

Analyzing Radical Leftist Networks in Utah

BY MORGAN WIRTHLIN

SUMMARY

The Center for Security Policy has tracked radical leftist networks in Utah for years. In the wake of Charlie Kirk's assassination, some leftist groups began deleting social media profiles. This report explains the structure of leftist organizing networks and includes posts archived from social media accounts before the accounts were removed.

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On September 10, 2025, Charlie Kirk was assassinated at Utah Valley University. On September 12, Tyler Robinson, a 22-year-old resident of Washington, Utah, was [arrested and charged](#) with Kirk's murder. Robinson engraved [anti-fascist phrases](#) on the ammunition casings in a rifle found wrapped in a towel in a wooded area near the campus with [Robinson's DNA](#), according to law enforcement.

By September 14th, the [New York Post](#) and [Axios](#) reported that investigators were looking into leftist groups in Utah to determine whether Robinson had any help. So far, the only group named publicly is Armed Queers SLC. The Armed Queers social media pages were taken down after the shooting.¹

The Center for Security Policy has tracked a network of over 30 radical leftist groups in Utah for some time, including Armed Queers SLC, beginning in 2022.

As of this writing, there is no public evidence directly linking Armed Queers SLC to Kirk's assassination. There is also no public evidence that Tyler Robinson and his [alleged trans boyfriend](#), Lance Twiggs, were formally affiliated with Armed Queers SLC, or any other leftist group.

There is reason to be concerned that investigators may lack sufficient context to identify linkages where they might exist. Historically, American intelligence has struggled to understand the nature of threats that do not operate based on vertically integrated command and control structures.

For decades, the Center for Security Policy has studied foreign and domestic subversive and violent movements along ideological lines, repeatedly demonstrating that ideology and doctrine provide a superior understanding of how threat networks are structured and how individuals move through those networks.

¹ The Instagram account was taken down on September 11th, Facebook was removed between September 14th and 15th, and the X account was removed September 16th.

Using Armed Queers SLC as a focal point, this report will examine radical leftist groups in Utah, through the lens of ideology and the structure of leftist organizing networks. It includes posts archived from public social media accounts before these accounts were removed.

ANTIFASCIST IDEOLOGY

In his [2020 testimony](#) before the U.S. Senate, CSP's Director of Counterterrorism and Homeland Security, Kyle Shideler – who has studied Antifa since 2015 – said:

Antifa is an anarcho-communist movement, whose goal is to use physical violence and intimidation to terrorize American citizens into disengaging from the political process. While they do this under the cover of “anti-fascism,” the reality is that Antifa define the entire American political system—regardless of party affiliation—as “fascist.”

One of the things that separates Antifa from other elements of the left is a strong emphasis on “direct action.”² According to the [Direct Action Movement](#), direct action is when individuals ignore established institutions: “Operating within the boundaries of the law and demonstrating peacefulness are not elements of direct action.” Direct Action includes strikes, boycotts, sabotage, vandalism, blockades, and riots, among other methods.

That does not necessarily mean every direct action is violent, or that every individual participates. Within [direct action](#), there is a differentiation between “non-violent” and “violent” forms of activism. However, definitions of “non-violence” can be dramatically different from what the average American might assume would qualify as non-violence.³

² Particularly as compared to Marxist-Leninist and Maoist organizations which heavily emphasize mass organizing over direct action. More on that [here](#).

³ Specifically, many direct action participants do not consider destruction of property to qualify as violence, even when utilizing techniques such as arson or explosives that could qualify as domestic terrorism under U.S. law.

⁴ All Figures can be found in Appendix A.

In accordance with the concept of “diversity of tactics,” individuals are expected to participate in activities that they are comfortable with and align with their values and priorities, while at the same time refusing to judge, criticize, or even notify authorities about the criminal or violent activities of others.

Direct action can also include [mutual aid](#), a method by which leftist organizers gather and share funds and materials as part of a shared political effort, but with the deliberate intent of bolstering recruiting and improving the group's image while undermining reliance and confidence in the government.

For example, Salt Lake Community Mutual Aid “provided grocery delivery, direct financial aid and protest support” in 2020 (Figure 1)⁴. In 2022, they posted on Instagram two fridges that are restocked weekly (Figure 1a), and hold a “Really Really Free Market” where people can give things away they don't want (Figure 1b).

MOVEMENT STRUCTURE

Antifa is organized horizontally, which can be challenging to understand from the outside. The most basic unit is an affinity group, which can range from two to fifteen people who know each other well.

“All participants can act and react instantly without waiting for orders – yet with a clear idea of what to expect from one another,” according to [CrimethInc](#), an anarchist and antifascist site.

One person may participate in multiple affinity groups, each of which utilizes different tactics or has different interests.

[Deep Green Resistance](#), written by Lierre Keith, Aric McBay and Derrick Jensen, outlines various principles of resistance movements and explains the basic framework. McBay explains this basic framework in Chapter 8: Organizational Structure:

Organizational Network Types



1a) Underground Individual
(No operational relationships)



1b) Aboveground Individual
(No movement relationships)



Figure 8-1

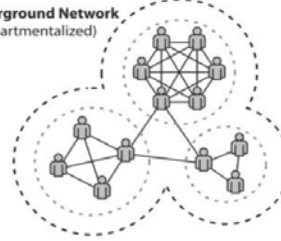
2a) Underground Affinity Group
(Limited direct relationships with broader movements)



2b) Aboveground Affinity Group
(Socially embedded in broader movements)



3a) Underground Network
(Compartmentalized)

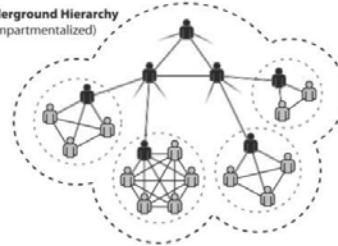


3b) Aboveground Network
(Many connected networks)



Figure 8-3

4a) Underground Hierarchy
(Compartmentalized)



4b) Aboveground Hierarchy
(Many internal and external relationships)

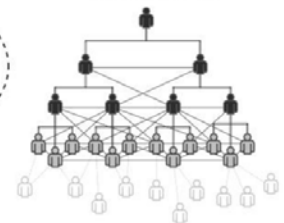


Figure 8-4

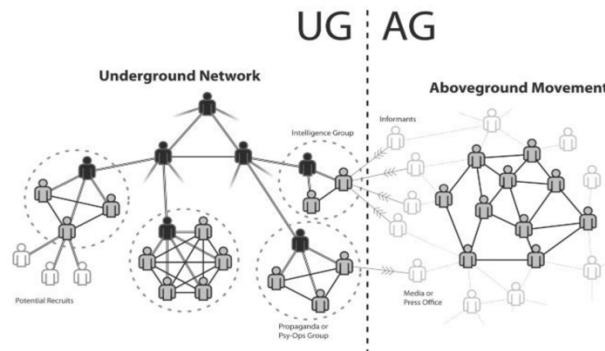


Figure 8-5

Network Diagrams from [Deep Green Resistance](#)

Resistance organizations can be divided into aboveground (AG) and underground (UG) groups. These groups have strongly divergent organizational and operational needs, even when they have the same goals. Broadly speaking, aboveground groups do not carry out risky illegal actions and are organized in ways that maximize their ability to use public institutions and communication struc-

tures. Underground groups exist primarily to carry out illegal or repressed activities and are organized in ways that maximize their own security and effectiveness.

Some aboveground groups do carry out illegal activities as part of a campaign of civil disobedience, or they break or bend lesser laws as a means of causing disruption or confronting power (for example,

through “illegal” protests). These groups often occupy something of an awkward middle ground, a subject we’ll return to. As police become more draconian and punishments more severe, such groups may split into underground and aboveground factions, with some members refraining from illegal acts out of fear of punishment, while others seek to escalate their actions.

Keith et al [describe](#) five general roles within each group: leaders, cadres or professional revolutionaries, combatants or frontline activists, auxiliaries, and the mass base. Leaders inspire and make decisions, and are black in the diagrams.

Cadres or professional revolutionaries are the “backbone” because they have the skills and experience to recruit and train. Cadre should be skilled at identifying strengths and using individuals where they are best suited. They are often called “organizers.”

Combatants or frontline activists engage in the high-risk work. Auxiliaries are sympathetic to the cause and provide help at various times, but otherwise live normal lives. The mass base consists of people who are supportive but uninvolved.

To fully grasp how complex and layered these structures can be, consider this fictitious example.

Let’s say there is an organization called “Equality.” The organization engages in mainstream politics such as collecting signatures, door-knocking, lobbying legislators and the like, but also engages in organizing political protests and marches. John, Sam, and Larry are all members of this organization. John, Sam, and Larry also participate in an AG affinity group called Unhoused Collective, which advertises distributing “mutual aid” tents and donated food to the homeless, with Larry serving as the official spokesman of the collective. The Unhoused Collective receives occasional donations from Equality.

But John is also part of a UG affinity group and

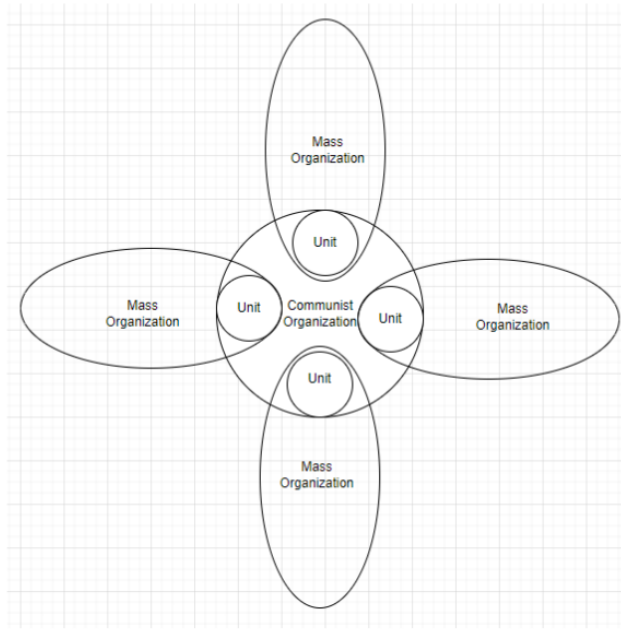
participates in violent direct action while wearing black bloc, the stereotypical all-black garb that most commonly associates with Antifa. At the same time, Sam is part of a different UG affinity group, which engages in illegal disruption tactics with an emphasis on destructive but “non-violent” direct action.

