



# Annual Report 2024



**+voces**  
foundation

# CONTENTS

**Who We Are**

**01**

**Year in Review –  
Impact in Numbers**

**03**

**The Cost of Resistance**

**05**

**Looking Ahead to 2025**

**07**

**02**

**Letter from the Executive Director**

**04**

**Innovation as a Driver  
of Sustainability**

**06**

**Finances**

**08**

**Acknowledgments  
& Call to Action**

# Who We Are



## Mission:

To strengthen Cuban and Cuban-American civil societies by supporting independent media and individuals who use communication tools to empower their communities.

## Vision:

To lead the production of impactful journalism that addresses the most pressing issues for Cuba and its diaspora, promoting access to quality information, civic education, social inclusion, and human rights.

## Origins:

Mas Voces Foundation Inc. is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization established in 2023 in Miami, Florida. It is part of the legal and financial framework supporting the elTOQUE team, developed with the goal of strengthening the independent Cuban information ecosystem and supporting recently arrived migrants in the United States and other destinations.



# Who We Are



## Current Projects:



**eITOQUE:** A leading independent multimedia platform covering economic, legal, and financial information about Cuba. It narrates the diversity and complexity of our nation, demands transparency from the government, and holds power accountable.



**OMFi (Cuban Observatory of Currency and Finance):** Provides information and analysis on Cuba's exchange rate dynamics and financial indicators from the informal market.



**Legalis:** A platform that facilitates access to Cuban legislation, allowing users to find, consult, and download regulations originally published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Cuba from 2009 to the present.

Our commitment to amplifying Cuban voices and delivering independent, balanced journalism extends beyond the island's borders. As hundreds of thousands of Cubans have left their homeland in recent years, our mission has expanded to support the growing Cuban diaspora, especially those settling in the United States and Europe.



## LETTER FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

In 2024, we faced an environment of growing repression and challenges for independent journalism in Cuba. Despite these conditions, elTOQUE managed to consolidate itself as a reliable source of information for millions of Cubans, both on and off the island.

Our efforts focused on producing high-quality content that reflected Cuban realities, promoted transparency, and encouraged dialogue. We implemented new strategies to circumvent censorship and ensure access to information, thus reinforcing our commitment to freedom of expression.

In 2025, we plan to continue innovating on our digital platforms, expanding our coverage, and delving into topics of civic interest. We are committed to building a space for connection and reflection, adapting to changing conditions while maintaining our editorial independence.

We are deeply grateful for the support of our audience and collaborators, whose trust propels us forward. Together, we will continue this journalism project that serves the Cuban people and contributes to the development of a fairer, more democratic, and resilient society and community.

