. Acusación contra Maikel Moreno: entre cobro de sobornos, cuentas millonarias y gastos lujosos. Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/acusacion-contra-maikel-moreno-entre-cobro-de-sobornos-cuentas-millonarias-y-gastos-lujosos/>

### **Elsa Gómez Moreno**

Aunt of ex-wife of  
Cilia Flores's son



Former Vice President of the Supreme Court of Justice and Justice on the Criminal Appeals Chamber (2010–2026). Her niece, Jennifer Fuentes Gómez, was the partner of Cilia Flores's son Walter Jacob Gavidia Flores.

Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in early 2026.

Mayor (a) of Caracas for PSUV (2021)

### **Carysli Beatriz Rodríguez Rodríguez**

Supreme Court Justice linked with the Maduro-Flores couple.

Sanctioned by the U.S.



**Tania D'Amelio**  
An ally of Cilia Flores, first, in the Electoral Council and then in the Judiciary



Second Vice President of the Supreme Court of Justice in the first quarter of 2026 and Chair of the Constitutional Chamber. From 2009 to 2022, she served as President of the National Electoral Council, in addition to having been a Member of the National Assembly for the ruling party (PSUV).

**Juan José Mendoza Jover**  
Supreme Court Justice with ties to  
the then-presidential family

He was appointed Supreme Court Justice in 2014. He is a former military officer and former PSUV representative. As chair of the Constitutional Chamber, he signed most of the rulings that declared the National Assembly elected in 2015 to be

He is one of the justices appointed in a “fast-track” process in December 2015, after serving as a MP for the MVR and the PSUV (2000–2010). He was Deputy Foreign Minister for Europe (2013–2015). At the Supreme Court, he signed all the rulings that overturned the decisions of the National Assembly elected in 2015 and drafted the rulings that nullified the reform of the Law on the Central Bank of Venezuela and the Special Law to Address the Health Crisis.<sup>68</sup> In 2022, he was appointed representative to the ICC.

**Calixto Ortega**

Supreme Court Justice with ties to  
Maduro-Flores



**María Carolina Ameliach Villarroel**  
Supreme Court Justice with ties  
to the then-presidential family

She is the cousin of Francisco Ameliach, a parliamentarian and leader of the ruling PSUV party. She was appointed as a judge in December 2010 and subsequently confirmed in the December 2014 elections and during the 2022 restructuring. She served as Second Vice President of the Supreme Court of Justice and as Chair of the Political-Administrative Chamber.

68 Transparencia Venezuela. Suprema Injusticia. Calixto Ortega cercano al poder. Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/portafolio/03/>.



### **Indira Alfonzo Izaguirre**

A Cilia Flores key ally in the Supreme Court of Justice and the Electoral Authority

She was appointed as an Alternate Justice in 2010. Then, in 2014, she served as a Principal Justice of the Electoral Chamber of the Supreme Court of Justice. She chaired the chamber and was first vice president of that court. Between 2020 and 2021, she was Commissioner of the National Electoral Council. She also served as Director of the Office of the President of the National Assembly (2003–2005) during Francisco Ameliach’s tenure.

She is Venezuela’s ambassador to Spain in 2026. She served as a Justice on the Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court. She presided over the Supreme Court for two terms: 2013–2017 and 2022–2024. She was appointed president of the National Electoral Council (CNE) in 2020. She served as General Counsel before Cilia Flores (2006–2011).



### **Gladys Gutiérrez Alvarado**

A key figure in the Maduro Flores family within the judiciary, the electoral system, and the diplomatic corps.

### **Michel Adriana Velásquez Grillet**

She was in a relationship with Cilia Flores’s “favorite” nephew



She has served as an Alternate Justice on the Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court and is the ex-wife of Cilia Flores’s nephew Carlos Erik Malpica Flores. She authored the ruling that placed the Communist Party of Venezuela (PCV) under state control in 2023.<sup>69</sup>

69 Suprema Injusticia. El TSJ lleva una docena de partidos políticos intervenidos: La Sala Constitucional le cierra el pico al PCV al imponerle una junta ad hoc. 14 August 2023.

Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/el-tsj-lleva-una-docena-de-partidos-politicos-intervenidos-la-sala-constitucional-le-cierra-el-pico-al-pcv-al-imponer-una-junta-ad-hoc/>

Suprema Injusticia. Michel Andriana Velásquez Grillet.