Equality might formally sponsor a large protest with its leaders participating on stage, giving speeches. John, Larry, and Sam all show up with handmade posters and walk peacefully. But later that night, Sam’s affinity group, dressed in black bloc, targets a series of businesses affiliated with opponents of the march and destroys windows and spray paints walls, while John’s black bloc directly clashes with police officers, injuring them with bricks, lasers, and fireworks.

Larry may have no idea that Sam and John are participating in the black bloc action, and neither Sam nor John would necessarily know the other is participating or if so what their separate affinity groups have planned.

While we have focused mainly on Antifa, resistance movements can also include Marxist-Leninist and Maoist groups. While Antifa uses direct action, and Marxist groups tend to focus on creating or taking control over mass organizations. Both seek the overthrow of the United States government and, ultimately, foment revolution.

Marxist groups, instead of attempting to overthrow the government immediately, emphasizes utilizing what Lenin called the “correlation of forces,” that is, working to advance revolution at the correct moment when most advantageous. Owen Oak, at Salt, a collaborative journal of long-time Marxists in the Salt Lake area, [explains](#): “At present, there are organizations that recognize the necessity for revolution and are attempting to develop projects that reach that goal, however, no organization has the ability to carry out a revolution, even in a revolutionary moment.”



From [The Communist Organization, Mass Organization, The Unit, and The Cadre](#).

Oak describes a pre-party communist organization that can work through mass movements now to help eventually build a party capable of revolution. Oak uses a diagram to demonstrate how communist organizers can function in a mass movement, and “winning them over to the necessity of Marxism.”

Returning to the fictitious example, imagine a hypothetical Marxist party organization called the Party for Revolutionary Struggle has undertaken to infiltrate and control Equality by replacing its key members over time. These members may operate in an underground fashion to maintain the organization. Thus, while the official “leader” of the organization may not change, with the PRS cadre in place, the organization begins to increasingly emphasize mass protests and promotes radical actions and policies over traditional politics and begins to cooperate with other mass organizations also infiltrated by the party.

In such an example, the PRS and Antifa actors may collaborate for actions while also competing for influence over Equality’s members.

With this theoretical model in mind, we can examine the situation in Utah among radical left groups over the period of observation.

RADICAL LEFTIST GROUPS IN UTAH

Armed Queers SLC was [founded in July 2020](#) by then 20-year-old Ermiya Fanaeian, a trans liberation activist, who is “[originally from Iran](#).” Fanaeian has worked with mainstream but left-wing groups like the [ACLU](#)⁵ and YWCA Utah. As a University of Utah student, Fanaeian was a Research Assistant for nearly four years (Figure 2) and was appointed as “Director of Diversity” in the Student Body President’s cabinet in 2020 (Figure 4). In 2022, Fanaeian received an award from Utah Global Diplomacy (Figure 5).⁶

⁵ In 2019, the ACLU of Utah gave Fanaeian the “Torch of Freedom Award” (Figure 3).

⁶ There is no evidence at this time that the award included funding. It is important to note that distributed networks are not necessarily reliant on funding.

At 17, Fanaeian [co-founded](#) the Utah chapter of March for Our Lives, advocating stricter gun laws. Since then, he has been a fixture at nearly every major protest, megaphone in hand, on the Capitol steps.⁷ In April 2018, Fanaeian addressed the Human Rights campaign (Figure 6). In June 2018, Fanaeian led the Utah Pride Parade with the ACLU and Black Lives Matter (Figure 7) and addressed the “[Families Belong Together](#)” protest (Figure 8). Fanaeian again led the Pride Parade in 2019 (see Figure 9). In 2020, Fanaeian addressed the Women’s March (Figure 10), campaigned for Bernie Sanders (Figure 11), and spoke at an ERA Utah press conference at the state Capitol (see Figure 12), according to his Instagram.⁸ As Director of Diversity, one of Fanaeian’s priorities was to “defund and decentralize campus police” (Figure 4).⁹

Fanaeian’s views on guns [evolved](#) after the reported assault of a transwoman in Michigan. However, his other political views did not change, as [described to NPR](#) in 2021. Initially, Fanaeian revived the Salt Lake chapter of Pink Pistols, a [group that teaches](#) “safe, legal, and responsible use of firearms by the queer community.” Per a [press release](#) issued by the Pink Pistols, they parted ways with him in 2021 because he “began using the Pink Pistol’s name to promote broader political issues, violating our rule that we are a single-issue organization” according to the national organization. Fanaeian then re-named his chapter of the group Armed Queers SLC. In a 2021 interview with [Slug Mag](#), Fanaeian explained that the group (named Pink Pistols at the time) went to a gun range with a licensed trainer to learn how to use firearms.

In February 2021, Fanaeian [interviewed Angela Davis](#) for the Associated Students of the University of Utah’s “Conference on Diverse Excellence” (Figure 14).

Angela Davis is a long-time member of Communist Party USA, and a repeated CPUSA candidate for president. Davis has established links to foreign communist parties, which began during her rise in prominence beginning in the 1970s. Davis may safely be considered a cadre, as she trained and recruited countless individuals to the cause over the past decades.

In addition to his work with Armed Queers, in 2022 Fanaeian [co-founded](#) a Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) “student study group” at the University of Utah, leading multiple protests (Figures 15, 16, 17) and teaching a Revolutionary Education Workshop (Figures 18, 19) at the Salt Lake Liberation Center, a “[community organizing hub](#)” shared by the ANSWER Coalition and Salt Lake PSL. The Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) is a Marxist-Leninist party organization [with strong reported ties](#) to the Cuban and Chinese Communist Parties.

In July 2022, Fanaeian is pictured at The People’s Forum in New York, a [self-described](#) “movement incubator for working class and marginalized communities” [linked](#) to ANSWER, the PSL, and the International People’s Assembly (IPA) (Figure 20). The People’s Forum’s leader, Manolo de los Santos, [has been described](#) as a “Cuban-linked subversive,” and the Forum operates [as the fiscal sponsor](#) for the Venceremos Brigade (VB), one of several Cuban government-sponsored “brigade” trips to the island. Historically, many radical activists and even terrorists have been affiliated with the VB, including Antifa and Black Lives Matter organizers (See the “Cuba” section.)

On April 2, 2023, Fanaeian posted on Instagram: “So many thoughts this week...slandering the Trans movement, claiming we’ve become far too violent. During the same days that new laws targeting our youth have passed state after state...”

7 Throughout this report, Fanaeian will be referred to using male pronouns.

8 At the time these posts were archived, Ermiya Fanaeian’s Instagram was public, he made it private on September 15, 2025.

9 Fanaeian continued this initiative with the Armed Queers (Figure 13).

It is unclear precisely what Fanaeian is referring to, but on March 27, 2023, a transgender shooter killed six people at The Covenant School in Nashville.

Fanaeian's post (Figure 21) continued:

As we marched on Friday with 700 Trans people, comrades, and families in attendance, it was clear that something shifted. The messaging was no longer about individual experiences of Transness, and instead emphasized the need to stand up against fascist forces, the need for our world to change, and the need to struggle for Trans liberation. This shift in messaging was promising, and exciting to witness. Trans liberation, and a better world, is a possibility, but only if we fight for it and reject any slander that comes our way.

In May 2025, Fanaeian posted that he planned to leave Salt Lake City to attend Howard University for a PhD (Figure 22).

ARMED QUEERS

The Armed Queers SLC membership application linked on their social media platforms says members should be committed to a "people's struggle" and must be "willing to be a part of an organized effort to accomplish our 6 principles" (Figures 23 and 24). The six principles are:

1. The armed militant and protection of queer and trans communities, and all oppressed people.
2. The end of capitalist oppression and exploitation and the creation of a socialist society.
3. Trans liberation from the gender binary and biological essentialism.

4. The end of the commodification of housing by landlords and the recognition of housing as a human right.

5. The abolition of prisons and police as they serve nothing but the tools of capitalist oppression.

6. Dismantling the bourgeois non-profit industrial complex and replacing it with an organized revolutionary movement.

The most insight into the Armed Queers comes from a zine, "Not the First, Not the Last: A History of Queer and Trans Resistance Movements," which can be purchased from [Ken Sanders Rare Books](#), a shop in Salt Lake.¹⁰ The first page explicitly states:

The only way to combat [oppression] is to engage in militant revolutionary struggle. Militancy is not just physical combat, but also includes organizing outside of the standard political and social systems that fail to support oppressed people. Armed Struggle should not be the first method of resistance against injustice. However, being armed, educating ourselves on defense tactics, and engaging in revolutionary study is the only way to ensure the protection and survival of Queer and Trans people in the midst of our oppression.

The zine states that the Cuban Revolution and Black Panther Party "serve as influence for what would become Armed Queers." It also says that it works from "Marxist-Leninist" principles, and: "...is not a political social club, but a dedicated organization that develops its members by teaching skills in political education, community organizing, and self-defense."

As a "homage to militant Queer and Trans movements," the zine mentions the 1960s Compton Cafeteria riots, the Stonewall riots, the New People's Army (NPA), the Gay Liberation Front, Street

¹⁰ A scan of the zine can be viewed [here](#).

Transvestite Action Revolutionaries, Act Up, Lesbian Avengers, the Pink Panthers, Arm the Girls, and Cuba's Family Code. The NPA has been [designated](#) a foreign terrorist organization by the State Department since 2002. It has led a communist rebellion since the 1980s, and the ongoing conflict has [killed 40,000](#) people in the Philippines.

The back of the zine quotes Leila Khaled, "No liberation is achieved without resistance." Khaled is a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), who [hijacked](#) two planes. The PFLP is also a [designated](#) foreign terrorist organization.

The Armed Queers seemingly continued monthly gun-range trainings following its separation from Pink Pistols (Figure 25 and 26). They have collaborated with the Socialist Rifle Association (SRA) (Figure 27), the Elm Fork John Brown Club (Figure 28, 29, and 30), Mecha de U of U (Figure 31), Comunidades Unidas, and West Valley Chicano Organizers (see Figure 32).

The Elm Fork John Brown Gun Club is an armed Antifa organization that has conducted numerous armed demonstrations. The SRA has [reportedly](#) been linked to four major crimes, including the firebombing of Tesla dealerships. Luke Rosiak, of the Daily Wire, was [told](#) by both the Utah chapter of SRA and the national organization that Tyler Robinson was not a member, but "did not answer whether his transgender-identifying boyfriend Lance Twiggs was, citing confidentiality policies."