**Sincerely,**  
José Jasán Nieves  
*Executive Director*  
*Mas Voces Foundation / elTOQUE*

# “The Cuban State Has Left the Country” (Impact Story)



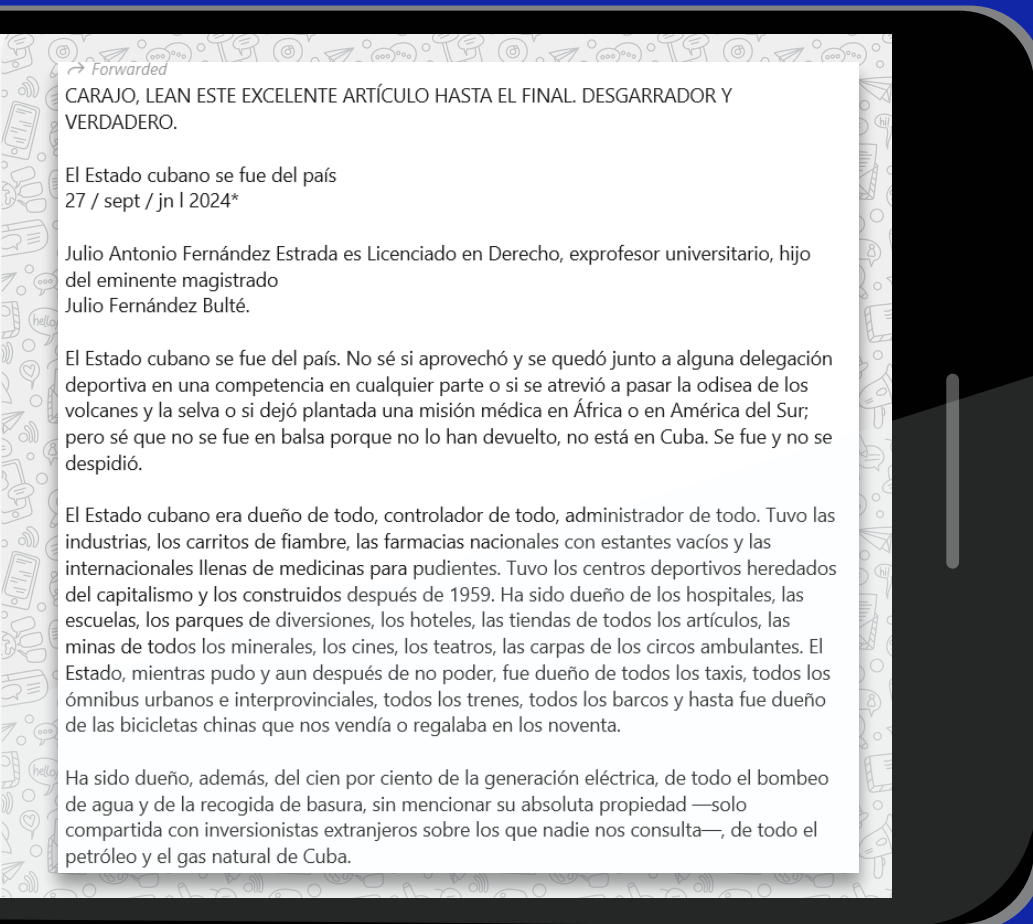
## An article that struck a national nerve

In September 2024, legal scholar and former university professor **Julio Antonio Fernández Estrada** published the essay “**The Cuban State Has Left the Country**” on elTOQUE. It is a sharp and poetic denunciation of how Cuban institutions have abandoned the people. The text, both ironic and deeply painful, portrays how the State—once omnipresent and all-powerful—has vanished from the everyday lives of citizens.

Although the article was published openly on a digital platform, its greatest impact occurred in **closed and alternative channels**, particularly on **WhatsApp groups**. In a context of surveillance and censorship, these platforms have become primary channels for sharing critical content in Cuba.

A screenshot that circulated widely—and is included in this report—captures not only the article’s massive diffusion but also the emotional tone of its reception:

**“DAMN, READ THIS EXCELLENT ARTICLE TO THE END. HEARTBREAKING AND TRUE.”**



# Year in Review – Impact in Numbers



Amid intensified state repression in Cuba, the information ecosystem promoted by elTOQUE not only endured, but was further consolidated as an essential platform for truth, autonomy, and citizen participation.

Despite a hostile and heavily monitored digital environment, more than **4.99 million unique users** accessed our platforms—**70% of them from within Cuba**. Our information output never stopped: over **36 million website visits**, **300 published political cartoons**, **50 explainers and live debates**, and **hundreds of video and audio pieces** empowered millions of people to stay informed, think critically, and engage in independent discussions.

Projects like the **Cuban Observatory of Currency and Finance (OMFI)** established elTOQUE as the national benchmark in independent reporting on economic issues. In 2024 alone, our currency exchange rate pages attracted **7.2 million visits**, while articles on informal market trends surpassed **5 million views**.

The **Legalis** tool strengthened public access to justice. This small but agile team responded to a growing demand for clear, contextualized legal information. Over the course of the year, we published more than **200 legal pieces**, including articles, explainer videos, infographics, and

interactive content. Topics such as migration rights, pensions, import taxes, and everyday legal procedures dominated our audience metrics. Articles like **“Will I have to return to Cuba every six months to retain my rights?”** reached over **80,000 views**, while guides on new tax regulations were viewed more than **96,000 times**. We registered **156 direct legal inquiries**, all of which were answered, achieving a **100% response rate**.

**Inclusion** was also a priority. We produced **100 audio narrations** of articles for people with visual impairments and launched a new podcast (**Radiografía de Cuba**) covering education, healthcare, economics, and human rights. These productions not only countered censorship but also reached new generations accustomed to mobile consumption and active listening.

elTOQUE **trained nearly 50 journalists and content creators** in investigative techniques, multimedia storytelling, and digital security, in collaboration with the Dutch organization **RNW Media**. This effort did not go unnoticed: in October 2024, the Cuban regime launched a new wave of repression against independent journalism, including **arrests, interrogations, and public smear campaigns** targeting participants of our training program and other initiatives related to our organization.