Available at: <https://supremainjusticia.org/portafolio/michel-velasquez/>



**Katherine Harington**  
A judicial official linked to  
Cilia Flores's inner circle

Presiding Judge of the Caracas Criminal Court Circuit (2023–2025). She is said to be in charge of directing the judicial repression apparatus in the criminal courts following the 2024 presidential election. She was appointed Deputy Prosecutor General in 2017.

## 4.2 The Flores Family



**Carlos Erik Malpica Flores**  
Cilia Flores's nephew

He is a prime example of someone who has operated under his aunt's protective wing. From 2005 to 2016, he held 16 positions in government agencies such as the National Assembly, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Office of the Vice President, the Propatria 2000 Foundation, the National Treasury Office, PDVSA, and the Bank for Economic and Social Development (BANDES).<sup>70</sup>

In March 2015, Malpica Flores held at least four positions simultaneously: National Treasurer, director of the Propatria 2000 Foundation, internal director of PDVSA, and director of the Simón Bolívar Fund for Reconstruction. This essentially involved managing the nation's resources and overseeing infrastructure, housing, and road projects.

His most recent appointment, as published in the Official Gazette, took place on January 11, 2016, when the Minister of Banking and Finance, Rodolfo Medina del Río, named him head of the administrative unit of the National Treasury Office. He was sanctioned by the United States in 2025 along with several members of his family: Eloisa Flores de Malpica (mother and sister of Cilia Flores), Carlos Evelio Malpica Torrealba (father), Iriamni Malpica Flores (sister and niece of Cilia Flores), Damaris del Carmen Hurtado Pérez (wife), and Erica Patricia Malpica (daughter).

<sup>70</sup> Transparencia Venezuela. Liquidación expés de misiones: ¿Sin rendir cuentas? 20 February 2026. Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/liquidacion-expres-de-misiones-sin-rendir-cuentas/>



**Walter Ramón Gavidia Rodríguez**

Cilia Flores's ex-husband

He served as a bodyguard for Hugo Chávez in the 1990s. Between 2006 and 2011, he was a deputy in the National Assembly and a representative to the Latin American Parliament (Parlatino). In 2014, he served as president of the Misión Negra Hipólita Foundation.

He also headed the José Félix Ribas Mission and the Hijos de Venezuela Mission. In June 2025, he was appointed president of the Juntos Todo es Posible Corporation, responsible for the renovation of public spaces. He was elected Member of the National Assembly for the 2025–2030 term but resigned from the position in January 2026.



**Giuson Fernando Flores**

Brother of Cilia Flores

He served as Director General of the Office of the President of the National Assembly in 2005, as a member of the Parlatino in 2008, as a legislative researcher in 2011, and as a manager at the General Counsel's Office from 2013 to 2017. In 2024, he was appointed acting director of the Administrative Service for Identification, Migration, and Foreigners (SAIME).



**Rogers Flores**

Brother of Cilia Flores

Headed HR of the Public Defender's Office.<sup>72</sup>



**Rubén Flores**

Nephew of Cilia Flores

He served as the state director of the state-owned company Mercados de Alimentos C.A. (Mercal) in Aragua, in central Venezuela.

71 El Pitazo. Exesposo de Cilia Flores se separa de su cargo como diputado: preside la Corporación Juntos Todo es Posible. 23 January 2026. Available at: <https://elpitazo.net/politica/exesposo-de-cilia-flores-se-separa-de-su-cargo-como-diputado-preside-la-corporacion-juntos-todo-es-posible/>

72 Transparencia Venezuela. El nepotismo se pasea impunemente por el Poder Judicial. Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/project/el-nepotismo-se-pasea-impunemente-por-el-poder-judicial/>



**Magaly Gutiérrez Viña**

Cilia Flores's ex daughter-in-law

She was married to Walter Jacob Gaviria Flores. From 2014 to 2017, she served as president of the National Institute of Social Services (INASS) and head of the Amor Mayor Venezuela Mission. From 2017 to 2021, she led the El Niño Simón National Foundation. While holding that position, she was also appointed president of the Venezuelan Institute of Social Security, and in 2022 she was named Minister of Health,<sup>73</sup> a position she held until her removal in February 2026, amid a restructuring of the power structure by Delcy Rodríguez in her capacity as acting president of Venezuela.



