

Badr Organization

Type of Organization: militia, political party, religious, social services provider, terrorist, transnational, violent

Ideologies and Affiliations: Iranian-sponsored, Islamist, jihadist, Khomeinist, Shiite

Place(s) of Origin: Iraq

Year of Origin: 1983¹

Founder(s): Iraqi Shiites loyal to the al-Hakim Shiite clerical dynasty,² with the help of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC)³

Place(s) of Operation: Iraq, Syria⁴

Also Known As:

- Badr Brigade⁵
- Badr Brigades⁶
- Badr Corps⁷
- Badr Organization of Reconstruction and Development⁸
- Badr Organisation in Iraq⁹
- Martyr Mohamed Baqir al-Sadr Forces¹⁰

¹ Jon Lee Anderson, "The Candidate," *New Yorker*, February 2, 2004, <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2004/02/02/the-candidate-3>; Mahan Abedin, "Dossier: The Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI)," *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*, 5 (October 2003): 10, http://www.meforum.org/meib/articles/0310_iraqd.htm.

² Eli Lake, "Iran's Militias Are Taking Over Iraq's Army," Bloomberg View, February 3, 2015, <http://www.bloombergvie.com/articles/2015-02-03/exclusive-iran-s-militias-are-taking-over-iraq-s-army>.

³ Kenneth Katzman, "Iran's Activities and Influence in Iraq," Congressional Research Service, June 4, 2009, <http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oai?verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA501453>.

⁴ Michael Knights, "Iran's Foreign Legion: The Role of Iraqi Shiite Militias in Syria," Washington Institute for Near East Policy, June 23, 2013, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/irans-foreign-legion-the-role-of-iraqi-shiite-militias-in-syria>; Suadad al-Salhy, "Iraqi Shi'ites flock to Assad's side as sectarian split widens," Reuters, June 19, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/06/19/us-iraq-syria-militants-idUSBRE95I0ZA20130619>; Phillip Smyth, "The Badr Organization's Syrian Expeditionary Force: Quwet al-Shahid Muhammed Baqir al-Sadr," Jihadology, October 18, 2013, <http://jihadology.net/2013/10/18/hizballah-cavalcade-the-badr-organizations-syrian-expeditionary-force-quwet-al-shahid-muhammed-baqir-al-sadr/>.

⁵ Susannah George, "Breaking Badr," *Foreign Policy*, November 6, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/06/breaking-badr/>.

⁶ Glenn Kessler, "An Iranian 'terrorist' in the White House?" *Washington Post*, December 20, 2011, http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/fact-checker/post/an-iranian-terrorist-in-the-white-house/2011/12/19/gIOA6t2K5O_blog.html.

⁷ Matt Bradley and Ghassan Adnan, "Shiite Militias Win Bloody Battles in Iraq, Show No Mercy," *Wall Street Journal*, December 5, 2014, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/shiite-militias-win-bloody-battles-in-iraq-show-no-mercy-1417804464>.

⁸ "Badr Organization of Reconstruction and Development," Stanford University, last modified August 11, 2014, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/435>.

⁹ "List of groups designated terrorist organisations by the UAE," *National* (Abu Dhabi), November 16, 2014, <http://www.thenational.ae/uae/government/list-of-groups-designated-terrorist-organisations-by-the-uae>.

- Martyr Muhammed Baqir al-Sadr Forces¹¹
- Quwet Shahid Baqir Sadr (BOQSBS)¹²

Executive Summary:

The Badr Organization is a Shiite political party and paramilitary force that acts as “Iran’s oldest proxy in Iraq,” according to Reuters.¹³ Reuters notes that the group’s military wing is considered “perhaps the single most powerful Shi’ite paramilitary group” fighting in Iraq.¹⁴ One Iraqi official described the Badr Organization as “easily” the most powerful force in Iraq, stronger even than Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi.¹⁵ Given the group’s deep ties to Iran and its political and military preeminence, analysts have compared the Badr Organization in Iraq to Hezbollah in Lebanon.¹⁶

Formed in 1983 under the name “the Badr Brigades,” the group originally served as the military wing of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), an Iraqi Shiite political party aimed at bringing Iran’s Islamic Revolution to Iraq. During the 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq War, SCIRI’s Badr Brigades fought alongside Iran’s Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) against the Iraqi military. From 1983 to 2003, the Badr Brigades continued to operate out of Iran, carrying out intermediary attacks in southern Iraq.¹⁷

In 2003, the Badr Brigades returned to Iraq to take advantage of the political vacuum there following the fall of Saddam Hussein’s regime. That year, the group formally rebranded, changing its name to “the Badr Organization of Reconstruction and Development” and publicly pledging to abstain from violent attacks. From 2004-2006, however, the Badr Organization

¹⁰ Aaron Y. Zelin, “Who Are the Foreign Fighters in Syria?” Washington Institute for Near East Policy, December 5, 2013, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/who-are-the-foreign-fighters-in-syria>.

¹¹ *Terrorist Groups in Syria: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade of the Committee on Foreign Affairs House of Representatives*, 113th Cong. 17-24 (2013) (statement of Phillip Smyth, Middle East research analyst, University of Maryland), <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-113hhrg85643/pdf/CHRG-113hhrg85643.pdf>.

¹² Phillip Smyth, “Khamenei’s Cannon: .50 Caliber Anti-Material Rifles & Shia Fighters in Syria,” Jihadology, December 24, 2013, <http://jihadology.net/category/quwet-al-shahid-muhammed-baqir-al-sadr/>.

¹³ Babak Dehghanpisheh, “Special Report: The fighters of Iraq who answer to Iran,” Reuters, November 12, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/12/us-mideast-crisis-militias-specialreport-idUSKCN0IW0ZA20141112>; Susannah George, “Breaking Badr,” *Foreign Policy*, November 6, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/06/breaking-badr/>.

¹⁴ Ned Parker, Babak Dehghanpisheh, and Isabel Coles, “Special Report: How Iran’s military chiefs operate in Iraq,” Reuters, February 24, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/24/us-mideast-crisis-committee-specialrepor-idUSKBN0LS0VD20150224>.

¹⁵ Ned Parker, Babak Dehghanpisheh, and Isabel Coles, “Special Report: How Iran’s military chiefs operate in Iraq,” Reuters, February 24, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/24/us-mideast-crisis-committee-specialrepor-idUSKBN0LS0VD20150224>.

¹⁶ Patrick Martin, “Analysis of the Badr Organization,” *Globe and Mail*, February 25, 2015, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/analysis-of-the-badr-organization/article23208662/>.

¹⁷ Mahan Abedin, “Dossier: The Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI),” *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*, 5 (October 2003):10, accessed April 14, 2015, http://www.meforum.org/meib/articles/0310_iraqd.htm; Susannah George, “Breaking Badr,” *Foreign Policy*, November 6, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/06/breaking-badr/>.

launched a brutal sectarian war on Iraq's Sunni population.¹⁸ During this period, Badr leader Hadi al-Amiri personally stands accused of ordering attacks on up to 2,000 Sunnis.¹⁹ According to a leaked cable from the U.S. State Department, "One of [al-Amiri's] preferred methods of killing allegedly involved using a power drill to pierce the skulls of his adversaries."²⁰

In 2007, the Badr Organization's political wing rebranded, changing its name from the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) to the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq (ISCI) as part of an effort to de-emphasize the party's ties to the Islamic Republic of Iran. In 2012, the Badr Organization branched off from ISCI, operating as a political party of its own in addition to its capacity as a militia. As ISIS gained control over large swaths of territory in 2013 and 2014, the Badr Organization overtly mobilized, recruited, and fought ISIS alongside other Shiite militias and the Iraqi army.

Today, the Badr Organization and other Shiite militias are "being deployed alongside Iraqi military units as the main combat force," according to Reuters.²¹ Reuters reported that in the March 2015 fight for Tikrit, Badr militiamen and the regular army drove identical tanks with only an army logo differentiating the two forces.²² Some units in Iraq's army, including Iraq's 20th Battalion, reportedly answer to Badr commander Hadi al-Amiri.²³ As of November 2014, the Badr Organization claims to command upwards of 10,000 militants.²⁴

The Badr Organization constitutes an active political force in Iraq in addition to operating as a militia. From 2011 to 2014, Badr leader Hadi al-Amiri served as Iraq's transportation minister. Since October 2014, another Badr member, Mohammed Ghabban, has served as Iraq's interior minister.²⁵ As of February 2015, the Badr Organization holds 22 seats in Iraq's parliament.²⁶

¹⁸ Patrick Martin, "Analysis of the Badr Organization," *Globe and Mail*, February 25, 2015, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/analysis-of-the-badr-organization/article23208662/>.