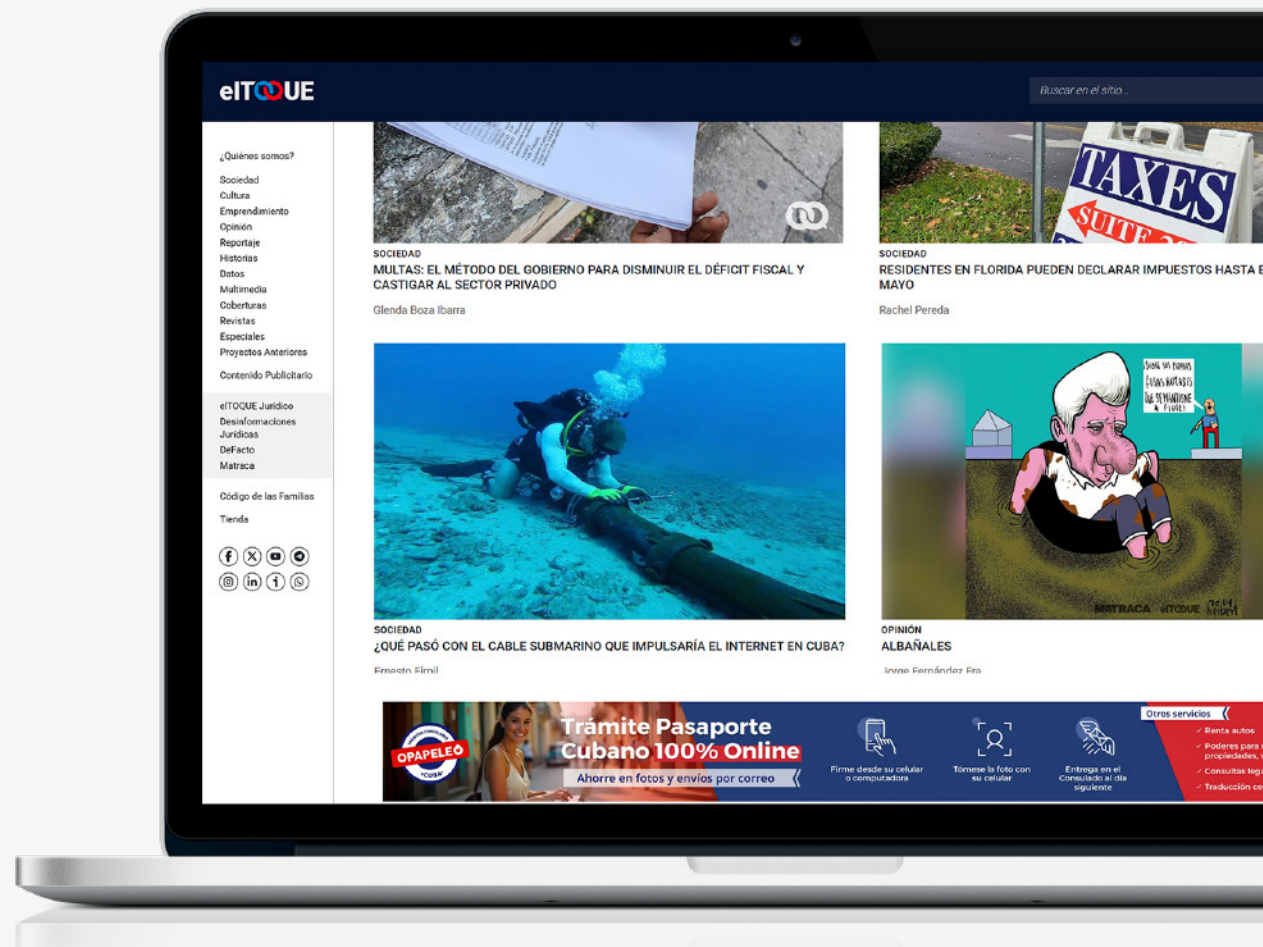
# Year in Review – Impact in Numbers



However, this attack only reaffirmed the impact of our work. The international community responded with denunciations and solidarity, and our network of journalists continued to produce verified, critical content from exile or under new anonymity strategies.