**Mary Eglys Flores Mora**

Niece of Cilia Flores

She is Venezuela's ambassador to Portugal in 2026. More than 10 years ago, she held a senior position at the Venezuelan embassy in Canada, and in 2016, she was appointed consul at the same embassy.



**Érika Alexandra Alborno Gavidia**

Cilia Flores's niece-in-law

From 2011 to 2014, she served as the asset manager for the General Counsel's Office at the Superintendency of Public Assets. During Cilia Flores's tenure as president of the Parliament, she was on the Legislative Branch's payroll.



**María Adelaida Maduro Moros**

Cilia Flores's sister-in-law

She is Nicolás Maduro's sister. In 2026, she is the director of Personnel Services for the Public Defender's Office, considered the real power within that branch of the justice system which must guarantee the right to a defense and free access to justice for Venezuelans who lack resources or are in vulnerable situations.

73 Carlos Roa Moreno Hospital post on Instagram. 3 May 2025.  
Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/DJNVQXYuG68/>

The Public Defender’s Office became part of the repressive judicial apparatus, with public defenders obstructing the legal proceedings of those detained for protesting against Maduro, thereby violating their rights.



**Nicolás Maduro Guerra**

Cilia Flores’s son-in-law

In 2026, he is a member of the National Assembly. He has been subject to U.S. sanctions since 2019. He is one of the defendants in the same case being prosecuted in the United States against his father, Nicolás Maduro, and Cilia Flores, where he is referred to by the aliases “Nicolasito” and “El Príncipe” (The Prince). The U.S. Attorney’s Office asserts that in 2020, Maduro Guerra “attended a meeting in Medellín, Colombia, with two representatives of the FARC” and that during the meeting he “discussed agreements to transport large quantities of cocaine and weapons through Colombia to the United States over the next six years, until approximately 2026.”<sup>74</sup>



**Efraín Campos Flores**

Cilia Flores’s Nephew

Efraín Campos Flores was an employee of Parlatino during Cilia Flores’s tenure as president of the National Assembly. He was arrested in November 2015 in Haiti by the DEA, along with his cousin Franqui Francisco Flores de Freitas, while they were negotiating cocaine shipments to the United States. On December 14, 2017, they were sentenced to 18 years in prison, but they did not serve their full sentences because on October 1, 2022, the Joe Biden administration released them as part of a prisoner exchange between Washington and Caracas.<sup>75</sup>

74 Transparencia Venezuela (2026). Los 6 motivos de la acusación contra Maduro y su esposa en EE.UU. 12 January 2026. Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/los-6-motivos-de-la-acusacion-contra-a-maduro-y-su-esposa-en-eeuu/>

75 Corruptómetro. Efraín Antonio Campo Flores. <https://corruptometro.org/personas/efrain-antonio-campo-flores-197/>

### 4.3 Allies in other agencies



#### **Elvis Hidrobo Amoroso**

A key figure of the Flores family in the executive, judicial, and electoral branches

Principal Commissioner of the National Electoral Council. He served as a Member of the National Assembly from 2000 to 2015 and chaired the Committee on Domestic Policy.

He also served as legal advisor to the Miraflores Palace in 2017, vice president of the National Constituent Assembly (2017–2018), and Comptroller General of the Republic (2018–2023), a tenure marked by the political disqualification of opposition leaders such as María Corina Machado. He was sanctioned by the United States.



#### **Francisco Ameliach**

Political and parliamentary ally.

President of Corpozulia since August 2025. A military officer. He was president of the National Assembly (2003–2005).



#### **Tarek William Saab**

Held the key position of prosecutor general as a Maduro-Flores ally.

He was appointed acting Ombudsman in March 2026, after resigning from his position as head of the Public Prosecutor's Office, an agency of the Citizen's Branch. He was appointed Prosecutor General by the controversial National Constituent Assembly in 2017 and resigned from that post in March 2026, following rumors of his departure and amid a shake-up triggered by the arrest of the Maduro-Flores couple. He has been accused of being a key part of the repressive-judicial apparatus in Venezuela and was sanctioned by the U.S. in 2027.



#### **Alfredo Ruiz Angulo**

He served as Ombudsman from 2017 to 2026, and there is no record of any action he took against the systematic exercise of state repression.