In February 2023, the Armed Queers protested [a bill](#) banning puberty blockers for minors at the Utah State Capitol with Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), Red Hive Collective, Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) of Salt Lake, Workers of the Wasatch, PSL, Utah SRA, and two other organizations (Figures 33 and 34).

The IWW is an anarcho-syndicalist union with a long history of organizing in the United States. Their General Defense Committee plays a key role in providing support to Antifa actions. The Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) is a nationwide socialist organization with an active Anti-Fascist Working Group, which provides support to Antifa efforts.

The Armed Queers have also acted as "armed defense" for an "all ages drag show" in March 2023 (Figure 35) and Palestinian events, including a drag fundraiser for Palestine (Figure 36).

Community Armed Defense [can be defined as](#) "the collective group practice of temporarily taking up arms for defensive purposes, as part of larger engagements of collective autonomy in keeping with a liberatory ethics," According to anarchist organizer scott crow, author of *Setting Sights: Histories and Reflections on Community Armed Self Defense*.¹¹ Such acts are not rooted in the traditional constitutional right of self-defense and to bear arms, as articulated in the U.S. Constitution, but rather in a revolutionary principle that finds rights only in oppressed communities. Crow explains:

By limiting the discussion to the rights attached to individuals, this framing fails to consider community interests, structural violence and oppression, and collective actions. The discourse thus completely neglects the defense of communities as such, and especially leaves out the political demands of people of color, women, immigrants, queers, and poor people.

Community armed defense can range from providing armed guards for protests and marches, all the way to helping to establish roadblocks and checkpoints, to establishing an autonomous zone, like the "[CHAZ in Seattle in 2020](#)."

¹¹ scott crow [does not capitalize](#) either his first or last name, in keeping with an anarchist practice intended to limit the perceived power dynamic between author/speaker and audience.

In September 2023, the Armed Queers hosted an event with Mecha de U of U. [Mecha de U of U](#) is a “Chicanx student organization” that believes it will be “a spark that starts the revolution.” The organization’s “main focus is the empowerment and liberation for all colonized and oppressed people.”

The [flyer](#) for the event featured an individual with a gun with her finger on the trigger. Mecha claimed that the University Student Affairs office asked them to change the poster because it “promoted gun violence on campus.” The event went on as planned with the original poster (Figure 31).

In November 2023, the Young America’s Foundation (YAF) hosted a screening of “Damaged” a documentary about Chole Cole, a de-transitioner. Fifty [protestors](#) showed up chanting, and after 20 minutes, were asked to leave. When they refused, the police escorted them out. Eventually, YAF members were escorted out as well. YAF [tweeted](#) that “leftist protestors erupted in applause when campus police shut down the event.” Mecha had also [disrupted](#) a YAF event in April 2023.

Utah Senator John Johnson [tweeted](#) in reply to YAF, “So much for diversity of thought at the UofU.” In response, Armed Queers wrote, “‘Diversity of thought’ actually includes pushing back against anti-Trans propagandist lies. Fantastic job to the students for standing up for Trans people! The people’s energy is alive and well! And its in favor of Trans liberation!” (Figure 37).

A few days after the November event, Mecha’s school sponsorship was [revoked](#), and police gave [citations](#) to eight protestors. In January 2024, 70 University faculty and staff [signed a letter](#) demanding the university reinstate funding for Mecha.

In a [Voyage Utah](#) interview with Armed Queers SLC in July 2024, the group said: “We are proud of the connections and solidarity we’ve been able to build with people across Utah. Actively organizing in different movements, and in cities that perhaps don’t receive as much outreach (we had recently gone to Vernal, Utah, and St. George, working with local

organizers out there).”

There is no indication regarding the identities of the local organizers Armed Queers SLC claims to have worked with in St. George. It is worth noting that Salt Lake City is about 300 miles from St. George, where alleged Kirk assassin Tyler Robinson resided.

CUBA

In October 2023, Armed Queers tweeted they were “excited” to be one of the newest members of the [@NNOCuba!](#) (Figure 38). [@NNOCuba](#) is the twitter account of the National Network On Cuba.

The National Network on Cuba describes itself as “a U.S.-based umbrella organization composed of more than 60 organizations” devoted to advocating on behalf of the Communist Cuban government. NNOC facilitates the travel of “brigades” of left-wing American activists to the country every year. NNOC directly oversees the “May Day Brigade” group, which travels to Cuba on May Day, a day regularly celebrated by anarchists, communists, and socialists. The NNOC and the May Day Brigade [operate in direct collaboration](#) with the Cuban government’s ICAP (Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples).

According to Cuban intelligence defector Jesus Raul Perez Mendez, [ICAP was directly tied](#) to Cuban intelligence, and was used to identify American activists to serve as Cuban intelligence assets and [provide brigadistas with](#) “training of indoctrination in ideology, psychology, organization, propaganda techniques, interview techniques, and intelligence gathering.”

Historically, some brigade members would play leading roles in new left terrorist organizations from the late 1960s until the early 1980s, and [maintain close ties](#) to Cuban intelligence.

June 18, 2023, Armed Queers tweeted they “are excited to endorse the [@NNOCuba #OfftheList](#) campaign,” which advocated for Biden to remove Cuba from the “State Sponsors of Terrorism” list. (See Figure 39).

In February 2025, Armed Queers announced they would be sending some members “on an annual brigade during May Day,” but “we need your help in getting them there! Please consider donating to our efforts today and help us send Armed Queers to Cuba!” (Figure 40).

[Under the Umbrella](#), a Salt Lake “queer little bookstore,” donated 5% of sales from a list of books to “assist the international solidarity work of Armed Queers by helping send members on this year’s brigade” (Figure 41 and 42).

Fanaeian and another member visited Cuba for the “International Conference in Solidarity with Cuba” as delegates representing U.S. organizers. Fanaeian wrote, “Spending time in Cuba has made me, alongside my comrades, acutely aware of our duty in the belly of the beast” (Figure 43). On May 21, 2025, Armed Queers did a collaboration post with May Day Brigade, the National Network on Cuba, and the Venceremos Brigade (Figures 44 and 45) and discussed their experience in Cuba.¹²

On September 3, 2025, Fanaeian appeared in a video on Instagram from the May Day Brigade account, in a joint post with the NNCO, Venceremos Brigade, and Michigan Action for Cuba as an “Organizer with Action for Cuba Committees” (Figure 46). In the video, Fanaeian encourages people to join the Cuba 101 Education Series (Figure 47).

From May of 2023, until at least November of 2024, one of the NNOC co-chairs listed on the organization’s website was Calla Walsh, who was one of the leading members of Unity of Fields,¹³ a pro-terrorist propaganda website, which has called to “[bring the war home](#).”

Both UoF and Walsh have [praised those accused of acts](#) of direct violence and assassinations, including [Luigi Mangione](#), and [Elias Rodriguez](#). Walsh also appeared to endorse the murder of Charlie Kirk, offering “[thoughts and prayers](#)” to the bullet.

While Walsh’s time at NNOC overlaps with the beginning of Armed Queers SLC’s involvement, it is unknown what if any interaction the two may have had.

CELEBRATION OF KIRK’S ASSASSINATION

While it is unclear if Charlie Kirk’s assassin had connections to radical groups in Utah, many have celebrated what he did.

On September 11, 2025, the day after Kirk’s murder, @antifautah and @utah8647 posted a video on Instagram showing Charlie Kirk, President Donald Trump, Vice President J.D. Vance, Senator Mike Lee, and Israeli President Benjamin Netanyahu, with their eyes crossed out as “Bella Ciao,” an antifascist song plays – the title of which was engraved on a bullet casing in the rifle used to kill Kirk.¹⁴

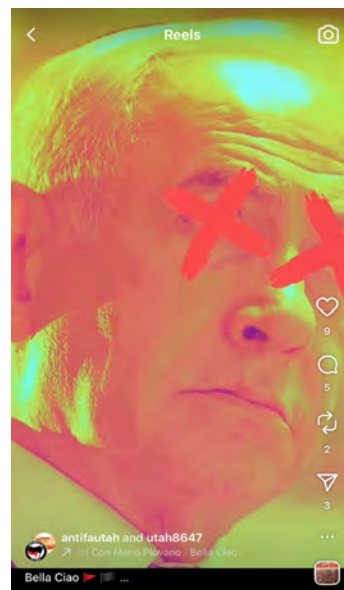
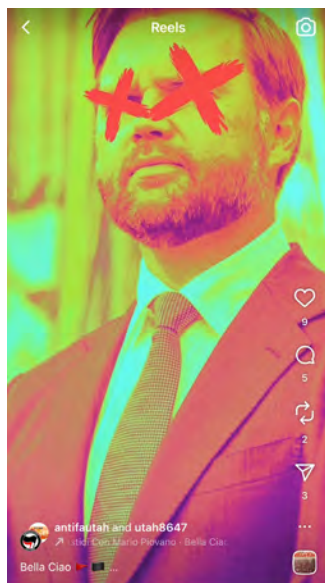
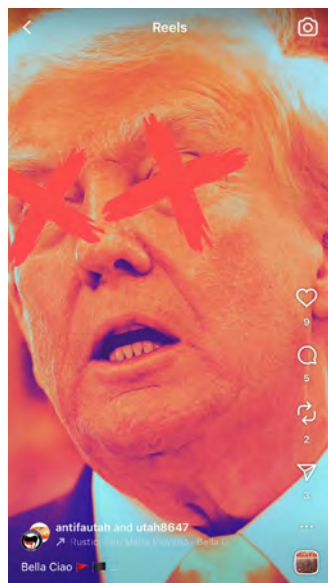
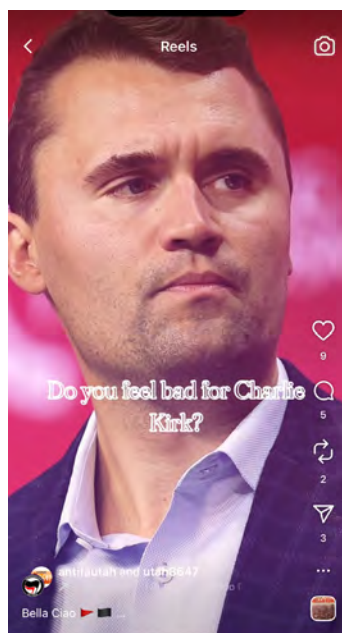
Both @antifautah - Antifascist Action of Utah (AFA)- and @utah8647 Instagram accounts were created in August 2025 (Figures 48, 49, 50, 51). Both have posted the address of the Salt Lake Field Office of ICE promoting organized protests at “4pm every Friday” (Figures 52 and 53). These protests have been documented to have occurred, so it is reasonable to believe that AFA Utah does possess real members, and it’s not merely an online account.