¹⁹ Loveday Morris, "Appointment of Iraq's new interior minister opens door to militia and Iranian influence," *Washington Post*, October 18, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior-minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html; "Election Law Crisis Fosters Sunni-shia Cooperation," WikiLeaks, September 1, 2011, <https://cablegatesearch.wikileaks.org/cable.php?id=09BAGHDAD3175&q=amiri%20badr%20drill>.

²⁰ Loveday Morris, "Appointment of Iraq's new interior minister opens door to militia and Iranian influence," *Washington Post*, October 18, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior-minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html; "Election Law Crisis Fosters Sunni-shia Cooperation," WikiLeaks, September 1, 2011, <https://cablegatesearch.wikileaks.org/cable.php?id=09BAGHDAD3175&q=amiri%20badr%20drill>.

²¹ Ghazqan Hassan, "Iran vows to defend Iraq Shi'ite sites; insurgents battle for refinery," Reuters, June 18, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/06/18/us-iraq-security-testa-idUSKBN0ET10P20140618>.

²² Ahmed Rasheed and Dominic Evans, "Iraqi forces try to seal off Islamic State around Tikrit," Reuters, March 3, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/03/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-idUSKBN0LZ10Q20150303>.

²³ Holly Williams, "Armed with U.S. weapons, infamous militia beating ISIS," CBS News, February 2, 2015, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/armed-with-u-s-weapons-ruthless-militia-beating-isis-in-iraq/>; Eli Lake, "Iran's Militias Are Taking Over Iraq's Army," Bloomberg View, February 3, 2015, <http://www.bloombergview.com/articles/2015-02-03/exclusive-iran-s-militias-are-taking-over-iraq-s-army>.

²⁴ Susannah George, "Breaking Badr," *Foreign Policy*, November 6, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/06/breaking-badr/>.

²⁵ Loveday Morris, "Appointment of Iraq's new interior minister opens door to militia and Iranian influence," *Washington Post*, October 18, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior-minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html.

Although the Badr Organization's political arm portrays itself as welcoming and conciliatory to Sunnis, the areas where the group fights ISIS have seen "some of the most high-profile Sunni-Shiite violence of the current conflict," according to the *Washington Post*.²⁷ This is particularly true in Iraq's Diyala province, where al-Amiri has been leading military operations.²⁸ According to one Human Rights Watch employee, "We've documented widespread burning and destruction of homes. That's something we've recorded in literally every place where militias are leading the fight against ISIS. In some instances, we have documented them carrying out summary executions of people... the [militias] that we've documented the most abuses by are definitely Badr Organization."²⁹

In analyzing the group, CBS News writes that the Badr Organization "was born out of Iraq's bloody civil war and their notorious death squads are implicated in the torture and murder of thousands of Sunni Muslims."³⁰ According to General Michael Flynn, former director of the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency, "Members of the Badr Corps are responsible for killing many American Soldiers [sic] and they will likely do it again if given the chance... [G]roups like the Badr Corps represent enemies of a stable, secure, and inclusive Iraq. As soon as we get done helping them with ISIS, they will very likely turn on us."³¹

Doctrine:

For years, the Badr Organization served as the military wing of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), a political party committed to bringing Iran's revolutionary brand of Shiite Islamism to Iraq.³² However, when SCIRI reemerged in Iraq in March 2003, the group insisted that it was not pushing for an Iranian-style government, despite the group's name and ongoing ties to Tehran.³³

²⁶ Patrick Martin, "Analysis of the Badr Organization," *Globe and Mail*, February 25, 2015, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/analysis-of-the-badr-organization/article23208662/>.

²⁷ Loveday Morris, "Appointment of Iraq's new interior minister opens door to militia and Iranian influence," *Washington Post*, October 18, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior-minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html.

²⁸ Loveday Morris, "Appointment of Iraq's new interior minister opens door to militia and Iranian influence," *Washington Post*, October 18, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior-minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html.

²⁹ "The Battle for Iraq: Shia Militias vs. the Islamic State," VICE News, February 12, 2015, <https://news.vice.com/video/the-battle-for-iraq-shia-militias-vs-the-islamic-state>.

³⁰ Holly Williams, "Armed with U.S. weapons, infamous militia beating ISIS," CBS News, February 2, 2015, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/armed-with-u-s-weapons-ruthless-militia-beating-isis-in-iraq/>.

³¹ Eli Lake, "Iran's Militias Are Taking Over Iraq's Army," Bloomberg View, February 3, 2015, <http://www.bloombergvew.com/articles/2015-02-03/exclusive-iran-s-militias-are-taking-over-iraq-s-army>.

³² Mahan Abedin, "Dossier: The Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI)," *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*, 5 (October 2003):10, accessed April 14, 2015, http://www.meforum.org/meib/articles/0310_iraqd.htm.

³³ Jim Muir, "Iran-backed rebels eye new Iraq role," BBC News, last updated March 18, 2003, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2859173.stm.

Since 2003, Shiism and Iranian-influenced Islamism have remained central elements of the Badr Organization's identity. In 2011, Badr members celebrated the end of the U.S. military presence in Iraq by plastering the walls of government buildings with posters of Iran's Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, and his predecessor, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.³⁴ In early 2015, al-Amiri reaffirmed his support for Iran's Supreme Leader, saying that Khamenei "has all the qualifications as an Islamic leader. He is the leader not only for Iranians but the Islamic nation. I believe so and I take pride in it."³⁵

Organizational Structure:

Hadi al-Amiri leads the Badr Organization's military and political wings, but his influence extends beyond the group's confines. Al-Amiri was given command over Iraq's army and police in Diyala province.³⁶ Iraqi Prime Minister Abadi has also reportedly entrusted al-Amiri with control over the Iraqi Army's 20th Battalion, according to the battalion's commander, General Ali al-Wazir.³⁷ One Human Rights Watch employee said that al-Amiri "is an extremely powerful figure and he's essentially acting with total impunity now. It's not really the government leading the militias; it's the other way around."³⁸

In his capacity as leader of the Badr Organization's militia, al-Amiri claims that he presents the group's military plans to Prime Minister Abadi for approval.³⁹ However, in April 2015, Prime Minister Abadi ordered that all popular mobilization forces, including the Badr Organization, be placed under his office's direct command.⁴⁰ As al-Amiri serves the leader of Iraq's collective popular mobilization, Abadi's order seems to suggest that, at least until April 2015, al-Amiri has retained significant autonomy when it comes to planning and executing paramilitary attacks.⁴¹

³⁴ Associated Press, "Iraqi Leader Calls for Unity and Political Stability After U.S. Troop Departure," Fox News, January 1, 2012, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2012/01/01/iraqi-leader-calls-for-unity-and-political-stability-after-us-troop-departure/>.

³⁵ Ned Parker, Babak Dehghanpisheh, and Isabel Coles, "Special Report: How Iran's military chiefs operate in Iraq," Reuters, February 24, 2015, [http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/24/us-mideast-crisis-committee-specialreport-idUSKBN0LS0VD20150224](http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/24/us-mideast-crisis-committee-specialreport/idUSKBN0LS0VD20150224).

³⁶ Ned Parker and Stephen Kalin, "Iraqi commander denies paramilitary groups involved in killings," Reuters, February 9, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/09/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-amiri-idUSKBN0LD17B20150209>; Eli Lake, "Iran's Militias Are Taking Over Iraq's Army," Bloomberg View, February 3, 2015, <http://www.bloombergvie.com/articles/2015-02-03/exclusive-iran-s-militias-are-taking-over-iraq-s-army>.

