

Militia List of U.S. “Greatest Hits” Gives Insight Into Attack Cell Structure

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Brief Analysis

Part of a series: [Militia Spotlight \(https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/series/militia-spotlight\)](#)

or see Part 1: [How to Use Militia Spotlight \(/policy-analysis/how-use-militia-spotlight\)](#)

A poster of thirty-six militia “martyrs” provides useful data about who was killed by U.S. forces at specific times and places.

On November 6, the [Islamic Resistance in Iraq \(IRI\) \(/node/18416\)](#) War Media released a claim of a Shahed-101 drone attack on Israel, specifying “a military target in Jordan Valley.” Instead of the typical imagery shown in these claims—with a drone appearing alongside a very recognizable militia “martyr” such as Hassan Nasrallah or Hashem Safieddine—this drone was shown with a sheet of thirty-six faces belonging to Iraqi “martyrs” whom IRI claims have been killed by U.S. strikes during the Gaza war. If these fighters have indeed been accurately linked to specific strikes (see Figure 1), it provides some interesting potential findings about the Iraqi *muqawama* (resistance) war effort over the past year.

#	Name / Faṣalī (Armed Group) / Location of Killing / Date of Killing
1	Abu Baqir al-Saedi (Wissam Muhammed Sabir al-Saadi), Kataib Hezbollah (KH). Killed by a US airstrike in Baghdad on February 7, 2024.
2	Abu Taqwa al-Saedi (Mushtaq Talib al-Saedi), Harakat al-Nujaba (HaN). Killed by US airstrike in Baghdad on January 4, 2024.
3	Dera Ali al-Ameri, KH (PMF 47 th brigade). Killed in a US Airstrike on Jurf al-Sakhar on December 26, 2023.
4	Haider Tareq Hemadi, KH. Killed in a US airstrike on Jurf al-Sakhar on 22 November 2023.
5	Atheer al-Zaidi (Atheer Jabar Salman), KH. Killed in US airstrike on Al-Qaim on February 3, 2024.
6	Hussein Hadi al-Aqabi, HaN. Killed in a US airstrike on Kirkuk on December 3, 2023.
7	Alaa Abdal-Abadi, “PMF 33 rd brigade” Quwat Waad Allah, a Fadhiya Party militia). Killed in a US airstrike on PMF Anbar Operations Centre command on February 3, 2024.
8	Ali al-Luaibi, HaN. Killed in a US airstrike on Kirkuk on December 3, 2023.
9	Majed Abdullah, HaN. Killed in a US airstrike on Jurf al-Sakhar on November 22, 2023.
10	Abdullah Jawad, HaN. Killed in a US airstrike on Kirkuk on December 3, 2023.
11	Muntadher al-Maimouri, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Jurf al-Sakhar on November 22, 2023.
12	Mohammed Fadhi, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Jurf al-Sakhar on November 22, 2023.
13	Salam Mohammed, unknown faction. Killed in US airstrike in Anbar on February 3, 2024.
14	Abbas al-Bedri, KH. Killed in US airstrike on Akashat on February 3, 2024.
15	Ali Majed al-Obaidi, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Qaim on February 3, 2024.
16	Mohammed Jabar Al-Thawheri, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Jurf al-Sakhar on November 22, 2023.
17	Fadhil al-Maksusi, KH. Killed in a US airstrike on his vehicle on November 21, 2023, making him the first Iraqi <i>muqawama</i> to be killed following October 7, 2023.
18	Mahmood Badr, HaN. Killed in a US airstrike on Kirkuk on December 3, 2023.
19	Ali al-Murshidi, KH. Killed in US airstrike on Akashat on February 3, 2024.
20	Murtadha Jaber, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Jurf al-Sakhar on November 22, 2023.
21	Amjad Farhan, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Qaim on February 3, 2024.
22	Ali Mehbes, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Jurf al-Sakhar on November 22, 2023.
23	Murtadha Jabar, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Jurf al-Sakhar on November 22, 2023.
24	Salah Jaseb al-Saedi, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Jurf al-Sakhar on November 22, 2023.
25	Mohammed Abdal-Salam, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Qaim on February 3, 2024.
26	Qasim Mohsen, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Qaim on February 3, 2024.
27	Hussein Ali al-Shammari, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Qaim on February 3, 2024.
28	Salah Mahdi, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Jurf al-Sakhar on November 22, 2023.
29	Ali Hassan, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Jurf al-Sakhar on November 22, 2023.
30	Mohammed Qasim, HaN. Killed in a US airstrike on Kirkuk on December 3, 2023.
31	Kadhim Abdal-Hamza, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Qaim on February 3, 2024.
32	Abdal Abbas al-Hasnawi, unknown faction. Killed in a US airstrike on Qaim on February 3, 2024.
33	Abdallah Ibrahim, KH. Killed in a US airstrike on Qaim on February 3, 2024.
34	Ali Anwar Sabeh, KH. Killed by a US airstrike in Qaim on January 24, 2024.
35	Anwar Thedan al-Ghani, KH. Killed in a US airstrike on Qaim on February 3, 2024.
36	Hamza Gadaa, KH. Killed in a US airstrike on Qaim on February 3, 2024.