¹² Under the [Foreign Agents Registration Act](#), any person who “acts as an agent, representative, employee, or servant, or any person who acts in any other capacity at the order, request, or under the direction or control, of a foreign principal...” is required to disclose their relationship to the Department of Justice.

¹³ Walsh [claims](#) Unity of Fields “purged” her in July 2025.

¹⁴ Watch the video [here](#).

Below are screenshots from a video posted by @antifautah and @utah8647 on September 11, 2025, the day after Charlie Kirk's assassination. The song playing is "Bella Ciao" by Rustici Con Mario Piovani, an anti-fascist Italian folk song. "O bella ciao, bella ciao" was written on one of the three unfired casings in the rifle recovered at UVU. The video shows a picture of Charlie Kirk, with "Do you feel bad for Charlie Kirk?" written across. It then shows the same photo with "X"s over Kirk's eyes, and the same for President Donald Trump, Vice President J.D. Vance, Senator Mike Lee, and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.



On Labor Day, there was a [protest](#) at the state Capitol organized by PSL Salt Lake, the Utah State Progressive Caucus, the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), and Green Wave Utah. Utah 8647 posted¹⁵ pictures of the rally on Instagram (Figure 54 and 55), which included an individual wearing black bloc with an Antifa flag (Figure 56) and an Antifa shield (Figure 57).

At the present time, there's no indication of the identities or total number of members in AFA Utah, or to what extent such membership may overlap with other groups mentioned here.

CONCLUSION

There is as yet no public evidence that Charlie Kirk's alleged shooter had any affiliation with groups named in this report.

One reasonable avenue for further investigation would be an attempt to ascertain which "local organizers" in St. George Armed Queers SLC interacted with, and whether those individuals included Robinson, Twiggs, or other individuals known to them.

Given that Armed Queers has worked with the SRA since at least 2022 (Figure 27), and that the SRA refuses to answer questions about whether the shooter's roommate, Lance Twiggs was a member, any conclusive evidence that Twiggs was affiliated with Utah SRA would be significant. Unfortunately, such evidence is not likely to be available to open-source researchers.

More generally, definitive conclusions about these networks cannot be drawn solely from online open sources. Underground affinity groups are designed for secrecy. Social media is definitionally the image that organizations wish to project about themselves. Researchers should be wary of assuming the entire network can be understood solely from such data.

It seems likely, based on the pictures of Antifa at the Labor Day protest, that there is at least one underground affinity group that has some level of overlap with above-ground leftist organizations in the state. Whether that group actually runs [@AntifaUtah](#) on Instagram is not clear.

Based on photographic evidence, most leftist protests in the state of Utah are relatively small to begin with, necessitating significant overlap between individuals and groups. In some cases, the organizations listed as affiliated with a protest may exceed the total number of individuals in attendance, suggesting that one individual may represent multiple "organizations."

There is a case to be made that Ermiya Fanaeian was himself groomed for the role he plays in leftist Utah circles. The Angela Davis interview, his credentials as a chapter founder for Party for Socialism and Liberation, linkages to the People's Forum, and (presumably following significant vetting) the invitation to attend to May Day Brigade event are all noteworthy in this regard.

There's also reason to believe Fanaeian plays a cadre role, creating and training other organizers and helping to set up organizations.

First, Fanaeian has founded multiple organizations and collaborated extensively with other far-left groups in Utah, receiving rewards and recognition that elevated his profile within the large left-wing ecosystem.

Second, Fanaeian has led multiple education workshops on "revolutionary theory and their practical application in movements" (Figure 18). Armed Queers describes itself as "working from Marxist-Leninist principles" in a zine entitled "[Not the First, Not the Last.](#)"

¹⁵ It was technically a collaborative post which lets two or more accounts co-author a single post so it posts on both profiles. The creator of a post can invite another collaborator, and when the collaborator accepts the post, it appears on their feed too.

In pictures from an educational workshop Fanaeian taught, the phrase Revolutionary Organization is in the middle with a large heart around it, and the second biggest circle is “Cadre”; “Democratic Centralism” is written across the top (Figure 19). It is safe to assume that Fanaeian is more aligned with Marxist-Leninists than traditional anarchist or autonomous Antifascists. It’s also worth noting that democratic centralism is a Marxist concept that most anarchist or autonomous Marxists who make up the majority of Antifa affinity groups would reject.

Third, since returning from Cuba in May, Fanaeian has become an organizer for the May Day Brigade, which may enable him to act as cadre and as a talent scout for future radicals to recruit.

Given NNOC’s direct collaboration with ICAP, an identified arm of Cuban intelligence, and the increasingly violent trajectory of other individuals who have passed through the May Day Brigade/NNOC program, there’s reason to be concerned.

Still, whether Fanaeian is part of an underground affinity group in addition to his aboveground organizing is likely impossible to know from public information.

While radical leftist groups may have smaller numbers in Utah, they certainly exist. While Charlie Kirk’s accused assassin may not have had connections to any group, he was certainly influenced by the same ideology. For law enforcement to be able to address threats from antifascist and Marxist revolutionary networks, they first need to understand the ideology, doctrine, and the way the networks are structured.

APPENDIX A

Figure 1a

Taken from Salt Lake Community Mutual Aid (@slc.mutualaid on Instagram)



Figure 1b

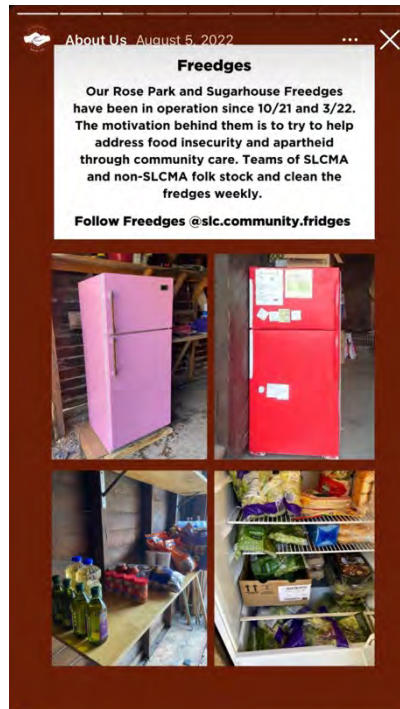


Figure 1c



Figure 2

Taken from Erinya Fanaeian's Linked In Page. The webpage was later removed on September 15, 2025.