³⁷ Ned Parker and Stephen Kalin, "Iraqi commander denies paramilitary groups involved in killings," Reuters, February 9, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/09/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-amiri-idUSKBN0LD17B20150209>; Eli Lake, "Iran's Militias Are Taking Over Iraq's Army," Bloomberg View, February 3, 2015, <http://www.bloombergvie.com/articles/2015-02-03/exclusive-iran-s-militias-are-taking-over-iraq-s-army>.

³⁸ "The Battle for Iraq: Shia Militias vs. the Islamic State," VICE News, February 12, 2015, <https://news.vice.com/video/the-battle-for-iraq-shia-militias-vs-the-islamic-state>.

³⁹ Ned Parker, Babak Dehghanpisheh, and Isabel Coles, "Special Report: How Iran's military chiefs operate in Iraq," Reuters, February 24, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/24/us-mideast-crisis-committee-specialreport-idUSKBN0LS0VD20150224>.

⁴⁰ Rod Nordland, "After Victory Over ISIS in Tikrit, Next Battle Requires a New Template," *New York Times*, April 7, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/08/world/middleeast/iraq-isis-anbar-sunni-shiite.html>.

⁴¹ Rod Nordland, "After Victory Over ISIS in Tikrit, Next Battle Requires a New Template," *New York Times*, April 7, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/08/world/middleeast/iraq-isis-anbar-sunni-shiite.html>.

Although al-Amiri appears to act without much Iraqi government oversight, reports suggest he may answer to the leader of Iran's IRGC-Quds Force, Qasem Soleimani. In the fight to retake Tikrit from ISIS militants, Soleimani "was directing operations on the eastern flank from a village about 55km (35 miles) from Tikrit," according to a Reuters report.⁴² Another Reuters report noted that "Soleimani also directed Iranian-trained Shi'ite militias—including the Badr Brigade."⁴³ RAND Corporation analyst Alireza Nader has written that the Badr Organization "appear[s] to be taking direct orders from Tehran."⁴⁴ Al-Amiri himself has been photographed with Soleimani as the two discuss battle strategy and celebrate victories.⁴⁵

In addition to his capacity as the Badr Organization's military leader, al-Amiri also heads the group's political wing. Since it split from political party ISCI in 2012, the Badr Organization has emerged as a prominent political party within Iraq. In December 2010, then-Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki appointed al-Amiri as Iraq's transportation minister.⁴⁶ In October 2014, Prime Minister Abadi appointed a Badr member, Mohammed Ghabban, as interior minister. At the time of Ghabban's appointment, the *Washington Post's* Loveday Morris wrote that "there is little doubt that Hadi al-Amiri, head of the [Badr Organization] party and its military wing, will wield the real power in the ministry."⁴⁷

Financing:

The Badr Organization is backed by Iran, according to reports by Reuters and other news outlets, and Badr leader Hadi al-Amiri has confirmed that his group receives support from Iran.⁴⁸ Senior Badr official Muen al-Kadhimi has said that Iran "helped the group with everything from tactics" to "drone and signals capabilities, including electronic surveillance and radio communications."⁴⁹

⁴² Ahmed Rasheed and Dominic Evans, "Iraqi forces try to seal off Islamic State around Tikrit," Reuters, March 3, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/03/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-idUSKBN0LZ10Q20150303>.

⁴³ Mohamed Bazzi, "Iraqis may fear Shi'ite militias more than Islamic State," Reuters, February 19, 2015, <http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2015/02/19/does-islamic-state-fear-these-guys-as-much-as-their-own-countrymen-do/>.

⁴⁴ Alireza Nader, "Salvaging Iraq," RAND Corporation, January 26, 2015, <http://www.rand.org/blog/2015/01/salvaging-iraq.html>.

⁴⁵ Akbar Shahid Ahmed and Ryan Grim, "What's Wrong With This Picture? For U.S. Fight Against ISIS, Everything," Huffington Post, November 23, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/11/23/obama-isis-iran_n_6165352.html.

⁴⁶ Michael Eisenstadt, Michael Knights, and Ahmed Ali, "Iran's Influence in Iraq: Countering Tehran's Whole-of-Government Approach," *Policy Focus* 111 (April 2011), <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus111.pdf>.

⁴⁷ Loveday Morris, "Appointment of Iraq's new interior minister opens door to militia and Iranian influence," *Washington Post*, October 18, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior-minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html.

⁴⁸ "Islamic State torches oil field east of Tikrit—witness," Reuters, March 5, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/05/mideast-crisis-iraq-idUSL5N0W727220150305>; Loveday Morris, "Appointment of Iraq's new interior minister opens door to militia and Iranian influence," *Washington Post*, October 18, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior-minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html.

⁴⁹ Ned Parker, Babak Dehghanpisheh, and Isabel Coles, "Special Report: How Iran's military chiefs operate in Iraq," Reuters, February 24, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/24/us-mideast-crisis-committee-specialreport-idUSKBN0LS0VD20150224>.

Recruitment:

Since April 2014, the Badr Organization has established numerous city-based “popular committees” to recruit fighters for its military wing.⁵⁰ After Iraq’s most influential Shiite cleric, Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani issued a fatwa in July 2014 calling on Iraqis to fight ISIS, one Badr Organization recruiter claims to have received 7,000 applications.⁵¹

Key Leaders:

- Hadi al-Amiri—leader and secretary general of the Badr Organization. Al-Amiri was also Iraq’s transportation minister from 2010 to September 2014, and oversees Iraq’s military forces in Diyala province.⁵²
- Muen al-Kadhimi—deputy leader; leader in western Baghdad⁵³
- Qasim al-Araji—head of parliamentary bloc (as of March 2015)⁵⁴
- Mohammed Ghabban—Iraq’s interior minister and a subordinate to Hadi al-Amiri⁵⁵
- Karim al-Nouri—spokesman and military commander⁵⁶
- Ali al-Allaq—senior member⁵⁷

History:

1980s: The Badr Brigades fight as a pro-Iranian militia during the Iran-Iraq War.⁵⁸

⁵⁰ Phillip Smyth, “Iranian Proxies Step Up Their Role in Iraq,” Washington Institute for Near East Policy, June 13, 2014, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/iranian-proxies-step-up-their-role-in-iraq>.

⁵¹ Maggie Fick, “Underage fighters drawn into Iraq sectarian war,” Reuters, July 11, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/11/us-iraq-security-teenagers-insight-idUSKBN0FG1UG20140711>.

⁵² Ned Parker, Babak Dehghanpisheh, and Isabel Coles, “Special Report: How Iran's military chiefs operate in Iraq,” Reuters, February 24, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/24/us-mideast-crisis-committee-specialreport-idUSKBN0LS0VD20150224>; “Jubouri, Amiri discuss means of bringing back IDPs homes in Diyala,” Republic of Iraq Council of Representatives, April 4, 2015,

<http://www.parliament.iq/english/details.aspx?id=36635&AlwType=Pre>; Loveday Morris, “Appointment of Iraq’s new interior minister opens door to militia and Iranian influence,” *Washington Post*, October 18, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior-minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html.

⁵³ Ned Parker, Babak Dehghanpisheh, and Isabel Coles, “Special Report: How Iran's military chiefs operate in Iraq,” Reuters, February 24, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/24/us-mideast-crisis-committee-specialreport-idUSKBN0LS0VD20150224>.

⁵⁴ Amre Sarhan, “U.S. stalls efforts to fight ISIS, says MP Qasim al-Araji,” Iraqi News, December 28, 2014, <http://www.iraqinews.com/features/u-s-stalls-efforts-fight-isis-says-mp-qasim-al-araji/>.

⁵⁵ Loveday Morris, “Appointment of Iraq’s new interior minister opens door to militia and Iranian influence,” *Washington Post*, October 18, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior-minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html.

⁵⁶ Liz Sly, “Pro-Iran militias’ success in Iraq could undermine U.S.,” *Washington Post*, February 15, 2015, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/iraqs-pro-iranian-shiite-militias-lead-the-war-against-the-islamic-state/2015/02/15/5bbb1cf0-ac94-11e4-8876-460b1144cbc1_story.html.

⁵⁷ Maggie Fick, “Underage fighters drawn into Iraq sectarian war,” Reuters, July 11, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/11/us-iraq-security-teenagers-insight-idUSKBN0FG1UG20140711>.