Figure 1: Iraqi militia “martyr” names exposed during November 6, 2024, drone strike claim. Green shading denotes Kataib Hezbollah; tan denotes Harakat Hezbollah al-Nujaba.

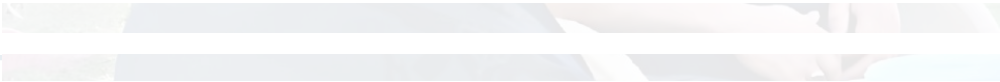
Finding 1: No militia fighters are claimed to have been killed by the first four of the ten U.S. strikes listed. This is a reminder that the United States “started slow” in its campaign of counterstrikes, initially using nonlethal strikes aimed at buildings and arms caches (on October 27 and 30 and November 9 and 13, 2023). U.S. deterrence became more effective when militia personnel were struck in large numbers, including leaders. (For a full listing of Iraqi militia attacks and U.S. responses, see Militia Spotlight’s [tracker \(https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/tracking-anti-us-and-anti-israel-strikes-iraq-and-syria-during-gaza-crisis\)](#).)

Finding 2: The United States began killing designated militia leaders on December 26, 2023. The Christmas 2023 strike that grievously wounded an American was met with an angry response on December 26, with a strike that killed just one militiaman, but an important one: Dera Ali al-Ameri, the commander of the Popular Mobilization Forces 47th Brigade, a unit belonging to the U.S.-designated militia [Kataib Hezbollah \(/node/16641\)](#) (KH). By linking Dera to the PMF, the November 6 “martyr” statement underlined Iraqi government complicity in attacks on U.S. forces—that is, a senior PMF commander was selected by the United States for lethal targeting due to his involvement in terrorist acts and membership in a terrorist organization.

Finding 3: Many militia “martyrs” are not associated here with specific terrorist organizations. The IRI statement only ascribed factional membership to half of the listed fighters: eleven (30%) to KH and seven (19%) to [Harakat Hezbollah al-Nujaba \(/node/16716\)](#). Most of the remaining men were not tied to any faction, with one exception: the seemingly senior fighter Alaa Abdal-Abadi of the PMF's 33rd Brigade (aka Quwat Waad Allah, a Fadhila Party militia). This opens up many possibilities. Why would militia groups, who are generally proud of their “martyrs,” not claim them? It stands to reason that the unclaimed men on the list may be tied to PMF units that are not yet sanctioned by the United States or otherwise deliberately targeted. Nine of the unclaimed were killed during U.S. strikes in Jurf al-Sakhar on November 22, 2023; the other eight were killed during February 3, 2024, strikes in central and western Anbar, which included KH's [Jazira Operations Command \(/node/16908\)](#)/PMF Western Anbar Operations Command headquarters in locations such as Akashat and al-Qaim. These sites tend to draw personnel from numerous groups closely associated with KH such as [Liwa al-Tafuf \(/node/18615\)](#) (13th PMF Brigade), [Ansar Allah al-Awfiya \(/node/18506\)](#) (19th Brigade), Harakat al-Abdal (39th Brigade), [Saraya al-Jihad \(/node/18963\)](#) (17th Brigade), and the less capable Liwa al-Muntadher (7th Brigade). One can now add the 33rd Brigade to this list.

Finding 4: Nujaba was not present in Anbar. If the listing is accurate, the only Nujaba deaths are the drone cell destroyed in Dibis, near Kirkuk, on December 3, 2023, and the commander killed in Baghdad on January 4, 2024. This fits neatly with other data points indicating that Nujaba is focused on U.S. targets in Iraqi Kurdistan (from northern launch points) or Syria (from Syrian launch areas). The apparent Nujaba cell leader killed at Dibis, Hussein Hadi al-Aqabi, apparently had close ties to Abu Taqwa, [the high-level Nujaba leader \(/node/18558\)](#) killed on January 4 (Figure 2).

Finding 5: No Kataib Sayyid al-Shuhada (KSS) “martyrs” are shown. This may indicate that [KSS \(/node/16731\)](#) plays a very small role in kinetic actions, and/or that all of its actions and communications use the [Saraya Awliya al-Dam \(/node/16626\)](#) brand, separate from the IRI brand. ❖



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