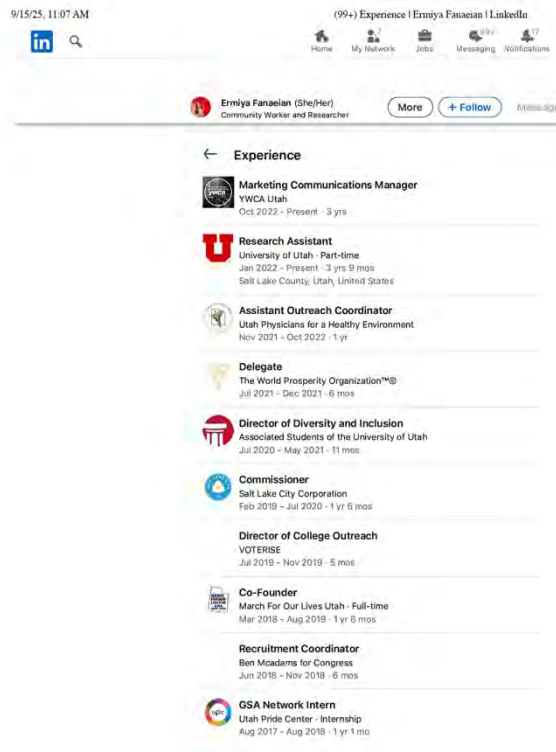


Figure 3



Figure 4

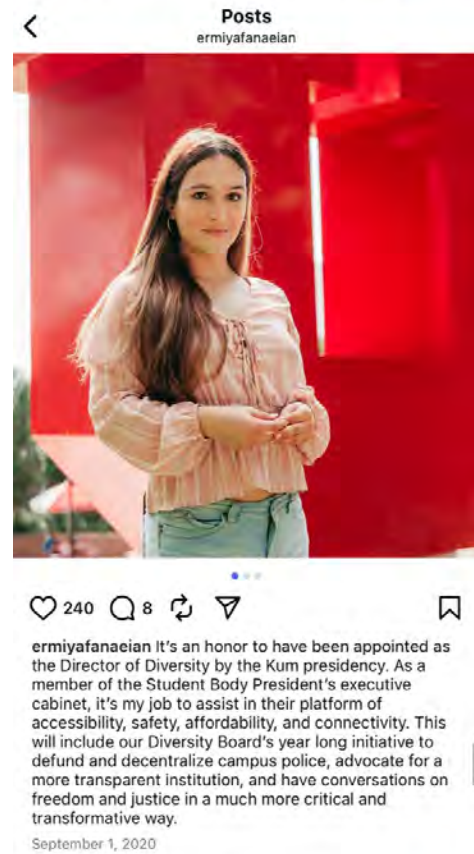


Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14

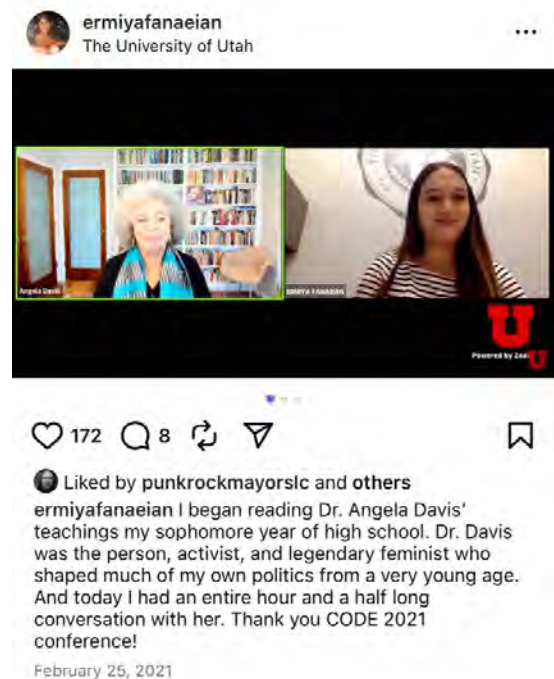


Figure 15



Figure 17



Figure 16

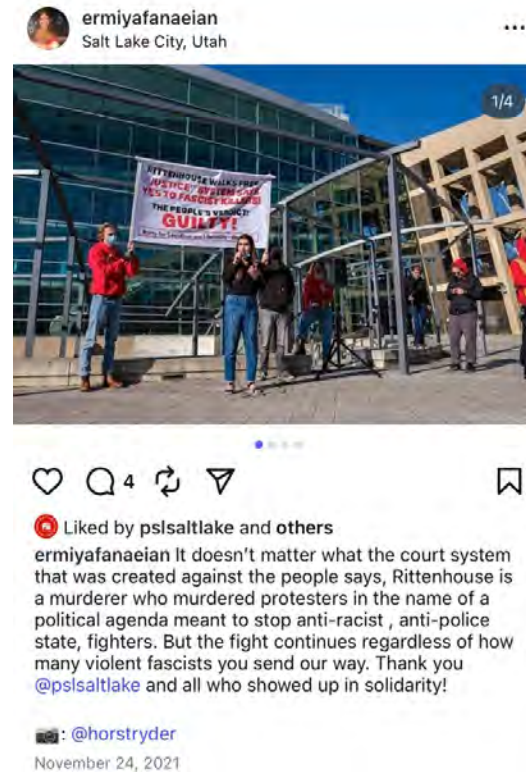


Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22



Figure 23

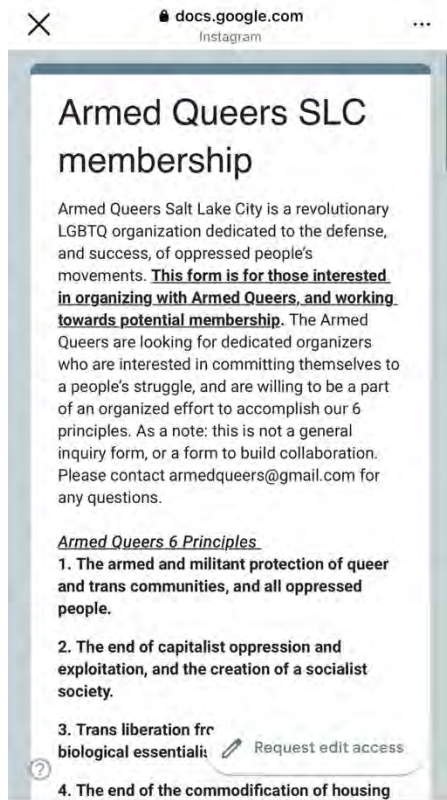


Figure 24



Figure 26

Figure 25

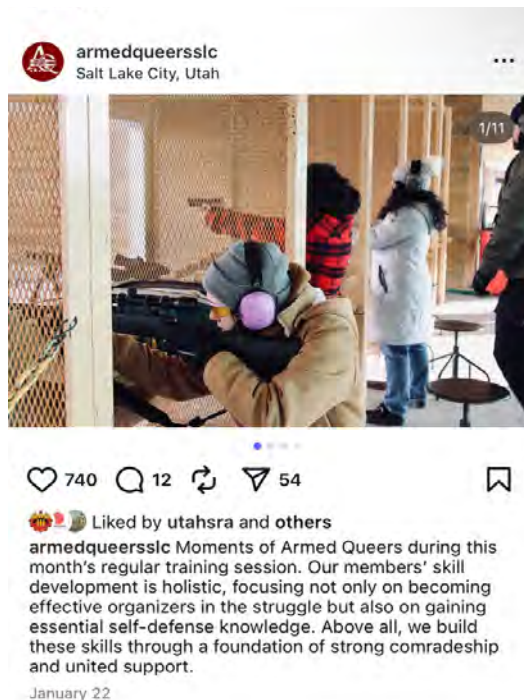


Figure 27

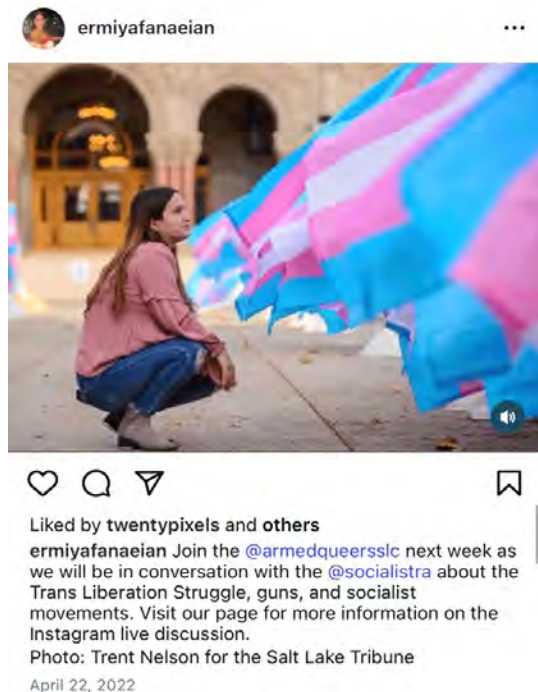


Figure 28

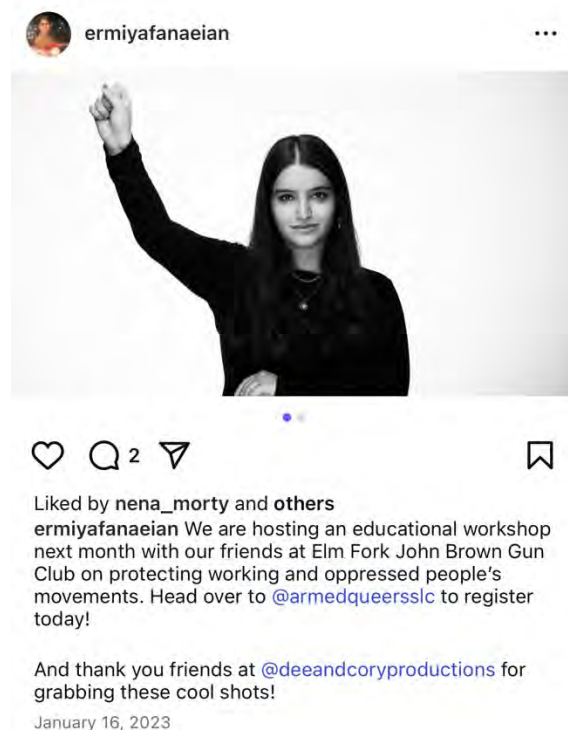


Figure 29



Figure 30

Register today!: utah.zoom.us/meeting/regist...



1:27 PM · 1/16/23 · 8.9K Views

Figure 31

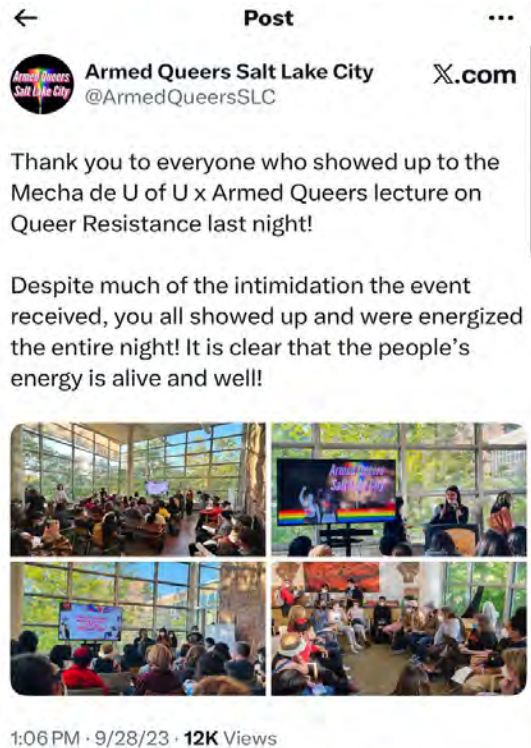


Figure 33



Figure 32



Figure 34

Join us this coming Wednesday in a rally calling to stop the war on our rights!