### **José Gregorio Vielma Mora**

In 2026, he was a member of the National Assembly. He served as governor of Táchira state, which borders Colombia, and as former Minister of Foreign Trade and International Investment. He was indicted in the United States for a bribery scheme involving the CLAPs (Local Supply and Production Committees).<sup>76</sup>



### **Manuel Galindo**

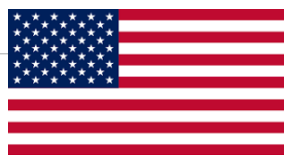
He was appointed General Counsel in 2013, replacing Cilia Flores. In 2014, he was named Comptroller General of the Republic, a position he held until 2018. There are no known administrative investigations into the use of public funds that he conducted during his tenure. He has been accused of nepotism at the Office of the Comptroller General.<sup>77</sup>

76 Corruptómetro. EE.UU. acusa a empresario vinculado a Álex Saab de pagar sobornos a Vielma Mora. 19 September 2023. Available at: <https://corruptometro.org/noticias/empresario-vinculado-con-alex-saab-pago-sobornos-a-vielma-mora-para-beneficiarse-de-contratos-para-los-clap/>

77 Transparencia Venezuela (2017) . «Juicio al Contralor» 3rd ed. – Conflicto de interés y nepotismo persisten en la Contraloría General manejada por Manuel Galindo Ballesteros. Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/project/conflicto-interes-nepotismo-persisten-la-contraloria-general-manejada-manuel-galindo-ballesteros/>

## 5. THE UNTOUCHABLES AT THE MIRAFLORES PALACE: CORRUPTION CASES INVOLVING CILIA FLORES AND HER ENTOURAGE

What began in 2006 as allegations of nepotism at the National Assembly evolved under the Maduro administration into a corrupt system, in which the key figures hail from the inner circle of the then-presidential couple. This section will examine the role of the Flores, Malpica, and Gavidia families in corruption cases that have spread to other countries.



### THE ÁLEX SAAB ÁLVARO PULIDO DUO

On July 25, 2019, the U.S. Department of the Treasury imposed sanctions on **Álex Saab**,<sup>78</sup> his business partner **Álvaro Pulido**, and Cilia Flores's sons for orchestrating a widespread corruption network that illicitly enriched them through the Local Supply and Production Committees (CLAP) food program. According to U.S. authorities, Saab paid bribes and kickbacks to the Gavidia Flores brothers in exchange for direct access to Maduro and government contracts awarded without competitive bidding.

Noteworthy, they did not merely collaborate to secure contracts for food imports. In 2011, Saab paid bribes to the Gavidia Flores family and his cousin Carlos Erik Malpica Flores to secure a contract to clear land for housing construction in the Venezuelan state of Vargas. Álex Saab and his wife Camilla Fabri were removed from the positions they held under Nicolás Maduro. In February 2026, several sources reported that Saab had been arrested, along with Raúl Gorrín, a businessman also linked to the Flores-Maduro family. His whereabouts remain a mystery.<sup>79</sup>

78 U.S. Department of the Treasury (2019). Treasury Disrupts Corruption Network Stealing From Venezuela's Food Distribution Program, CLAP. 25 July 2019.

Available at: <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sm741>

79 Transparencia Venezuela (2026). Los casos de Saab y Gorrín: Ejemplos de la opacidad en la justicia venezolana.

Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/los-casos-de-saab-y-gorrin-ejemplos-de-la-opacidad-en-la-justicia-venezolana/>  
11 February 2026.

Venezuelan authorities charged and announced the imprisonment of Álvaro Pulido in 2023<sup>80</sup> for his involvement in the scheme involving nearly \$17 billion, according to their own estimates, known as PDVSA-Crypto, for which more than 50 people are known to be in custody, including former Oil Minister Tareck El Aissami. Nothing further has been reported on the case.



### PANAMA'S RAMÓN CARRETERO NAPOLITANO

According to a leak obtained by a group of independent media outlets and civil society organizations, between August 2013 and February 2014, Panamanian businessman **Ramón Carretero Napolitano**<sup>81</sup> signed three contracts with the Propatria 2000 Foundation, headed by Carlos Erik Malpica Flores, for approximately \$700 million to carry out civil engineering projects such as 20 multi-story gyms, the renovation of two iconic hotels, and the construction of a convention center in La Guaira, as well as the “Hugo Chávez” baseball stadium in La Rinconada, Caracas, which was renamed the Simón Bolívar Monumental Stadium. The investigation revealed how suspicious transfers totaling at least \$5.8 million were made from companies owned by Carretero Napolitano to Juan Carlos López Tovar and his then-partner, Iriamni Malpica Flores, who led a lavish lifestyle in Panama, traveling by private jet, purchasing high-value properties, and splurging at high-end stores.