In 2024, elTOQUE reaffirmed its commitment to **independent investigative journalism**. Our legal investigations into **police abuse and arbitrary detentions** reached international human rights forums. One of the year's most prominent investigations was the series **"Cuba's Mission in Angola"**, led by journalist **Annarella Grimal** in collaboration with **CONNECTAS**. The series exposed how the Cuban government, through a military-controlled business network, exploits thousands of health professionals in Angola.

The series received **international recognition**, earning a **special mention** in the **2024 "Javier Valdez" Latin American Award for Investigative Journalism**, granted by the **Press and Society Institute (IPYS)**.



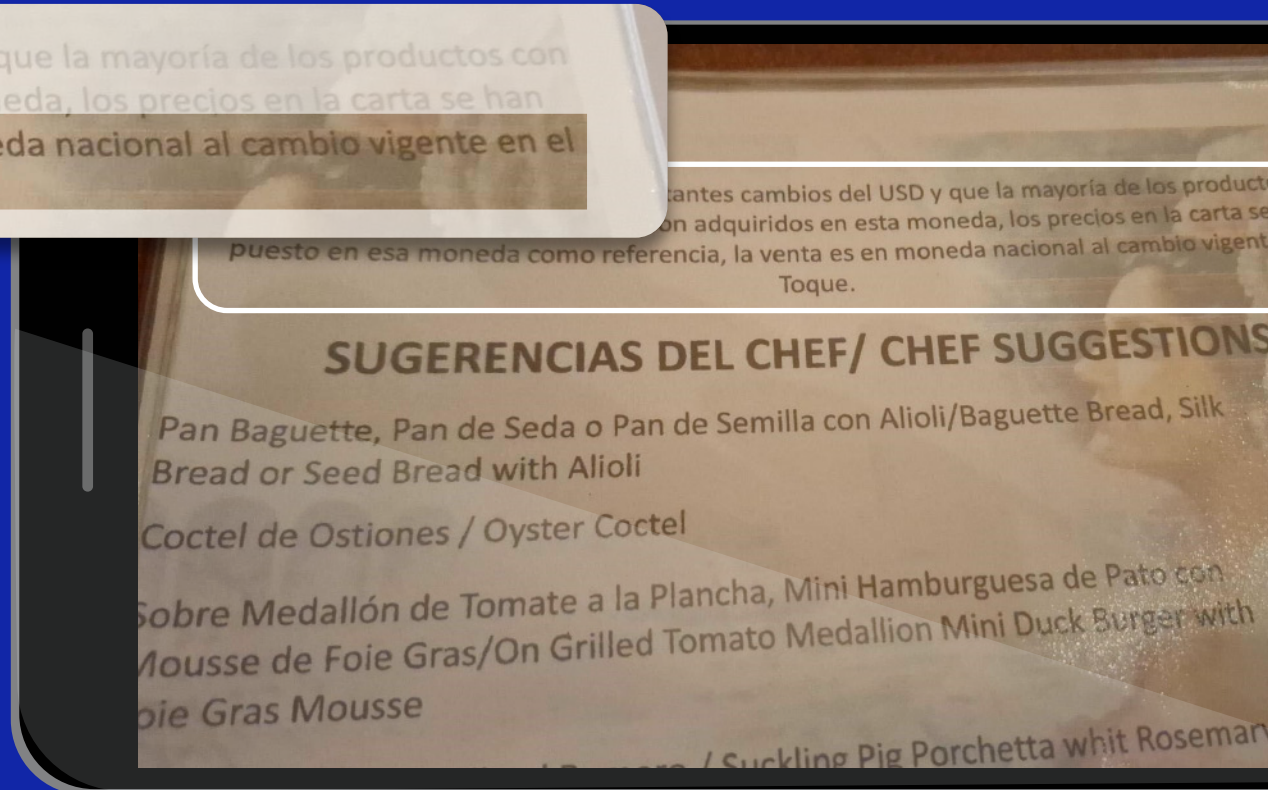
# The Exchange Rate That Challenges Power Technology as Public Service (Impact Story)



elTOQUE's monitoring of Cuba's informal currency exchange market became one of the most influential and disruptive journalistic projects on the island in 2024.

nte: Debido a los constantes cambios del USD y que la mayoría de los productos con  
poramos este menú, son adquiridos en esta moneda, los precios en la carta se han  
a moneda como referencia, la venta es en moneda nacional al cambio vigente en el  
Toque.