⁵⁸ Ahmed Rasheed and Ned Parker, “Shi’ite militias expand influence, redraw map in central Iraq,” Reuters, December 31, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/12/31/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-idUSKBN0K909K20141231>.

1990s: The Badr Brigades attack targets in southern Iraq.⁵⁹

1991: Badr Brigades forces cross the border from Iran into Iraq during the Shiite uprising, but are quickly crushed by the Iraqi army.⁶⁰

June 25, 1996: A bomb explodes near a housing complex in Khobar, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 U.S. Air Force servicemen. Hadi al-Amiri is linked to the attack through a U.S. federal indictment.⁶¹

March 2003: Following the U.S. invasion in Iraq, Hadi al-Amiri returns from neighboring Iran “to lead the Badr Brigade that waged a vicious sectarian war on Iraqi Sunnis,” reports the *Globe and Mail*.⁶²

August 2003: A bomb explodes outside the shrine of Imam Ali in Najaf, Iraq, killing SCIRI founder Ayatollah Mohammad Baqir al-Hakim. His brother and then-leader of the Badr Brigades, Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, assumes leadership of SCIRI.⁶³

September 2003: Coalition forces ban party militias. The Badr Brigades change their name to “the Badr Organization of Reconstruction and Development” and pledge to lay down their arms.⁶⁴ However, SCIRI leader Abdul Aziz al-Hakim maintains that the Badr Organization will continue to serve a purpose by “maintaining security and stability.”⁶⁵

2004-2006: Hadi al-Amiri plays “a leading role in organizing attacks by the Badr Corps militia...against Sunnis,” according to a leaked cable from the U.S. State Department. The cable

⁵⁹ Susannah George, “Breaking Badr,” *Foreign Policy*, November 6, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/06/breaking-badr/>.

⁶⁰ Mahan Abedin, “Dossier: The Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI),” *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*, 5 (October 2003):10, accessed April 14, 2015, http://www.meforum.org/meib/articles/0310_iraqd.htm.

⁶¹ “Terror Attack Victim ‘Sick’ Over Iraqi Minister Hadi al-Amiri’s Visit to White House,” Fox News Insider, December 16, 2011, <http://insider.foxnews.com/2011/12/16/terror-attack-victim-sick-over-iraqi-minister-hadi-al-ameris-visit-to-white-house>.

⁶² Patrick Martin, “Analysis of the Badr Organization,” *Globe and Mail*, February 25, 2015, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/analysis-of-the-badr-organization/article23208662/>; “Shiite Arabs,” PBS Frontline, accessed April 15, 2015, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/beyond/etc/pop_shiite.html.

⁶³ “Shiite Arabs,” PBS Frontline, accessed April 15, 2015, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/beyond/etc/pop_shiite.html; Lawrence Joffe, “Obituary: Ayatollah Mohammad Baqir al-Hakim,” *Guardian* (London), August 29, 2003, <http://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/aug/30/guardianobituaries.iraq>; Mahan Abedin, “Dossier: The Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI),” *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*, 5 (October 2003):10, accessed April 14, 2015, http://www.meforum.org/meib/articles/0310_iraqd.htm.

⁶⁴ Lionel Beehner, “Iraq’s Militia Groups,” Council on Foreign Relations, October 26, 2006, <http://www.cfr.org/iraq/iraqs-militia-groups/p11824#p6>; “Who’s who in Iraq: Sciri,” BBC News, June 17, 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3769991.stm.

⁶⁵ “Who’s who in Iraq: Sciri,” BBC News, June 17, 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3769991.stm; “Shiite Arabs,” PBS Frontline, accessed April 15, 2015, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/beyond/etc/pop_shiite.html.

indicates al-Amiri “may have personally ordered attacks on up to 2,000 Sunnis.” It continues: “One of [al-Amiri’s] preferred methods of killing allegedly involved using a power drill to pierce the skulls of his adversaries.”⁶⁶

2005-2006: The Badr Organization infiltrates the Iraqi Security Forces (ISF), embedding itself in the gendarmerie of Iraq’s national police force.⁶⁷

2006: The U.N. human rights chief in Iraq reports that hundreds of Iraqis were being tortured and executed by death squads working for Iraq’s interior ministry. According to the *Independent*, “Many of the 110,000 policemen and police commandos under the ministry’s control are suspected of being former members of the Badr Brigade.”⁶⁸

2008: Nouri al-Maliki retakes Basra from Sadrists with the help of government forces, the Badr Organization, and others.⁶⁹

December 2010: Hadi al-Amir is appointed as Iraq’s transportation minister.⁷⁰

December 12, 2011: Hadi al-Amiri visits the White House, sparking protest from survivors of the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing, as well as relatives of the victims.⁷¹

December 30, 2011: Badr members celebrate the end of the U.S. military presence in Iraq by plastering the walls of government buildings with posters of Iran’s Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, and his predecessor, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.⁷²

⁶⁶ Loveday Morris, “Appointment of Iraq’s new interior minister opens door to militia and Iranian influence,” *Washington Post*, October 18, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior-minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html; “Election Law Crisis Fosters Sunni-shia Cooperation,” WikiLeaks, September 1, 2011, <https://cablegatesearch.wikileaks.org/cable.php?id=09BAGHDAD3175&q=amiri%20badr%20drill>.

⁶⁷ Kenneth Katzman, “CRS Report for Congress: Iran-Iraq Relations,” Congressional Research Service, April 15, 2010, www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA520775; “Federal Police (FP),” GlobalSecurity.org, accessed April 24, 2015, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/intell/world/iraq/fp.htm>.

⁶⁸ “Iraq’s death squads: On the brink of civil war,” *Independent* (London), February 26, 2006, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/iraqs-death-squads-on-the-brink-of-civil-war-467784.html>.

⁶⁹ Campbell Robertson, “Iraqi Forces Raid Mosque With Links to Sadrists,” *New York Times*, July 12, 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/12/world/middleeast/12iraq.html>; James Glanz and Alissa J. Rubin, “Iraqi Army Takes Last Basra Areas From Sadr Force,” *New York Times*, April 20, 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/20/world/middleeast/20iraq.html?gwt=pay>; Nazar Janabi, “Who Won the Battle for Basra?” Washington Institute for Near East Policy, April 10, 2008, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/who-won-the-battle-for-basra>.

⁷⁰ Michael Eisenstadt, Michael Knights, and Ahmed Ali, “Iran’s Influence in Iraq: Countering Tehran’s Whole-of-Government Approach,” *Policy Focus* 111 (April 2011), <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus111.pdf>.

⁷¹ Glenn Kessler, “An Iranian ‘terrorist’ in the White House?” *Washington Post*, December 20, 2011, http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/fact-checker/post/an-iranian-terrorist-in-the-white-house/2011/12/19/gIQA6t2K5O_blog.html.

⁷² Associated Press, “Iraqi Leader Calls for Unity and Political Stability After U.S. Troop Departure,” Fox News, January 1, 2012, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2012/01/01/iraqi-leader-calls-for-unity-and-political-stability-after-us-troop-departure/>.

March 2012: The Badr Organization officially splits from ISCI to act as its own political party.⁷³

June 2013: Reuters reports that “[m]ost of those fighting in Syria are former members of the Mehdi army of anti-U.S. cleric Moqtada al-Sadr, or from the Badr Organization.”⁷⁴

July 13, 2013: The Badr Organization announces on Facebook that it has 1,500 militants operating in Syria.⁷⁵

July 21, 2013: The Badr Organization announces its first casualty in Syria.⁷⁶

July 28, 2013: The Badr Organization announces the name of its military wing in Syria, “Quwet al-Shahid al-Sadr.” The Badr Organization will later refer to its Syrian front as “Quwet al-Shahid Muhammed Baqir al-Sadr” (BO-QSMBS).⁷⁷ As part of the announcement, the Badr Organization mourns one of its fighters killed in Syria.⁷⁸

November 20, 2013: Analyst Phillip Smyth testifies before Congress that Iranian proxy groups, including the Badr Organization, “are the main contributors of Shia fighters through Syria.” According to Smyth, “[W]hile initially claiming that they were dropping their armed capability, Badr has become a key Iraqi Shi’a Islamist militia in Syria. Through their ‘Armed Wing,’ Badr has claimed to have sent some 1,500 members to Syria as part of their expeditionary unit called *Quwet al-Shahid Muhammed Baqir al-Sadr* (the Martyr Muhammed Baqir al-Sadr Forces).”⁷⁹

March 2014: Amer al-Qalamouni, director of the Syrian opposition–affiliated Qalamoun media center, says that Badr “is taking the lead in the field in the number of fighters [near Yabroud, Syria], now over 1,000 men, after it arrived in Syria recently.”⁸⁰ Al-Qalamouni quotes Syrian

⁷³ Ahmed Hussein, “URGENT—SIIC, Badr Organization announce their official split,” Iraqi News, March 11, 2012, <http://www.iraqinews.com/baghdad-politics/urgent-siic-badr-organization-announce-their-official-split/>.