80 Transparencia Venezuela (2023) . Álvaro Pulido, un nombre conocido en casos de corrupción.  
Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/alvaro-pulido-un-hombre-conocido-casos-corrupcion/>

81 Transparencia Venezuela (2025). Se llama Carretero, pero sus negocios vuelan con Maduro y familia...  
Available at [Disponibile en: https://transparenciave.org/se-llama-carretero-pero-sus-negocios-vuelan-con-maduro-y-familia/](https://transparenciave.org/se-llama-carretero-pero-sus-negocios-vuelan-con-maduro-y-familia/)

Transparencia Venezuela (2025). Se estrelló y dejó en evidencia un puente aéreo entre dictadores. 1 December 2025.  
Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/se-estrello-y-dejo-en-evidencia-un-puente-aereo-entre-dictadores/>



## A NEPHEW AND A FRONT MAN IN MONEY FLIGHT CASE

The U.S. justice system has not publicly mentioned Carlos Erik Malpica Flores in the Money Flight case. However, there are reports suggesting that he may be linked to the money-laundering case, which involved the diversion of US\$1.2 billion through illegal currency transactions and bribes paid to PDVSA officials.<sup>82</sup>

Investigations revealed that this scheme took place in 2014 through two financial transactions totaling US\$600 million. At that time, Malpica Flores was serving as Venezuela’s Treasury Secretary, and at the end of the year—specifically on December 30, 2014—he was appointed as an internal director of the state-owned oil company. Then, in June 2015, he became PDVSA’s Vice President of Finance.

This case involves Venezuelan businessman Raúl Gorrín, who is linked to the Gavidia Flores family. According to information disclosed in 2024, he is identified as Conspirator 7; he received 68.2 million euros from the scheme and sent part of that money in dozens of transfers to Malta and Austria.

Another individual named in the Money Flight court records is **Mario Enrique Bonilla Vallera**, identified as a front man for “Los Chamos,” as the sons of Cilia Flores are also known. Bonilla Vallera is linked to the purchase of properties in Caracas allegedly owned by the Gavidia Flores family,<sup>83</sup> and he is involved in companies that have forged strategic alliances for gold mining in the so-called Orinoco Mining Arc in Bolívar.<sup>84</sup>

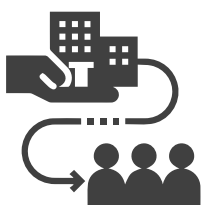
82 Chavismo INC. Los nuevos ricos del barrio. Available at: <https://chavismoinc.com/los-nuevos-ricos-del-barrio/>

83 Armando.info. Los hijos de Cilia Flores se compraron una calle para ellos solos. 10 November 2019. Available at: <https://armando.info/los-hijos-de-cilia-flores-se-compraron-una-calle-para-ellos-solos/>

84 Transparencia Venezuela. Explotación de oro en Venezuela. Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/economias-ilicitas/explotacion-de-oro-en-venezuela-2024/>

## 6. COMPANIES UNDER THE AUSPICES OF CILIA FLORES

Investigations into the kleptocratic network in Venezuela have revealed a web of companies operating across all sectors, from providing real estate and transportation services, pharmaceutical and sporting goods, to developing projects in the hydrocarbons and mining sectors. This network is closely linked to high-ranking officials in the Venezuelan government, in this case Cilia Flores and her family circle.



**Companies with ties  
to Cilia Flores**

**Countries of incorporation**

**122 companies linked**

to Cilia Flores.

Countries of incorporation

51 Of those:

- 67** Have ties with her sons  
Walter, Yosser and  
Yoswal Gavidia Flores
- 30** Have ties with her niece  
Iriamni Malpica Flores
- 25** Have ties with her nephew  
Carlos Erik Malpica Flores.

**51**

VENEZUELA

**42**

PANAMÁ

**22**

USA

**1**

MAURITIUS

**1**

SINGAPORE

**5**

UNKNOWN

Many of the companies linked to Cilia Flores and her family circle are connected to dubious sources of wealth, with criminal charges involving shady business dealings—including bribery and sophisticated money-laundering schemes—or sanctions imposed by countries such as the United States.