The **exchange rate index** we publish uses a combination of **automated scraping, statistical analysis, and machine learning**, collecting price data from social media, buy/sell channels, and digital platforms. This AI-powered infrastructure enables dynamic, transparent, and accurate updates for a market that the Cuban state tries to render invisible.



*A restaurant menu in Havana shows how the private sector uses elTOQUE's exchange rate.*

# The Exchange Rate That Challenges Power Technology as Public Service (Impact Story)



By combining **technology, economic analysis, and civic commitment**, the index has become a vital informational resource for Cubans on and off the island. Its impact has been recognized by academic institutions, international media—and, paradoxically, by detractors within the Cuban regime.

That the **Nieman Lab** dedicated an article to elTOQUE's coverage is no small feat. Nieman Lab is part of the **Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard**, with an editorial focus on the future of journalism, media innovation, and the role of technology in democracy.

In its 2024 analysis, Nieman Lab not only explained how elTOQUE uses AI to track Cuba's exchange rates, but also **highlighted the project as an example of journalistic innovation under authoritarian conditions**, where technology becomes both a **public service** and an **act of defiance**.

*"Their AI-driven system for tracking Cuba's informal exchange rate became a vital public utility — and a symbol of dissent."*

— *Nieman Lab, 2024*

This recognition places elTOQUE among other cutting-edge global initiatives and validates its editorial strategy as **scalable, replicable, and high-impact**.



# Innovation as a Driver of Sustainability



In 2024, we continued advancing the joint strategy between **Mas Voces Foundation** and its service and innovation agency **Mediaplus.Experience**. The synergy between journalism, tech development, and digital strategy positioned us as an **exporter of creative solutions** with social impact.

In **December 2024**, Mas Voces Foundation was selected as one of **35 global** organizations to receive funding from the **JournalismAI Innovation Challenge**, a nine-month program designed by **JournalismAI at the London School of Economics (LSE)** and supported by the **Google News Initiative**.

Our selection in this program not only brings funding but also **connects us to a global network of innovative media organizations**, strengthening our capacity to **develop and scale tech solutions** for journalism.

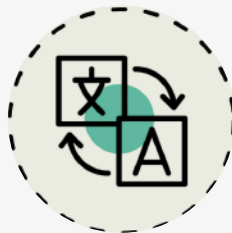
Another major milestone of 2024 was receiving support from **RNW Media's Innovation Fun-d 2024** for our proposed **AI-based application, DeFactoAPP**. The app is designed to help Cuban users detect disinformation in real time—especially on YouTube. It integrates machine learning, community feedback, and **expert validation to empower users as active agents** in the fight against information manipulation.

*"DeFactoApp is poised to reshape how audiences navigate the digital world, fostering a culture of truth and accountability."*

*— JournalismAI Innovation Fund, 2024*



# Innovation as a Driver of Sustainability



The consolidation of **Mediaplus.Experience** as a development lab for mission-driven media led to **key commercial and collaborative alliances**. One example is our partnership with Factchequeado to develop **Electobot**, a WhatsApp chatbot created to fight disinformation around the U.S. electoral process in Latino communities.

Mas Voces Foundation's sustainability strategy was strengthened by the participation of our **Project Manager, Taylí Sánchez**, in the prestigious **News Product Management Certificate (NPMC)** program, organized by the **News Product Alliance** in collaboration with the **Craig Newmark Graduate School of Journalism at CUNY**.

This milestone reinforced our institutional vision: the future of independent media relies on the **strategic development of editorial, technological, and community products**, designed with a rights-based and sustainability-focused approach.

# Case L – The Impact of Legalis in Defending Labor Rights (Impact Story)



L had a seemingly simple question: after 20 years of service in the education sector, would her experience count toward a pay raise when switching to the health sector? She knew her work had value, but she wasn't sure if the law recognized it.