⁷⁴ Suadad al-Salhy, “Iraqi Shi’ites flock to Assad’s side as sectarian split widens,” Reuters, June 19, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/06/19/us-iraq-syria-militants-idUSBRE95I0ZA20130619>.

⁷⁵ Phillip Smyth, “The Badr Organization’s Syrian Expeditionary Force: Quwet al-Shahid Muhammed Baqir al-Sadr,” Jihadology, October 18, 2013, <http://jihadology.net/2013/10/18/hizballah-cavalcade-the-badr-organizations-syrian-expeditionary-force-quwet-al-shahid-muhammed-baqir-al-sadr/>.

⁷⁶ Phillip Smyth, “The Badr Organization’s Syrian Expeditionary Force: Quwet al-Shahid Muhammed Baqir al-Sadr,” Jihadology, October 18, 2013, <http://jihadology.net/2013/10/18/hizballah-cavalcade-the-badr-organizations-syrian-expeditionary-force-quwet-al-shahid-muhammed-baqir-al-sadr/>.

⁷⁷ Phillip Smyth, “The Badr Organization’s Syrian Expeditionary Force: Quwet al-Shahid Muhammed Baqir al-Sadr,” Jihadology, October 18, 2013, <http://jihadology.net/2013/10/18/hizballah-cavalcade-the-badr-organizations-syrian-expeditionary-force-quwet-al-shahid-muhammed-baqir-al-sadr/>.

⁷⁸ Phillip Smyth, “The Badr Organization’s Syrian Expeditionary Force: Quwet al-Shahid Muhammed Baqir al-Sadr,” Jihadology, October 18, 2013, <http://jihadology.net/2013/10/18/hizballah-cavalcade-the-badr-organizations-syrian-expeditionary-force-quwet-al-shahid-muhammed-baqir-al-sadr/>.

⁷⁹ *Terrorist Groups in Syria: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade of the Committee on Foreign Affairs House of Representatives*, 113th Cong. 17-24 (2013) (statement of Phillip Smyth, Middle East research analyst, University of Maryland), <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-113hhrg85643/pdf/CHRG-113hhrg85643.pdf>.

⁸⁰ Nazeer Rida, “Iraqi fighters lead attack on the town of Yabroud, say Syrian activists,” *Asharq Al-Awsat* (London), March 4, 2014, <http://www.aawsat.net/2014/03/article55329651/iraqi-fighters-lead-attack-on-the-town-of-yabroud-say-syrian-activists>.

military sources who say that around “2,000 fighters from the Badr Organization arrived in Syria on Saturday [March 1, 2014] to fight alongside the Syrian government forces.”⁸¹ The Badr Organization denies that fighters have the group’s permission to fight in Syria.⁸²

June 7, 2014: The Badr Organization releases a statement threatening any group that damages shrines in the Iraqi city of Samarra.⁸³

July 2014: Human Rights Watch accuses the Badr Organization of killing Sunni prisoners.⁸⁴ Also in July, the Badr Organization comes under criticism for allegedly employing child soldiers. One Badr recruiter says he has seen 16-year-old fighters and “also boys younger than that. Some are still in training, and some have already taken part in the fight.”⁸⁵ A Badr senior member denies that the group employs child soldiers, saying, “We are the most prominent group in liberating areas so far, so some young people may be bragging that they are fighting for us. But that is not true.”⁸⁶

Late August 2014: The Badr Organization fights to retake the Shiite town of Amerli in northern Iraq.⁸⁷

September 1, 2014: Anti-ISIS forces, including the Badr Organization, retake Amerli from ISIS control.⁸⁸

October 14, 2014: ISIS claims credit for a suicide bombing attack in Baghdad that kills Iraqi MP and senior Badr commander Ahmed al-Khafaji.⁸⁹

October 18, 2014: Iraq’s parliament votes to elect Mohammed Ghabban, a Badr member, as interior minister.⁹⁰ According to reports, the Badr Organization had been advocating for its

⁸¹ Nazeer Rida, “Iraqi fighters lead attack on the town of Yabroud, say Syrian activists,” *Asharq Al-Awsat* (London), March 4, 2014, <http://www.aawsat.net/2014/03/article55329651/iraqi-fighters-lead-attack-on-the-town-of-yabroud-say-syrian-activists>.

⁸² Nazeer Rida, “Iraqi fighters lead attack on the town of Yabroud, say Syrian activists,” *Asharq Al-Awsat* (London), March 4, 2014, <http://www.aawsat.net/2014/03/article55329651/iraqi-fighters-lead-attack-on-the-town-of-yabroud-say-syrian-activists>.

⁸³ Phillip Smyth, “Iranian Proxies Step Up Their Role in Iraq,” Washington Institute for Near East Policy, June 13, 2014, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/iranian-proxies-step-up-their-role-in-iraq>.

⁸⁴ Babak Dehghanpisheh, “Special Report: The fighters of Iraq who answer to Iran,” Reuters, November 12, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/12/us-mideast-crisis-militias-specialreport-idUSKCN0IW0ZA20141112>.

⁸⁵ Maggie Fick, “Underage fighters drawn into Iraq sectarian war,” Reuters, July 11, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/11/us-iraq-security-teenagers-insight-idUSKBN0FG1UG20140711>.

⁸⁶ Maggie Fick, “Underage fighters drawn into Iraq sectarian war,” Reuters, July 11, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/11/us-iraq-security-teenagers-insight-idUSKBN0FG1UG20140711>.

⁸⁷ Abigail Hauslohner, “Gunmen kill dozens at Sunni mosque in Iraq, raising fears of sectarian war,” *New York Times*, August 22, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/gunmen-kill-dozens-at-sunni-mosque-in-iraq-raising-fears-of-sectarian-war/2014/08/22/d4de2c86-2a07-11e4-8593-da634b334390_story.html.

⁸⁸ Shashank Bengali, “In Iraq, residents of Amerli celebrate end of militant siege,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 1, 2014, <http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-iraq-amerli-siege-20140902-story.html>.

⁸⁹ Bill Roggio, “Islamic State suicide bomber kills Badr militia leader in Baghdad,” *Long War Journal*, October 14, 2014, <http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2014/10/islamic-state-suicide-bomber-k.php>.

⁹⁰ Loveday Morris, “Appointment of Iraq’s new interior minister opens door to militia and Iranian influence,” *Washington Post*, October 18, 2014, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior->

leader Hadi al-Amiri to receive the post, but Prime Minister Abadi had resisted pressure to nominate al-Amiri because of the group's history of sectarian violence. After allegedly receiving threats from the Badr Organization to withdraw from the government if one of their members was not nominated, Abadi ultimately chose to appoint the lesser-known Ghabban.⁹¹ Nonetheless, Loveday Morris of the *Washington Post* writes, "[T]here is little doubt that Hadi al-Amiri, head of the [Badr Organization] party and its military wing, will wield the real power in the ministry."⁹²

November 2014: The United Arab Emirates adds the Badr Organization to its list of designated terrorist organizations.⁹³

December 2014: ISIS and the Badr Organization clash in the Iraqi town of Mukayshfah, on the highway between Samarra and then-ISIS-held Tikrit.⁹⁴

December 29, 2014: Hadi al-Amiri threatens residents of the district of Muqdadiyya in Diyala province, saying, "The day of judgment is coming" and "We will attack the area until nothing is left. Is my message clear?"⁹⁵ In January, 72 civilians will be killed in Barwana, Muqdadiyya. Hadi al-Amiri and the Badr Organization are suspected of responsibility.⁹⁶

January-February 2015: The Sunni governor of Iraq's Diyala province and other officials accuse Shiite militants and security forces in Diyala (under the control of Hadi al-Amiri) of executing at least 72 unarmed civilians in Diyala's eastern province in January. Al-Amiri denies these claims.⁹⁷ The Badr Organization refuses to take journalists to the village of Barwana, where the Sunni men were found shot dead "execution-style," according to the *Washington Post*.⁹⁸

[minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior-minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html).