One of the most prominent names is **Raúl Antonio Gorrín**, who is linked to at least 30 companies, many of which were used in schemes that are still under investigation, and in some of which relatives of Cilia Flores have been implicated. Gorrín Belisario is subject to U.S. sanctions and is on the U.S. most-wanted list.<sup>85</sup> In Venezuela, as of this writing in March 2026, there is no certainty regarding his legal status, given the shifts in the political landscape resulting from the military operation that led to the capture of the Maduro-Flores couple.<sup>86</sup>

At least 24 companies have been linked to Ramón Carretero Napolitano. This Panamanian businessman received lucrative contracts from the Venezuelan government totaling US\$769 million to build gyms in low-income neighborhoods, a baseball stadium, and a convention center, as well as to renovate hotels and import toys, tires, and household appliances. At the same time, payments were made from his companies to individuals in Cilia Flores’s inner circle, including a niece, which allowed her to live a life of luxury in Panama since 2014—just as Venezuelans were being ruthlessly repressed in the streets by the Maduro government. These events have been added to the case file being investigated by the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court regarding Venezuela for crimes against humanity.<sup>87</sup>

85 Transparencia Venezuela (2025). La fortuna de Raúl Gorrín a la sombra del poder en Venezuela.

Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/la-fortuna-de-raul-gorrin-a-la-sombra-del-poder-en-venezuela/>

86 Transparencia Venezuela (2026). Los casos de Saab y Gorrín: Ejemplos de la opacidad en la justicia venezolana.

Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/los-casos-de-saab-y-gorrin-ejemplos-de-la-opacidad-en-la-justicia-venezolana/> 11 February 2026.

87 59 Transparencia Venezuela (2025). Se llama Carretero, pero sus negocios vuelan con Maduro y familia.

Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/se-llama-carretero-pero-sus-negocios-vuelan-con-maduro-y-familia/>

It was then revealed that Carretero Napolitano had clear ties to the Cuban regime and that his business dealings spanned his native Panama, Venezuela, and those in power on the island.<sup>88</sup> In 2026, Carretero Napolitano was added to the sanctions list, along with Erik Malpica Flores, known as the favorite nephew of Venezuela’s former first lady.

Another name that stands out on that list of 122 companies is **Mario Enrique Bonilla Vallera**, who owns about a dozen corporations. He is considered a key figure in the Money Flight scheme, the US\$1.2 billion in “profits” siphoned from PDVSA by exploiting currency controls, and which involved companies owned by Gorrín, a businessman whose case was dismissed in Venezuela in 2020 regarding this transaction—which was cloaked in legality in our country—ultimately closing a case related to the alleged laundering of that money in Spain.<sup>89</sup> But the United States continues to pursue Gorrín and Bonilla Vallera, the alleged front man for Cilia Flores’s children in that same scheme.



Raúl Antonio de la Santísima Trinidad  
Gorrín Belisario



Mario Enrique  
Bonilla Vallera

88 Transparencia Venezuela (2025). Se estrelló y dejó en evidencia un puente aéreo entre dictadores. 1 December 2025. Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/se-estrello-y-dejo-en-evidencia-un-puente-aereo-entre-dictadores/>


89 Transparencia Venezuela (2025). María Tardón, la jueza que cierra casos de corrupción venezolana en España. Available at: <https://transparenciave.org/maria-tardon-la-jueza-que-cierra-casos-de-corrupcion-venezolana-en-espana/>

## Industries of the companies linked to Cilia Flores

Industry	Number of companies
Real estate.....	22
Financial Services .....	19
Services .....	15
Construction .....	10
Various sectors.....	10
Media.....	8
Import and Commercialization .....	5
Pharmaceuticals.....	4
Transport and Logistics.....	3
Bars, restaurants, discotheques and parks.....	3
Sports Equipment and Gyms.....	3
Vehicles and Auto Parts.....	2
Solid waste.....	2
Agri-food .....	2
Advertising, Marketing, and Consulting Services .....	2
Food distribution.....	2
Hydrocarbons and Services.....	2
Hotels and Tourist Services.....	2
Mining and Metallurgy.....	1
Sports Teams.....	1
Health.....	1
Machinery and Equipment .....	1
Jewelry and Cosmetics.....	1
Electronics and Home Appliances .....	1
<b>Total 122</b>	



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