When she asked the Human Resources department at her state employer, the response was blunt: there was no right to make such a claim. But something didn't sit right. Facing a government institution alone can be overwhelming, so she decided to consult **Legalis**. There, she found not only the answer she was looking for but also a path to defend what was rightfully hers.

The guidance she received was clear and legally grounded. Not only did she have the right to have her years of service recognized, but she was also entitled to retroactive pay for the time she worked in healthcare under the appropriate pay grade. Armed with this knowledge, L returned to Human Resources and presented her case with confidence. This time, the response was different.

Although she initially faced resistance, her persistence—and the information from Legalis—made the difference. Her workplace eventually acknowledged her rights, though only granting three months of retroactive pay. It wasn't a complete victory, but it was proof that **knowledge is power**.

Throughout the process, L realized that the biggest obstacle wasn't bureaucracy—it was fear. Many workers, when met with denials and roadblocks, simply give up. But she didn't.

*"I will never be afraid to claim my rights," she wrote with resolve.*



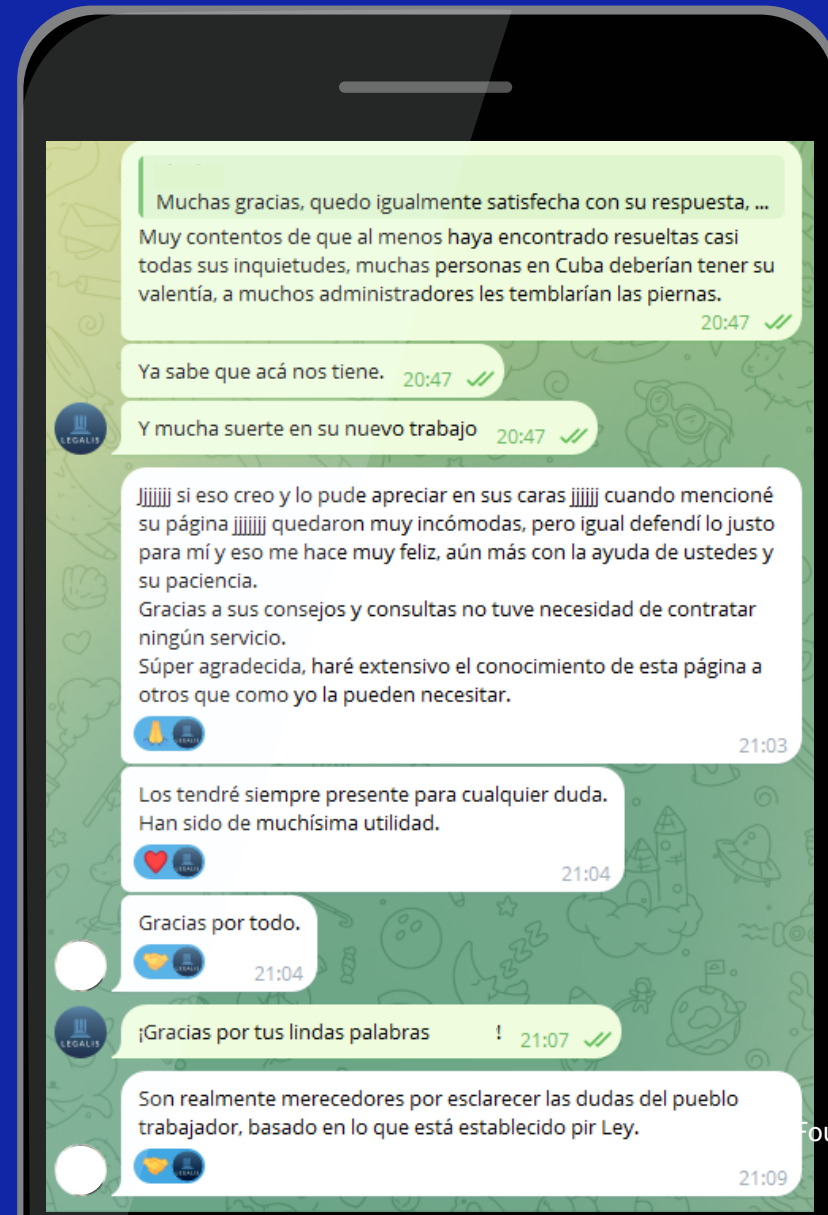
# Case L – The Impact of Legalis in Defending Labor Rights (Impact Story)



In fact, her case had an impact beyond her own outcome. When she mentioned **Legalis** in front of the authorities, she noticed discomfort in their expressions. Information that empowers workers **unsettles those who benefit from ignorance**. But instead of scaring her, it motivated her further. She secured justice for herself—and now wants to share what she learned with others.