Figure 35

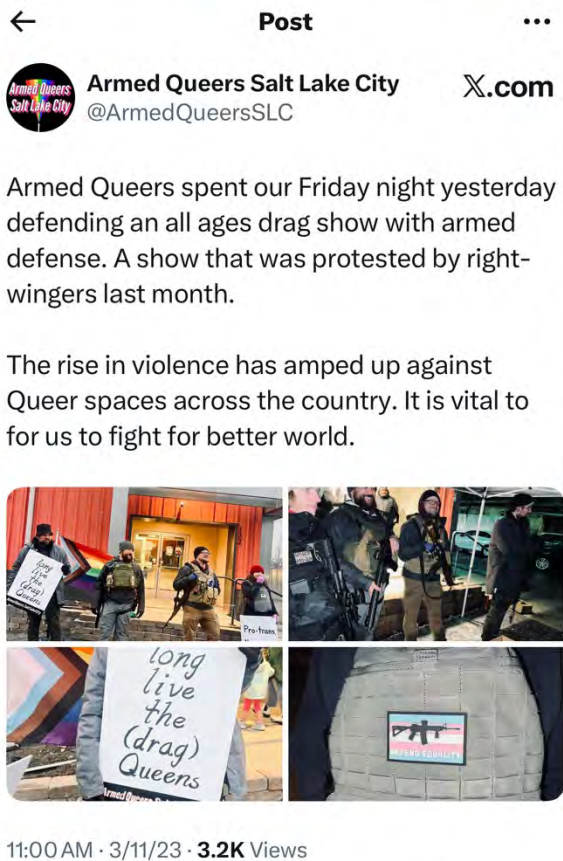


Figure 37



Figure 36

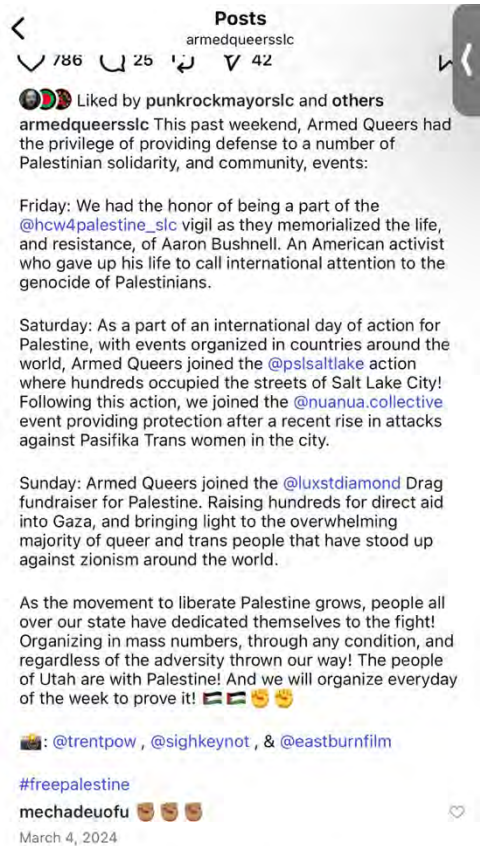


Figure 38



Figure 39



Figure 41

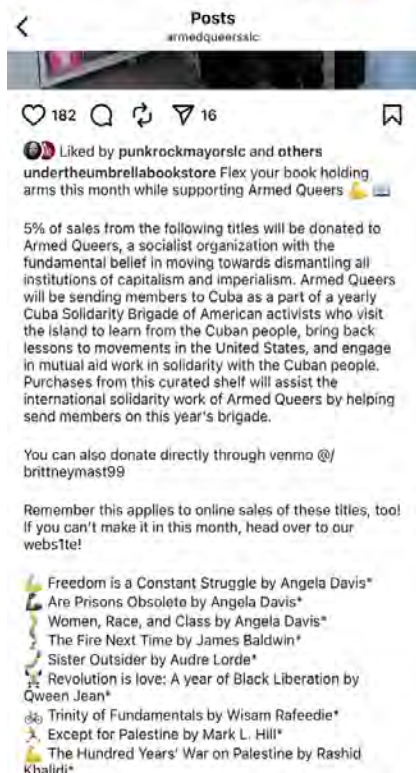


Figure 40



Figure 42



Figure 43

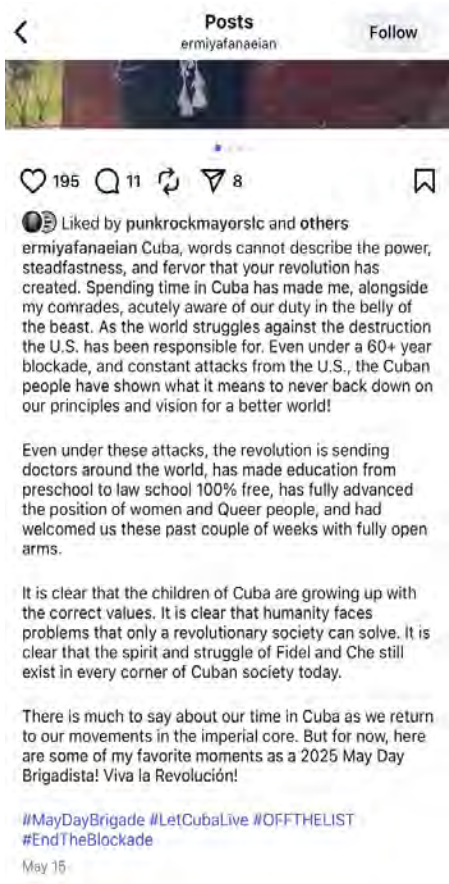


Figure 45



Figure 44

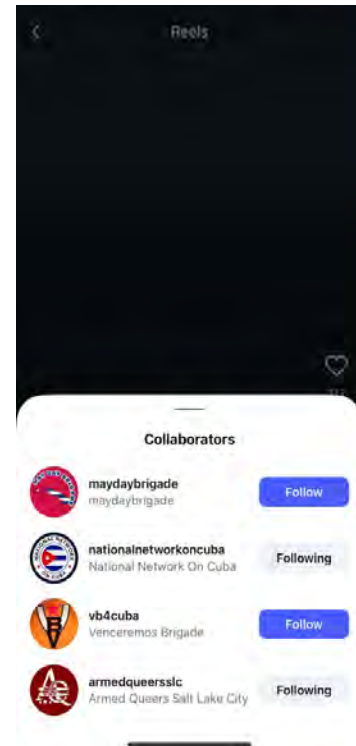


Figure 46



Figure 47



Figure 49

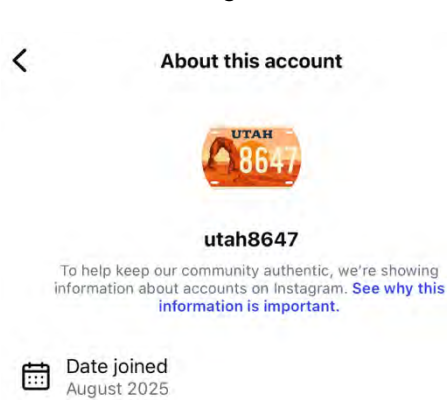


Figure 48

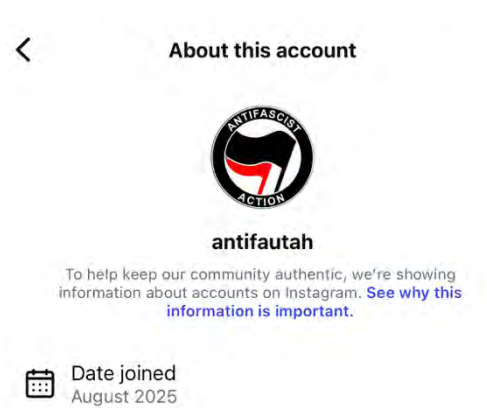


Figure 50

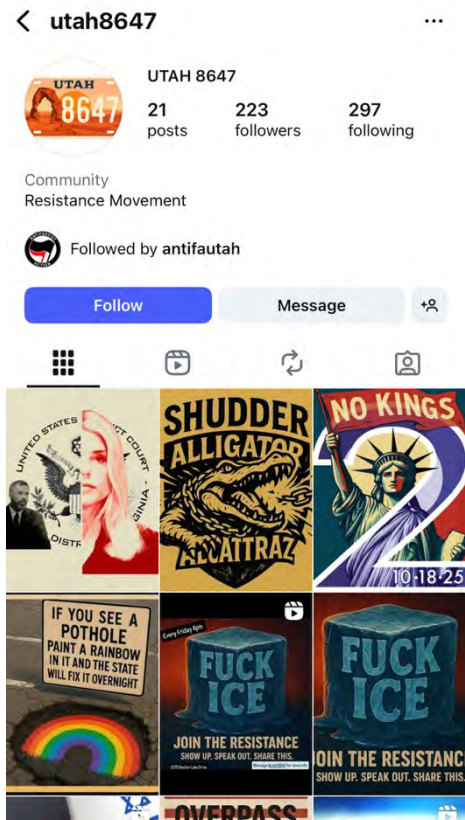


Figure 51

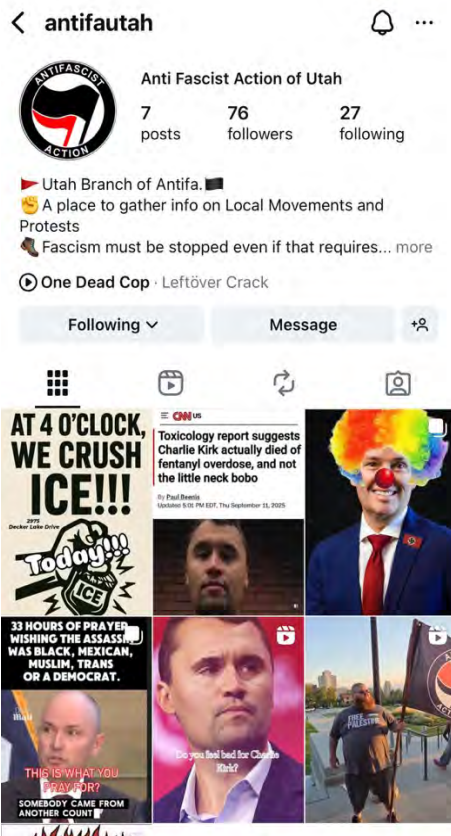


Figure 53

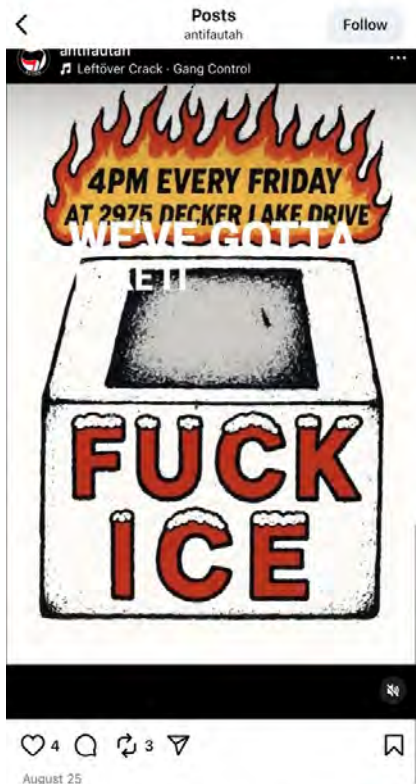


Figure 52

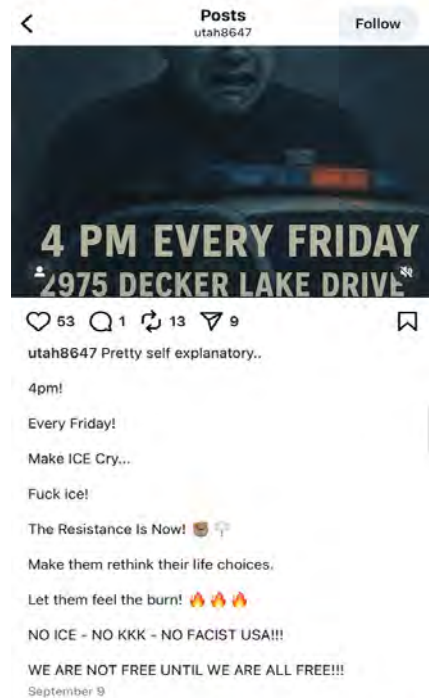


Figure 54

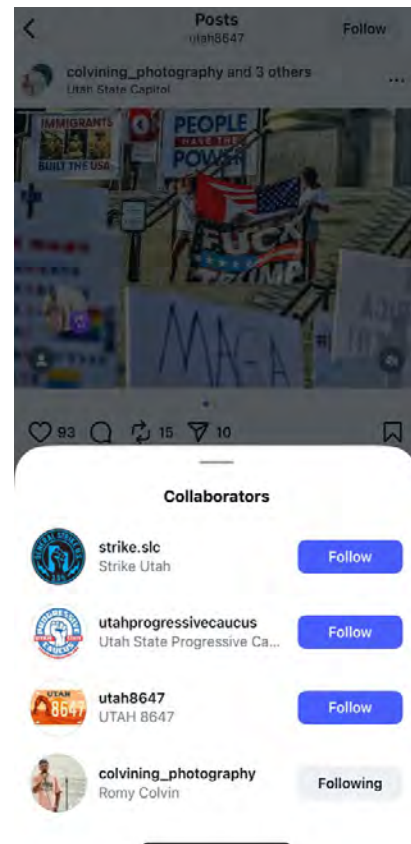


Figure 55



Figure 56



Figure 57



APPENDIX B

The following is additional documentary evidence from the social media accounts that were not explicitly mentioned in the report.