⁹¹ Kirk Semple, "After Delay, Iraq Appoints Two to Posts for Security," *New York Times*, October 18, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/19/world/middleeast/after-delay-iraq-appoints-two-to-posts-for-security.html?_r=0.

⁹² Loveday Morris, "Appointment of Iraq's new interior minister opens door to militia and Iranian influence," *Washington Post*, October 18, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior-minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html.

⁹³ "List of groups designated terrorist organisations by the UAE," *National* (Abu Dhabi), November 16, 2014, <http://www.thenational.ae/uae/government/list-of-groups-designated-terrorist-organisations-by-the-uae>.

⁹⁴ Bill Roggio and Caleb Weiss, "Islamic State overruns Badr Brigade position near Samarra," *Long War Journal*, December 11, 2014, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2014/12/islamic_state_overrun_5.php.

⁹⁵ "Iraq: Militias Escalate Abuses, Possibly War Crimes," Human Rights Watch, February 15, 2015, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2015/02/15/iraq-militias-escalate-abuses-possibly-war-crimes>.

⁹⁶ Ned Parker and Stephen Kalin, "Iraqi commander denies paramilitary groups involved in killings," Reuters, February 9, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/09/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-amiri-idUSKBN0LD17B20150209>.

⁹⁷ Ned Parker and Stephen Kalin, "Iraqi commander denies paramilitary groups involved in killings," Reuters, February 9, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/09/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-amiri-idUSKBN0LD17B20150209>.

⁹⁸ Liz Sly, "Pro-Iran militias' success in Iraq could undermine U.S.," *Washington Post*, February 15, 2015, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/iraqs-pro-iranian-shiite-militias-lead-the-war-against-the-islamic-state/2015/02/15/5bbb1cf0-ac94-11e4-8876-460b1144cbc1_story.html.

January 2015: Hadi al-Amiri allegedly meets with U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Stuart Jones, who offers U.S. air support to al-Amiri's ground campaign.⁹⁹ When questioned about the alleged meeting with al-Amiri, a spokesman for the U.S. embassy in Baghdad stated, "We don't confirm the details of our conversations. Our policy is that we support the [Iraqi Security Forces (ISF)] with air strikes and we have urged that the militias be under the command and control of the ISF."¹⁰⁰

February 3, 2015: Iraq's human rights minister reveals that the Iraqi government has asked the United Arab Emirates to remove the Badr Organization from its list of designated terrorist organizations.¹⁰¹

March 2015: The Iraqi military, the Badr Organization, and other Shiite paramilitary forces launch a campaign to retake Tikrit from ISIS militants.¹⁰² The U.S. military launches airstrikes against ISIS in Tikrit on March 25, allegedly "after receiving assurances from the Iraqi government that the Shiite militias had withdrawn from Tikrit and that the ground operation would be led by the Iraqi military, and not Iranian generals and their militia proxies."¹⁰³

March 31, 2015: In Baghdad, Badr members rally to support the Houthi rebels in Yemen.¹⁰⁴

April 7, 2015: After Iraqi and Shiite paramilitary forces take back Tikrit from ISIS forces, Iraqi Prime Minister Abadi orders that all popular mobilization forces be placed under his office's direct command. According to a *New York Times* article, Hadi al-Amiri has led the "collective popular mobilization," whose fighters stand accused of looting and killing prisoners in and around Tikrit.¹⁰⁵

Violent History:

1980s: The Badr Brigades fight as a pro-Iranian militia during the Iran-Iraq War.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ Eli Lake, "Iran's Militias Are Taking Over Iraq's Army," Bloomberg View, February 3, 2015, <http://www.bloombergvew.com/articles/2015-02-03/exclusive-iran-s-militias-are-taking-over-iraq-s-army>.

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¹⁰¹ Fahd Al-Zayabi, "Iraq asks UAE to remove Badr Organization and Sadr militia from terror list," *Asharq Al-Awsat* (London), February 4, 2015, <http://www.aawsat.net/2015/02/article55341129/iraq-asks-uae-to-remove-badr-organization-and-sadr-militia-from-terror-list>.

¹⁰² Thayer al-Sudani, "Insight: From eastern flank, Iran-backed force advances on Tikrit," Reuters, March 4, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/04/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-front-insight-idUSKBN0M01MV20150304>; Agence France-Presse, "Iraq militia chief slams army 'weaklings' over Tikrit strikes," Yahoo News, March 22, 2015, <http://news.yahoo.com/iraq-militia-chief-slams-army-weaklings-over-tikrit-142811365.html>.

¹⁰³ Bill Roggio, "US continues airstrikes in Tikrit despite involvement of Iranian-backed Shiite militias," *Long War Journal*, March 28, 2015, <http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/03/us-continues-airstrikes-in-tikrit-despite-involvement-of-iranian-backed-shiite-militias.php>.

¹⁰⁴ "Iraq's Badr Organization Offers to Join Yemen's Ansarullah in War against S. Arabia," FARS News Agency, April 1, 2015, <http://english.farsnews.com/newstext.aspx?nn=13940112000339>.

¹⁰⁵ Rod Nordland, "After Victory Over ISIS in Tikrit, Next Battle Requires a New Template," *New York Times*, April 7, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/08/world/middleeast/iraq-isis-anbar-sunni-shiite.html>.

¹⁰⁶ Ahmed Rasheed and Ned Parker, "Shi'ite militias expand influence, redraw map in central Iraq," Reuters, December 31, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/12/31/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-idUSKBN0K909K20141231>.

1990s: The Badr Brigades attack targets in southern Iraq.¹⁰⁷

1991: Badr Brigades forces cross the border from Iran into Iraq during the Shiite uprising, but are quickly crushed by the Iraqi army.¹⁰⁸

June 25, 1996: A bomb explodes near a housing complex in Khobar, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 U.S. Air Force servicemen. Hadi al-Amiri is linked to the attack through a U.S. federal indictment.¹⁰⁹

2004-2006: Hadi al-Amiri plays “a leading role in organizing attacks by the Badr Corps militia...against Sunnis,” according to a leaked cable from the U.S. State Department. The cable indicates that al-Amiri “may have personally ordered attacks on up to 2,000 Sunnis.” It continues: “One of [al-Amiri’s] preferred methods of killing allegedly involved using a power drill to pierce the skulls of his adversaries.”¹¹⁰

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¹⁰⁷ Susannah George, “Breaking Badr,” *Foreign Policy*, November 6, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/06/breaking-badr/>.

¹⁰⁸ Mahan Abedin, “Dossier: The Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI),” *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*, 5 (October 2003):10, accessed April 14, 2015, http://www.meforum.org/meib/articles/0310_iraqd.htm.

¹⁰⁹ “Terror Attack Victim ‘Sick’ Over Iraqi Minister Hadi al-Ameri’s Visit to White House,” Fox News Insider, December 16, 2011, <http://insider.foxnews.com/2011/12/16/terror-attack-victim-sick-over-iraqi-minister-hadi-al-ameris-visit-to-white-house>.

¹¹⁰ Loveday Morris, “Appointment of Iraq’s new interior minister opens door to militia and Iranian influence,” *Washington Post*, October 18, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior-minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html; “Election Law Crisis Fosters Sunni-shia Cooperation,” WikiLeaks, September 1, 2011, <https://cablegatesearch.wikileaks.org/cable.php?id=09BAGHDAD3175&q=amiri%20badr%20drill>.

¹¹¹ “Iraq’s death squads: On the brink of civil war,” *Independent* (London), February 26, 2006, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/iraqs-death-squads-on-the-brink-of-civil-war-467784.html>.

¹¹² Suadad al-Salhy, “Iraqi Shi’ites flock to Assad’s side as sectarian split widens,” Reuters, June 19, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/06/19/us-iraq-syria-militants-idUSBRE9510ZA20130619>.