This is not an isolated case. It reflects a Cuban reality where many workers face **barriers to basic rights**. But it also shows what can be achieved with **clear, accessible, and legally backed information**.

Legalis' impact isn't just measured by the number of legal queries answered, but by the **transformation in workers' attitudes**. It's not just about resolving doubts; it's about **shifting the power dynamic** between employees and employers. And in that shift, every person like L who dares to fight for their rights is a victory.



# The Cost of Resistance



Throughout 2024, the Cuban government deployed a **multi-channel communication strategy** to delegitimize elTOQUE's work—especially our informal market exchange rate (TRMI). This narrative was amplified by **official and para-state platforms**—such as Razones de Cuba, Granma, Cubadebate, Con Filo, Cubainformación—and by **State Security-affiliated figures** like “El Guerrero Cubano.”

Attack tactics included accusations of “**financial terrorism**” and “**economic warfare**”, claims of “**foreign interference**” and “**subversion**”, and coordinated digital campaigns to **erode our reputation**. Troll groups—known as “**ciberclarias**”—flooded platforms with posts using the hashtag **#ElToqueEsUnDescaro**. The regime even attempted to **tamper with our data collection system**, leading us to implement stricter information controls.

The most serious moment came in **September 2024**, when elTOQUE publicly denounced the **potential opening of a criminal investigation** by State Security against members and collaborators of our team. This marked a **qualitative escalation** in political persecution.

## Editorial: elTOQUE Raises Alarm Over New Wave of Repression

The **personal cost** of this repressive campaign included the **forced displacement of journalists, isolation of collaborators**, and intensified **surveillance and harassment** within Cuban territory. According to the **Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ)**, at least **eight journalists** were forced to flee the country in 2024 due to interrogations and direct threats.

*“Repression no longer has borders. Exile is not complete protection. Threats travel, go digital, and synchronize.”  
— Columbia Journalism Review, 2024*

# The Cost of Resistance



This pattern reflects a broader strategy of **exemplary punishment**, in which eITOQUE became a **primary target** due to its real impact on Cuban society and its international reach.

In response, **Mas Voces Foundation reaffirmed its commitment** to journalist protection by joining the **ACOS Alliance**—a unique global coalition of over 150 media outlets, journalism associations, and free expression organizations committed to **safe and responsible journalism**.

Defending freedom of expression and exposing authoritarian tactics before human rights organizations and international allies remains a **core principle** of Mas Voces.



# “La Travesía” – Journalism That Names the Lost

(Impact Story)



In August 2024, **Jorge Peraza**, Regional Representative of the **International Organization for Migration (IOM)** for Central America and the Caribbean, publicly recognized eI TOQUE’s documentation efforts through its special report “**La Travesía**”, which traces the deaths and disappearances of Cuban migrants along their journeys through Central America and the Caribbean to the United States.

*“We want to highlight the work of the Cuban platform eI TOQUE, which has developed an independent system to document the deaths and disappearances of migrants on the maritime route from Cuba to the United States. Their journalistic effort is fundamental to understanding the magnitude of the phenomenon and filling official data gaps in this context.”*

*“At the IOM, we value these independent monitoring efforts, because often they are where early warnings about risk patterns and critical human mobility conditions emerge.”*

Throughout 2024, at least **142 Cuban migrants** died or disappeared at sea while attempting to reach U.S. shores. The Cuban government’s **lack of official records** and **repressive handling** of the migration phenomenon make it difficult to monitor. Launched in 2023, “**La Travesía**” emerged as a rigorous and humane journalistic response to that information void.

Recognition from the **IOM** validates our **methodological approach** and our commitment to **making visible the human tragedies** associated with irregular migration from Cuba.