Figure 1

In July 2024, the Armed Queers SLC posted about attending “Pride Without Police,” where they introduced a new educational booklet on the history of queer and trans resistance.

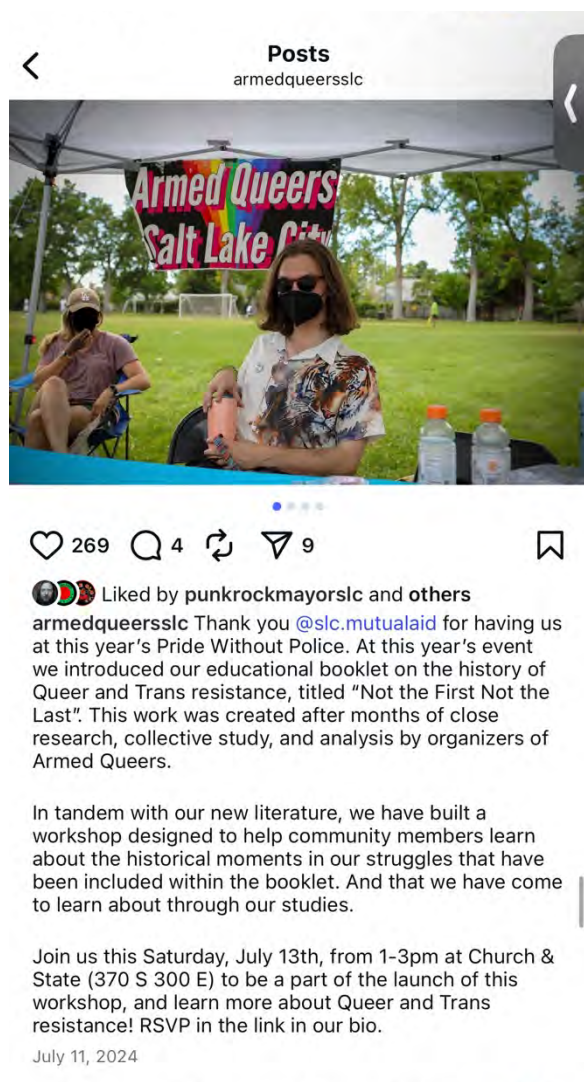


Figure 2

In December 2024, Fanaeian posted pictures at a picket line in Park City in support of the ski patrol strike.



Figure 3

In December 2024, Armed Queers SLC posted a quote from the PFLP.



Figure 4b



Figure 4a

On December 30, 2024, Armed Queers posted a review of their activities throughout the year.



Figure 4c



Figure 4d



Figure 4f



Figure 4e



Figure 5a

On January 17, 2025, two days before the TikTok ban was set to go into place, Armed Queers posted "China is not the enemy – Capitalism is!" One of the slides on the post said "The restrictions on TikTok are just one example in a long history of U.S. efforts to portray China as an enemy." Another slide claims extols China as a country, while reiterating that capitalism is the enemy.

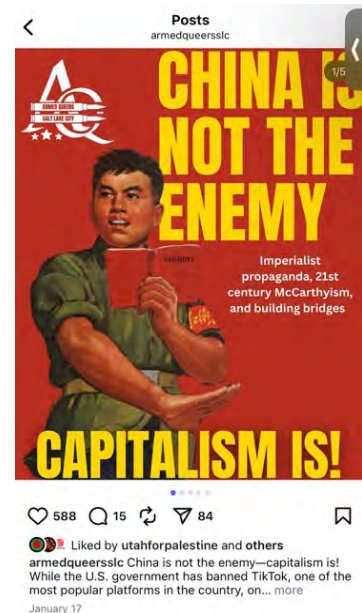


Figure 5b



Figure 5c



Figure 5e

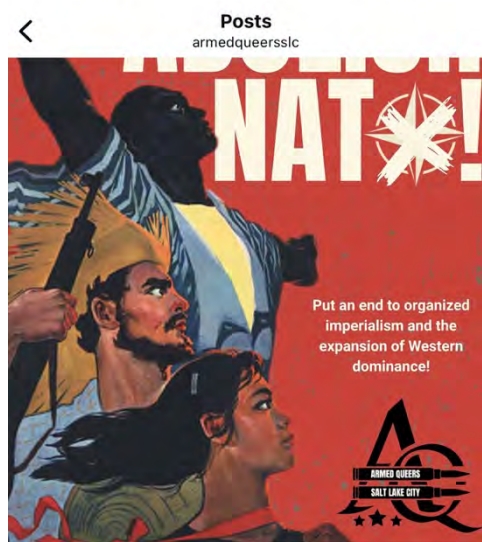


Figure 5d



Figure 6a

In May 2025, Armed Queers posted, “Abolish NATO!” claiming “NATO’s legacy is one of provocation, regime change, and the prioritization of Western geopolitical interests at the expense of global stability.”

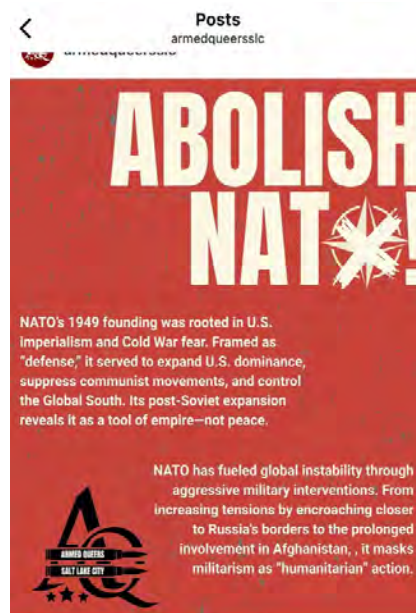


177 2 27

Liked by punkrockmayorslc and others
armedqueersslc After 23 years, Nato’s spring parliamentary assembly will be returning to the U.S. at the end of this month. As U.S. political actors consistently attempt to paint the alliance as a positive, we must stand firm in countering this narrative, and remember the pattern of violent military aggression that defines the foundation of Nato.

Armed Queers stands against Nato and any narrative that attempts to erase the truth about its long imperialist history!

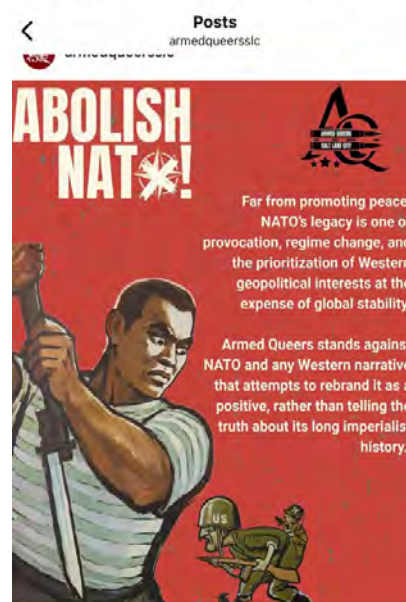
Figure 6b



177 2 27

Liked by punkrockmayorslc and others
armedqueersslc After 23 years, Nato’s spring parliamentary assembly will be returning to the U.S. at the end of this month. As U.S. political actors consistently attempt to paint the alliance as a positive,

Figure 6c



177 2 27

Liked by punkrockmayorslc and others
armedqueersslc After 23 years, Nato’s spring parliamentary assembly will be returning to the U.S. at the end of this month. As U.S. political actors consistently attempt to paint the alliance as a positive,

Figure 7

On June 8, 2025, Armed Queers posted “in solidarity with the people of L.A. fighting against state oppression and escalating at this moment. Police, ICE, and the National Guard are violent tools used to brutalize the working-class and immigrant peoples.”



Figure 8

In June 2025, Armed Queers SLC posted June 6th, they posted “Imperialist Hands Off Iran!” At the time, [the Worker’s World](#) and [Communist Party USA](#) were also pushing for the U.S. to avoid involvement with Iran.



Figure 9

On July 25th, they posted a link to a substack (that has since been deleted, and the post could not be retrieved) about the “differences between artificial grassroots movements vs organic people’s movements in relation to the ‘No Kings’ protest and immigrant resistance in LA.”

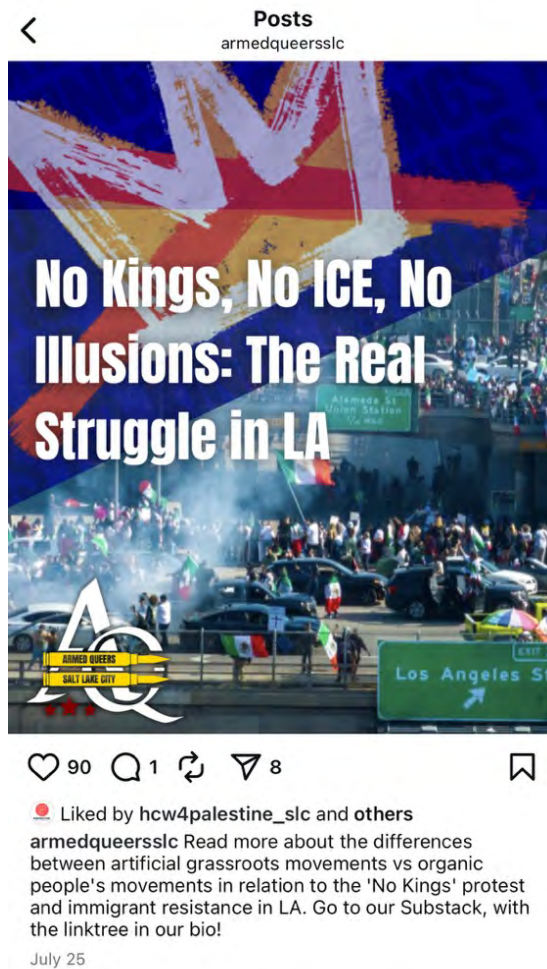


Figure 10

On July 26th, they posted a video commemorating the 72nd anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.