¹¹³ Phillip Smyth, “The Badr Organization’s Syrian Expeditionary Force: Quwet al-Shahid Muhammed Baqir al-Sadr,” *Jihadology*, October 18, 2013, <http://jihadology.net/2013/10/18/hizballah-cavalcade-the-badr-organizations-syrian-expeditionary-force-quwet-al-shahid-muhammed-baqir-al-sadr/>.

key Iraqi Shi'a Islamist militia in Syria. Through their 'Armed Wing,' Badr has claimed to have sent some 1,500 members to Syria as part of their expeditionary unit called *Quwet al-Shahid Muhammed Baqir al-Sadr* (the Martyr Muhammed Baqir al-Sadr Forces)."¹¹⁴

July 2014: Human Rights Watch accuses the Badr Organization of killing Sunni prisoners.¹¹⁵ Also in July, Badr comes under criticism for allegedly employing child soldiers. One Badr recruiter says he has seen 16-year-old fighters and "also boys younger than that. Some are still in training, and some have already taken part in the fight."¹¹⁶ A Badr senior member denies that the group employs child soldiers, saying, "We are the most prominent group in liberating areas so far, so some young people may be bragging that they are fighting for us. But that is not true."¹¹⁷

Late August 2014: The Badr Organization fights to retake the Shiite town of Amerli in northern Iraq.¹¹⁸

September 1, 2014: Anti-ISIS forces, including the Badr Organization, take Amerli.¹¹⁹

December 2014: ISIS and the Badr Organization clash in the Iraqi town of Mukayshfah, on the highway between Samarra and then-ISIS-held Tikrit.¹²⁰

December 29, 2014: Hadi al-Amiri threatens residents of the district of Muqyadiyya in Diyala province, saying, "The day of judgment is coming" and "We will attack the area until nothing is left. Is my message clear?"¹²¹ In January, 72 civilians will be killed in Barwana, Muqyadiyya. Hadi al-Amiri and the Badr Organization are suspected of responsibility.¹²²

January-February 2015: The Sunni governor of Iraq's Diyala province and other officials accuse Shiite militants and security forces in Diyala (under the control of Hadi al-Amiri) of executing at least 72 unarmed civilians in Diyala's eastern province in January. Al-Amiri denies

¹¹⁴ *Terrorist Groups in Syria: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade of the Committee on Foreign Affairs House of Representatives*, 113th Cong. 17-24 (2013) (statement of Phillip Smyth, Middle East research analyst, University of Maryland), <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-113hhrg85643/pdf/CHRG-113hhrg85643.pdf>.

¹¹⁵ Babak Dehghanpisheh, "Special Report: The fighters of Iraq who answer to Iran," Reuters, November 12, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/12/us-mideast-crisis-militias-specialreport-idUSKCN0IW0ZA20141112>.

¹¹⁶ Maggie Fick, "Underage fighters drawn into Iraq sectarian war," Reuters, July 11, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/11/us-iraq-security-teenagers-insight-idUSKBN0FG1UG20140711>.

¹¹⁷ Maggie Fick, "Underage fighters drawn into Iraq sectarian war," Reuters, July 11, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/07/11/us-iraq-security-teenagers-insight-idUSKBN0FG1UG20140711>.

¹¹⁸ Abigail Hauslohner, "Gunmen kill dozens at Sunni mosque in Iraq, raising fears of sectarian war," *New York Times*, August 22, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/gunmen-kill-dozens-at-sunni-mosque-in-iraq-raising-fears-of-sectarian-war/2014/08/22/d4de2c86-2a07-11e4-8593-da634b334390_story.html.

¹¹⁹ Shashank Bengali, "In Iraq, residents of Amerli celebrate end of militant siege," *Los Angeles Times*, September 1, 2014, <http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-iraq-amerli-siege-20140902-story.html>.

¹²⁰ Bill Roggio and Caleb Weiss, "Islamic State overruns Badr Brigade position near Samarra," *Long War Journal*, December 11, 2014, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2014/12/islamic_state_overru_5.php.

¹²¹ "Iraq: Militias Escalate Abuses, Possibly War Crimes," Human Rights Watch, February 15, 2015, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2015/02/15/iraq-militias-escalate-abuses-possibly-war-crimes>.

¹²² Ned Parker and Stephen Kalin, "Iraqi commander denies paramilitary groups involved in killings," Reuters, February 9, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/09/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-amiri-idUSKBN0LD17B20150209>.

these claims.¹²³ However, the Badr Organization refuses to take journalists to the village of Barwana, where the Sunni men were found shot dead “execution-style,” according to the *Washington Post*.¹²⁴

Designations by U.S. Government: N/A

Designations by Foreign Governments:

United Arab Emirates

November 2014

The United Arab Emirates designated “The Badr Organisation in Iraq” as a terrorist organization in November 2014.¹²⁵

Ties to Extremist Entities:

Asaib Ahl al-Haq (AAH): The Badr Organization, Asaib Ahl al-Haq, and Kata’ib Hezbollah (KH) are known as “Iran’s three big Iraqi militias.”¹²⁶ Each group is part of the anti-ISIS popular mobilization forces (PMF) also known as Haashid Shaabi, an umbrella organization of Shiite militias. The coalition was formed in June 2014 after Iraq’s then–prime minister, Nouri al-Maliki, called for its establishment and Iraq’s highest Shiite authority, Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, issued a fatwa urging Iraqis to fight the extremist group ISIS.¹²⁷ In battles, there is some degree of cooperation between the PMF militias, though each militia leader within the PMF ultimately retains his autonomy.¹²⁸ IRGC-Quds Force commander Qasem Soleimani has reportedly coordinated military operations for all three militias.¹²⁹

Kata’ib Hezbollah (KH): The Badr Organization and Kata’ib Hezbollah (KH), along with Asaib Ahl al-Haq, comprise Iraq’s anti-ISIS popular mobilization forces (PMF), also known as Haashid Shaabi.¹³⁰ In battles against ISIS there is some degree of cooperation between the militias, though each militia leader ultimately retains his

¹²³ Ned Parker and Stephen Kalin, “Iraqi commander denies paramilitary groups involved in killings,” Reuters, February 9, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/09/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-amiri-idUSKBN0LD17B20150209>.

¹²⁴ Liz Sly, “Pro-Iran militias’ success in Iraq could undermine U.S.,” *Washington Post*, February 15, 2015, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/iraqs-pro-iranian-shiite-militias-lead-the-war-against-the-islamic-state/2015/02/15/5bbb1cf0-ac94-11e4-8876-460b1144cbc1_story.html.

¹²⁵ “List of groups designated terrorist organisations by the UAE,” *National* (Abu Dhabi), November 16, 2014, <http://www.thenational.ae/uae/government/list-of-groups-designated-terrorist-organisations-by-the-uae>.

¹²⁶ Babak Dehghanpisheh, “Special Report: The fighters of Iraq who answer to Iran,” Reuters, November 12, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/12/us-mideast-crisis-militias-specialreport-idUSKCN0IW0ZA20141112>.

¹²⁷ Phillip Smyth, “Iranian Proxies Step Up Their Role in Iraq,” Washington Institute for Near East Policy, June 13, 2014, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/iranian-proxies-step-up-their-role-in-iraq>.

¹²⁸ Anne Barnard, “A Balancing Act as Iraq Claims Gains in Tikrit,” *New York Times*, March 12, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/13/world/middleeast/tikrit-isis-iraq.html>.

¹²⁹ Babak Dehghanpisheh, “Special Report: The fighters of Iraq who answer to Iran,” Reuters, November 12, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/12/us-mideast-crisis-militias-specialreport-idUSKCN0IW0ZA20141112>.

¹³⁰ Phillip Smyth, “Iranian Proxies Step Up Their Role in Iraq,” Washington Institute for Near East Policy, June 13, 2014, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/iranian-proxies-step-up-their-role-in-iraq>.

autonomy.¹³¹ IRGC-Quds Force commander Qasem Soleimani has reportedly coordinated military operations for all three militias.¹³²

Iran: Reuters writes that the Badr Organization is “Iran’s oldest proxy in Iraq.”¹³³ According to senior Iraqi politicians, Badr leader Hadi al-Amiri is the commander closest to Iran on the battlefield.¹³⁴ Al-Amiri has not denied his group’s relationship with the Iranian regime, once saying, “Iran supported us very well. They gave us weapons, they gave us ammunition, they gave us their military experience.”¹³⁵ The Badr Organization has close ties to Iran’s military, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), and its external branch, the Quds Force.

Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC): The Badr Brigades militia was formed, trained, and equipped by Iran’s IRGC in 1983, according to the Congressional Research Service.¹³⁶ As of 2015, Badr leader Hadi al-Amiri retains a close relationship with the leader of IRGC’s Quds Force, Qasem Soleimani, and the Badr Organization itself has reportedly been under Soleimani’s command.¹³⁷ The Quds Force is Iran’s external military branch, charged with spreading Iran’s Islamist ideology and system of governance beyond the country’s borders.¹³⁸

Ties to Extremist Individuals:

Bashar al-Assad: In his tenure as Iraq’s transportation minister, Badr leader Hadi al-Amiri “allegedly allowed Iranian overflights to supply [Assad] with weapons during the regime’s brutal crackdown” on dissidents, according to journalist Susannah George.¹³⁹ The group has reportedly sent thousands of Shiite fighters to Syria. In November 2013, analyst Phillip Smyth testified before Congress that the Badr Organization is “the main contributors of Shia fighters through Syria.” Smyth stated that the Badr Organization is a “key Iraqi Shi’a Islamist militia in Syria. Through their ‘Armed Wing’, Badr has claimed

¹³¹ Anne Barnard, “A Balancing Act as Iraq Claims Gains in Tikrit,” *New York Times*, March 12, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/13/world/middleeast/tikrit-isis-iraq.html>.

¹³² Babak Dehghanpisheh, “Special Report: The fighters of Iraq who answer to Iran,” Reuters, November 12, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/12/us-mideast-crisis-militias-specialreport-idUSKCN0IW0ZA20141112>.

¹³³ Babak Dehghanpisheh, “Special Report: The fighters of Iraq who answer to Iran,” Reuters, November 12, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/12/us-mideast-crisis-militias-specialreport-idUSKCN0IW0ZA20141112>.

¹³⁴ Ahmed Rasheed and Ned Parker, “Shi’ite militias expand influence, redraw map in central Iraq,” Reuters, December 31, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/12/31/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-idUSKBN0K909K20141231>.

¹³⁵ Loveday Morris, “Appointment of Iraq’s new interior minister opens door to militia and Iranian influence,” *Washington Post*, October 18, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/appointment-of-iraqs-new-interior-minister-opens-door-to-militia-and-iranian-influence/2014/10/18/f6f2a347-d38c-4743-902a-254a169ca274_story.html.

¹³⁶ Kenneth Katzman, “CRS Report for Congress: Iran’s Influence in Iraq,” Congressional Research Service, last updated May 22, 2007, www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA468096.

¹³⁷ Mohamed Bazzi, “Iraqis may fear Shi’ite militias more than Islamic State,” Reuters, February 19, 2015, <http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2015/02/19/does-islamic-state-fear-these-guys-as-much-as-their-own-countrymen-do/>.

¹³⁸ Martin Chulov, “Qais al-Khazali: from kidnapper and prisoner to potential leader,” *Guardian* (London), December 31, 2009, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/dec/31/iran-hostages-qais-al-khazali>.

¹³⁹ Susannah George, “Breaking Badr,” *Foreign Policy*, November 6, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/06/breaking-badr/>.

to have sent some 1,500 members to Syria as part of their expeditionary unit called *Quwet al-Shahid Muhammed Baqir al-Sadr* (the Martyr Muhammed Baqir al-Sadr Forces).¹⁴⁰ In March 2014, the group allegedly sent an additional 2,000 fighters to Syria.¹⁴¹

Qasem Soleimani: Badr leader Hadi al-Amiri is public about his relationship with the leader of Iran's IRGC-Quds Force Qasem Soleimani, calling him "a friend, a good man and a good fighter."¹⁴² In 1991, Soleimani reportedly "played a part in planning and administering the military operations of the Badr forces in the Shiite uprising against Saddam."¹⁴³ A Reuters report from February 2015 describes Soleimani as having directed the Badr Organization.¹⁴⁴ Hadi al-Amiri has himself been photographed with Soleimani as the two discuss battle strategy and celebrate victories.¹⁴⁵

Rhetoric:

Muen al-Kadhimi, Badr Organization deputy leader, April 2, 2015

"To be honest, everywhere we captured [prisoners from Tikrit] we killed them because they were the enemy."¹⁴⁶

Pro-Violence

Hadi al-Amiri, Badr Organization leader, March 2015

"[H]elp from Iran is unconditional."¹⁴⁷

Pro-Iranian Regime

Hadi al-Amiri, Badr Organization leader, February 2015

"[Qasem Soleimani] advises us. He offers us information, we respect him very much."¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁰ *Terrorist Groups in Syria: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade of the Committee on Foreign Affairs House of Representatives*, 113th Cong. 17-24 (2013) (statement of Phillip Smyth, Middle East research analyst, University of Maryland), <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-113hhrg85643/pdf/CHRG-113hhrg85643.pdf>.

¹⁴¹ Nazeer Rida, "Iraqi fighters lead attack on the town of Yabroud, say Syrian activists," *Asharq Al-Awsat* (London), March 4, 2014, <http://www.aawsat.net/2014/03/article55329651/iraqi-fighters-lead-attack-on-the-town-of-yabroud-say-syrian-activists>.

¹⁴² Susannah George, "Breaking Badr," *Foreign Policy*, November 6, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/06/breaking-badr/>.

¹⁴³ Ali Mamouri, "The Enigma of Qasem Soleimani and His Role in Iraq," *Al-Monitor*, October 13, 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/10/the-enigma-behind-qassem-suleimani.html#ixzz3XOJTupLs>.

¹⁴⁴ Mohamed Bazzi, "Iraqis may fear Shi'ite militias more than Islamic State," Reuters, February 19, 2015, <http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2015/02/19/does-islamic-state-fear-these-guys-as-much-as-their-own-countrymen-do/>.

¹⁴⁵ Akbar Shahid Ahmed and Ryan Grim, "What's Wrong With This Picture? For U.S. Fight Against ISIS, Everything," Huffington Post, November 23, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/11/23/obama-isis-iran_n_6165352.html.

¹⁴⁶ Rod Nordland, "Iraq Forces, Pushing ISIS Out of Tikrit, Give Few Thanks for U.S. Airstrikes," *New York Times*, April 2, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/03/world/middleeast/isis-forces-pushed-out-of-tikrit.html>.

¹⁴⁷ Associated Press, "Iraq Militia Leader Hails Iran's 'Unconditional' Support," *New York Times*, March 13, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2015/03/13/world/middleeast/ap-ml-islamic-state.html>.

¹⁴⁸ Eli Lake, "Iran's Militias Are Taking Over Iraq's Army," Bloomberg View, February 3, 2015, <http://www.bloombergview.com/articles/2015-02-03/exclusive-iran-s-militias-are-taking-over-iraq-s-army>.

Pro-Iranian Regime

Hadi al-Amiri, Badr Organization leader, 2015

“The majority of us believe that ... Khamenei has all the qualifications as an Islamic leader. He is the leader not only for Iranians but the Islamic nation. I believe so and I take pride in it... Khamenei would place the interests of the Iraqi people above all else.”¹⁴⁹

Pro-Iranian Regime

Hadi al-Amiri, Badr Organization leader, December 29, 2014

“The day of judgment is coming... We will attack the [Muqdadhiyya] area until nothing is left. Is my message clear?”¹⁵⁰

Pro-Violence

¹⁴⁹ Ned Parker, Babak Dehghanpisheh and Isabel Coles, “Special Report: How Iran’s military chiefs operate in Iraq,” Reuters, February 24, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/24/us-mideast-crisis-committee-specialrepor-idUSKBN0LS0VD20150224>.

¹⁵⁰ “Iraq: Militias Escalate Abuses, Possibly War Crimes,” Human Rights Watch, February 15, 2015, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2015/02/15/iraq-militias-escalate-abuses-possibly-war-crimes>.