

Bad Bunny: militares venezolanos y narcotráfico

EI *El Adverso* is a publication dedicated to problematizing the present through creative texts grounded in documentary research. The design and production of this zine are crafted by Nicolás Gerardi Rousset and his micro-press **@koontiepress (IG)**. If you're interested in contributing a text, please send an email to **koontiepress@gmail.com**.

When, on February 8, at halftime of the Super Bowl, the *bla, bla, bla, bla, bla** explodes and, with your eyes closed, you let loose the **perreíto prohibido**—hands in the air, shaking that body—I invite you to take two seconds to think about how the pleasure of dancing to Bad Bunny is not so simple for Venezuelans: it comes pierced by an uncomfortable, acidic sensation, hard to ignore—guilt.

I'll give you an example: while everyone else surrenders to the rhythm and the **ricura** of bodies, we do too—we move closer and let others move closer to us. But when **Benito Ocasio** sings *hoy se bebe, hoy se gasta, hoy se fuma como rasta*†, instead of imagining **Bob Marley** enjoying a **desnalgue**, what we see is Venezuelan army

*. Bad Bunny, Jowell & Randy, and Ñengo Flow. “*Safaera*.” Track 14 on YHLQMDLG. Performed by Bad Bunny, Jowell & Randy, and Ñengo Flow. Written by Benito A. Martínez Ocasio, Joel Muñoz, Randy Ortiz, Edwin Rosa, et al. **Rimas Entertainment LLC**, February 29, 2020. Intro (lines 1–6).



†. Idem (lines 8–16)

captain **Ricardo Jiménez Dan** ‡ stuffing stolen dollars into a suitcase, ready to escape to the United States.

‡. Marcos David

Valverde, “*Atención, firme...y a perrear,*” Armandoinfo, September 22, 2024



Jiménez Dan, besides managing **Bad Bunny** and the record label **Rimas Entertainment**, reached the rank of captain in the 1987 class of the Venezuelan Military

Academy alongside **Diosdado Cabello** § and held public office as deputy minister of financial security between 2006 and 2013, as well as a post at the National School of Magistrates of the Supreme Court starting in 2003. ¶ He has been directly associated with drug traffickers **Clíver Alcalá** ** and **Hugo Carvajal** ††, his former military colleagues and

§. United States Department of State, “*Diosdado Cabello Rondón*,” U.S. Department of State, January 10, 2025.



¶. Raylí Luján, “*Quién es Rafael Jiménez Dan, el exviceministro chavista detrás de la disquera de Bad Bunny*,” Bloomberg Línea, August 5, 2022, 10:40 AM,



** . U.S. Department of Justice, Former Venezuelan General Sentenced To 260 Months In Prison For Providing Material Support To The FARC, Press Release No. 24-118, U.S. Attorney's Office, Southern District of New York, April 8, 2024.



two million dollars that the military man **Jiménez Dan** invested in the Puerto Rican artist's career in 2018, when the monthly minimum wage in Venezuela was barely two dollars. From that point on, nothing else matters: we press closer together and, in the middle of the **sandungueo**, someone grabs our hand and gently we spin halfway around.

With half-closed eyes, we were taken by the waist—soft and fast, then marked

has also been identified as an economic operator for the regime during **Hugo Chávez's** presidency, maintaining close ties to **Diosdado Cabello**

Venezuelans keep dancing, but our mind always returns to those

††. U.S. Department of Justice, Former Venezuelan General Pleads Guilty To Narco-Terrorism, Weapons, And Drug Trafficking Charges, Press Release No. 25-148, U.S. Attorney's Office, Southern District of New York, June 25, 2025,



and slow—and the conclusion arrives,
brutal: When grinding *chocha con bicho*,

*bicho con chota**, we become

*. “*Safaera*.” Track 14 on
YHLQMDLG. Performed
by Bad Bunny, Jowell &
Randy, and Ñengo Flow.
(lines 60–63).

accomplices. Accomplices to
the looting. We move one foot,
sway our hips, pull away and
come back, and the photogra-
phs return: **Jiménez Dan** with
Diosdado; **Jiménez Dan** with
Jesse Chacón.

We stay in the *Safaera*☉ and have no
choice but to party and remember.

We are seven million eight

hundred thousand Venezue- ☉. Idem

lan migrants; we rank among

the highest rates of child malnutrition—

chronic and global—in Latin America;

the infrastructure of the State, paid for

with our taxes, was used to transport
narcotics and launder drug money.

Jiménez Dan was one of the architects
of that system, Chávez’s legal–finan-
cial adviser from the 1992 coup until his

death.

We Venezuelans, right at the end of the song, also sing in unison: *If your boyfriend doesn't eat your ass*★, but not to echo

Benito—rather, to imagine **Rafael Ricardo Jiménez Dan** licking the ass of an inmate in **Tocorón** prison.

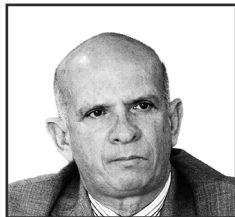
★. Idem
(lines 93–105).



Ricardo Jimenez



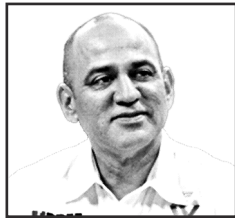
Diosdado Cabello



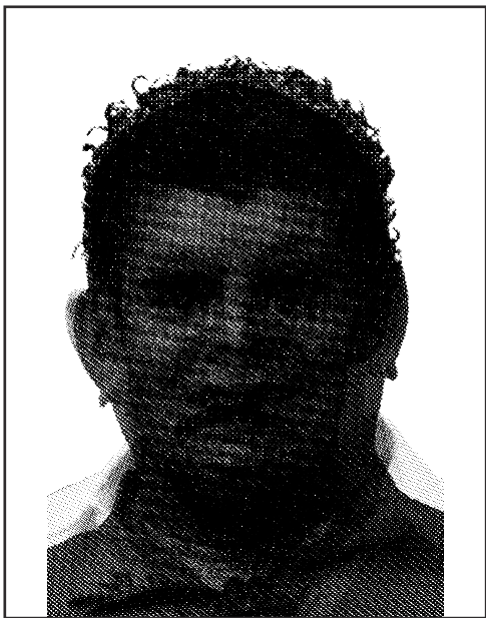
Hugo Carvajal



Cliver Alcalá



Jesse Chacón



*Triple Superposition: Benito Ocasio,
Ricardo Jiménez Dan, Diosdado Cabello.*

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