Figure 11a

October 28, 2024, Armed Queers posted testimonials from three organizers, Seth, Brittney, and Megan. Seth said since joining Armed Queers he has a way to “do my part in helping build a socialist movement.” Brittney said being in Armed Queers has deepened “both my political studies and my commitment to direct action.”



176 2 16

Liked by punkrockmayorslc and others
armedqueersslc Hear from some of our organizers, Seth, Brittney, and Megan, on their political development since joining Armed Queers, and what it means... more
October 28, 2024

Figure 11b



176 2 16

Liked by punkrockmayorslc and others
armedqueersslc Hear from some of our organizers, Seth, Brittney, and Megan, on their political development since joining Armed Queers, and what it means for them to be a movement builder with us!

Figure 11c



176 2 16

Liked by punkrockmayorslc and others
armedqueersslc Hear from some of our organizers, Seth, Brittney, and Megan, on their political development since joining Armed Queers, and what it means for them to be a movement builder with us!

Figure 12a

On August 1st, they posted about Black August, which included a quote from Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was convicted for the murder of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner.

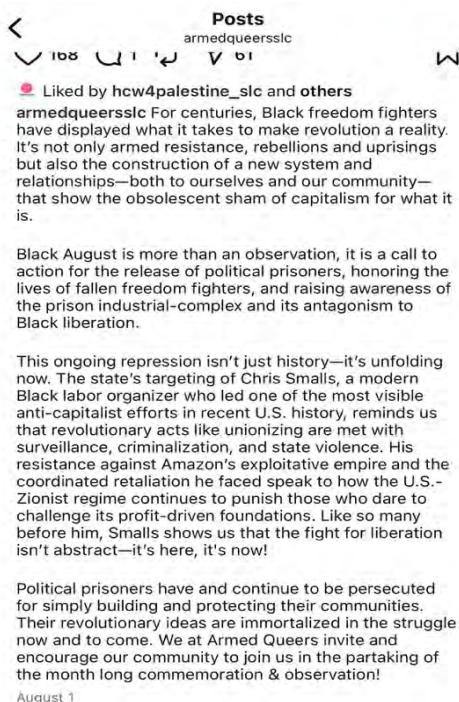


Figure 12b



Figure 12c

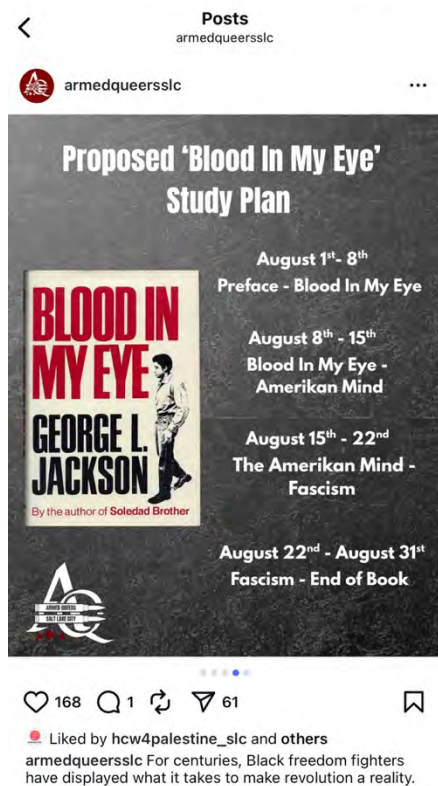


Figure 12d

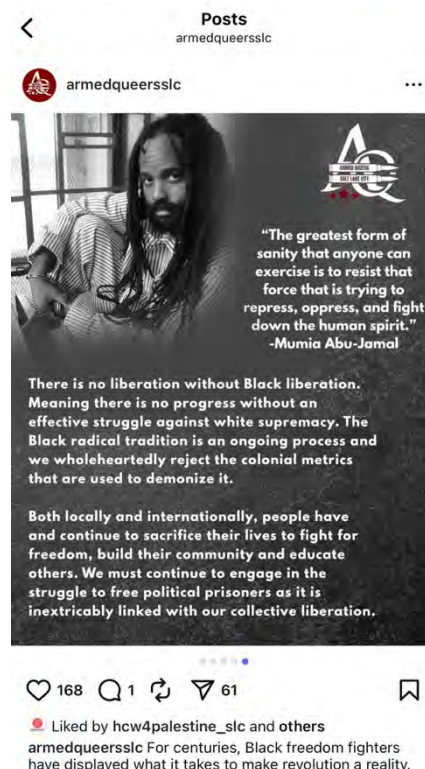


Figure 13a

On August 31, the account posted an event writing to “political prisoners,” including Catalina “Xochitl” Santiago, Oso Blanco (Byron Chubbuck), and Kamu Sadiki (Freddie Hilton).



Figure 13c

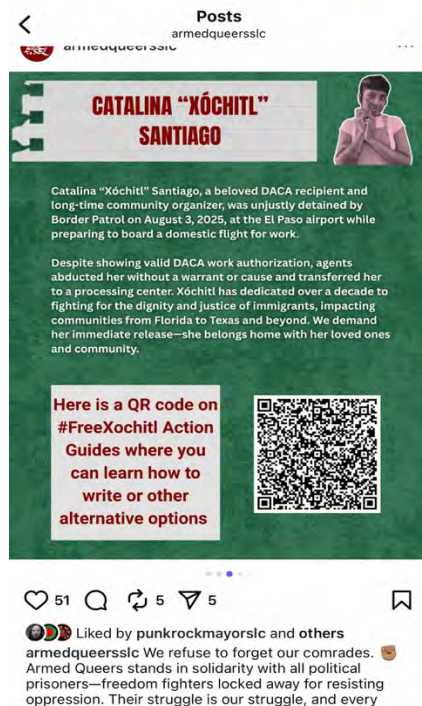


Figure 13b

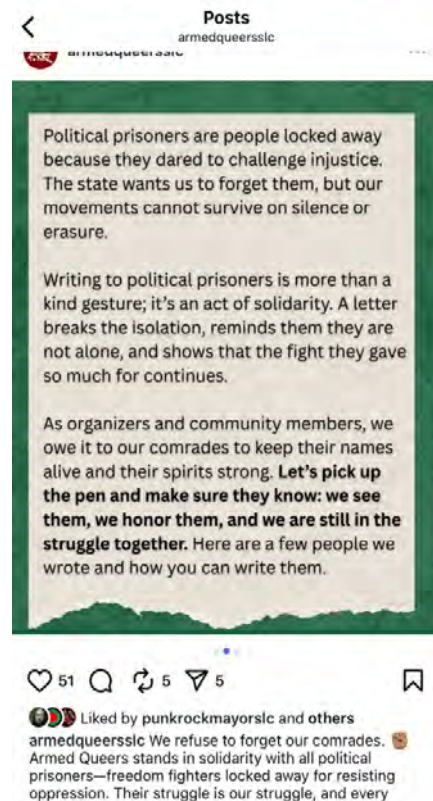


Figure 13d

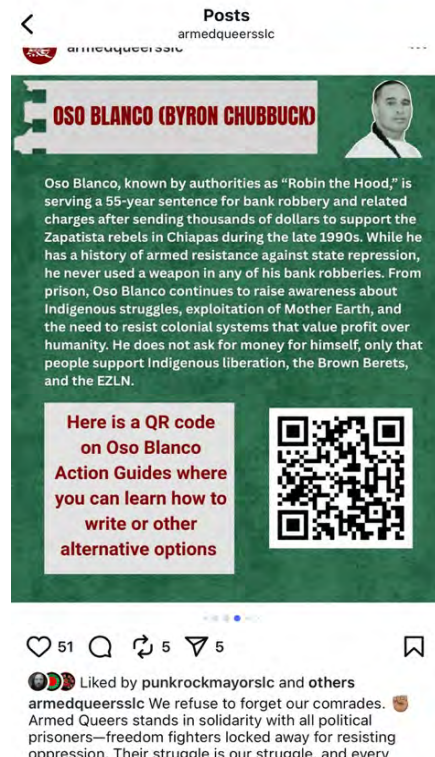


Figure 13e

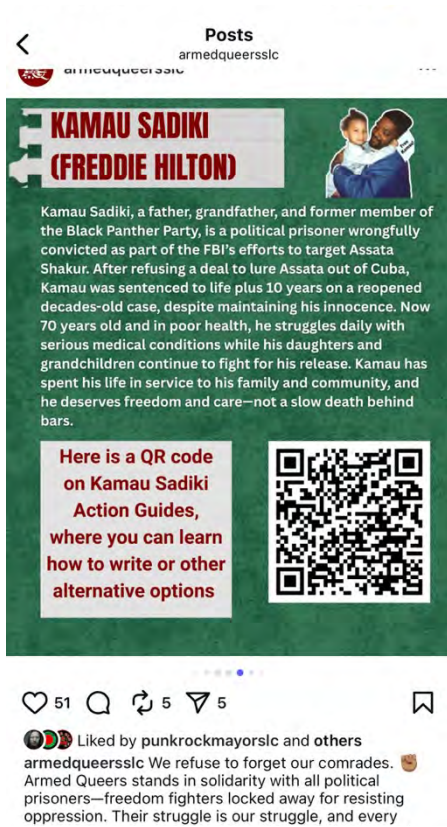


Figure 13f



Figure 14

On January 15, 2025, Armed Queers did a collaboration post with @hcv4palestine_SLC, @Arabsinutah and Salt Lake Artists against genocide celebrating the temporary ceasefire in Gaza.





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