# Sustainability and Finances



INCOME	
INCOME SOURCE	AMOUNT (USD)
International grants (7 funds)	650,250
Individual donations	954
Donations from private foundations	77,222
Other income (minor services)	160

BALANCE	
ITEM	AMOUNT (USD)
Total assets	208,706
Total liabilities	66,412
Available cash	142,293

EXPENSES	
EXPENSE CATEGORY	PERCENTAGE
Contractors and content production	81.9%
Personnel and social security	10.3%
Professional and legal services	1.6%
Operating expenses (travel, office, etc.)	3.8%
Financial and other costs	2.3%

SUMMARY	
CONCEPT	AMOUNT (USD)
Total income	728,588
Total expenses	947,808
Annual financial result	-219,220

The organization closed the year with a **30.1% operating deficit**. This result reflects an institutional strategy of **growth, organizational strengthening, and expansion** of key services like **OMFI, Legalis, and audiovisual productions**.

Despite the operating deficit, Mas Voces Foundation ended the year with **healthy liquidity** and **sound financial management capacity** to meet its commitments in 2025—provided donor support remains uninterrupted.

# Looking Ahead to 2025



In 2025, **Mas Voces Foundation** and **eITOQUE** aim to strengthen their position as a project of **civil resistance and social transformation through journalism**. In a context marked by humanitarian crisis, digital authoritarianism, and mass migration, our commitment runs deep: to combine journalistic rigor, technological innovation, security, and sustainability.

We will foster an **active community** with initiatives such as "**El Desahogo**" and "**El Reporte Ciudadano**", while relaunching our flagship podcast, **Radiografía de Cuba**. We will also expand our commercial operations through the **Mediaplus.Experience** agency and launch verticals with tailored content for **Cuban communities in the U.S. and Spain**.

We will produce over **100 original pieces of content per month**, including at least **nine high-impact investigations** and an expansion of our **legal, economic, and solutions journalism**. We're investing in inclusive platforms like **Legalis** and **OMFi**, and in tools like DeFactoApp and a **new financial information service** for Cuba—technologies that democratize and expand access to vital information.

Internally, we will build an **organizational culture** grounded in efficiency, team protection, and **autonomous financial growth**. With a vision of acting as a **transnational bridge** between the geographical island and the global Cuban nation, **eITOQUE** sees itself not just as a media outlet, but as a **citizen participation platform** for a freer, fairer, and more informed Cuba.

Nothing we accomplished in 2024 would have been possible without you.

**To our donors:** Thank you for believing in the power of ideas and the real-world impact of independent journalism. Your support doesn't just sustain our projects—it fuels the hope of millions of people who deserve to live informed and free.

**To our partners:** Thank you for bringing your expertise, creativity, and courage. Every alliance reminds us that we're not alone and that defending truth and rights is stronger when done in networks.

**To our international allies:** Thank you for amplifying our voices, building bridges, and reminding the world that what happens in Cuba matters.

# THANK YOU

**To our community,** both in Cuba and around the world: to those who read, share, message us, correct us, and defend us—**you are the heart of this project.** We do this for you and with you.

**To our fellow independent journalists,** who resist censorship, silencing, and exile just as we do—thank you for proving every day that reporting is also a way of fighting for dignity.

**To our team at elTOQUE,** inside and outside the archipelago—your courage, talent, and commitment sustain us. You do more than journalism. You build Cuba, even from afar and under conditions that many do not see but we will never stop recognizing and supporting.

# JOIN US IN THIS MISSION



**Share our work.** Every story that spreads, every data point that breaks through censorship, is a collective victory.



**Defend free press.** Ask questions, verify, engage. Help us keep spaces alive where truth can thrive.



**Donate.** Your contribution, big or small, helps us keep doing what power doesn't want us to do: **tell the truth.**

**THANK YOU**

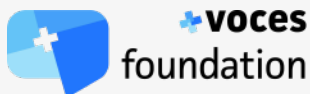
**THANK YOU**

**THANK YOU**

**FOR STANDING WITH US.**

**FOR BELIEVING.**

**THANK YOU FOR HELPING US GROW  
FOR CUBA AND WITH CUBA.**





[audiencias@masvocesfoundation.org](mailto:audiencias@masvocesfoundation.org) | [audiencias@eltoque.com](mailto:audiencias@eltoque.com) | +1 786 403 8554

