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Murder of Jamal Khashoggi: A Mystery

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ABSTRACT

This article has outlined the facts with regards to the execution of Journalist, Mr Jamal Khashoggi who was killed inside Saudi Arabia's consulate in Istanbul, Turkey on 2nd October, 2018. Author, in this article has attempted to analyse how this premeditated plan of killing in a consulate has favoured the smooth accomplishment of Saudi Arabia's plan and what are its obligation in planning such a killing. In this article the author has also discussed the role of United Nations in such a case where international laws were violated and why Turkey and USA are also to be blamed for the successful execution. Latter part of the article discusses the faults in the ongoing trials of those who are charged and the possible remedies.

I. INTRODUCTION

There Jamal Khashoggi, a self-imposed exile citizen of Saudi Arabia, residing in The United States where he worked as a journalist for the Washington Post was murdered in the consulate of Saudi Arabia in Istanbul, Turkey on 2nd October, 2018. He visited the consulate to acquire the documents required for him to marry his Turkish Fiancé, Miss Hatice Cengiz.

According to a media report, Khashoggi was close to the royal family of Saudi Arab and also served as an advisor to the government but soon after he moved to the USA, he started condemning the policies of Prince Mohammad Bin Salman (MBS) in his column at the Washington Post. He feared of being arrested or killed.

It has been more than a year since the journalist was murder and there are conflicting narratives over who is responsible for his death, how did he die and where are the remains of his body.

An investigation held by UN Special Rapporteur Agnes Callamard concluded that there is “credible evidence” to prove that the prince of Saudi was involved in the murder.

II. WHY THE CONSULATE?

While answering the question as to why did the officials of Saudi Arab chose consulate to murder Jamal Khashoggi, two terms come into light: “Diplomat Immunity” and “Consular

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Immunity”

Diplomats are people who represent their country in a foreign land. While they hold their diplomatic post, they receive administrative, civil and criminal immunity in the receiving state except in the case of

“(a) A real action relating to private immovable property situated in the territory of the receiving State, unless he holds it on behalf of the sending State for the purposes of the mission;

(b) An action relating to succession in which the diplomatic agent is involved as executor, administrator, heir or legatee as a private person and not on behalf of the sending State;

*(c) An action relating to any professional or commercial activity exercised by the diplomatic agent in the receiving State outside his official functions”.*²

The main aim of the Convention is to allow diplomats to carry out their work without hindrance in the receiving state. They can do this only if they do not face any risk of reprisals the latter state’s government.³

Consular Immunity is discussed in The Vienna Convention on Consular Relations. A consul operates from an embassy which is placed in a foreign land. Article 31 grants consular immunity in a way that the authorities of the receiving state are not allowed to enter the consulate without the permission of head of the consular post.⁴

The abovementioned immunities explain why Jamal Khashoggi was murdered inside an embassy. He could be easily lured into the embassy and be killed because the Turkish authorities are not allowed into the embassy and by the time they would have entered the embassy, the work would have already been done.

III. OBLIGATIONS OF SAUDI ARABIA

Jamal Khashoggi was murdered inside a Saudi consulate in Istanbul, Turkey. For almost 2 weeks, Saudi denied any acknowledgement of this unfortunate event. However, later the government said that the journalist died during a ‘rogue operation’ and a ‘huge mistake’ which was continued by a series of conflicting statements.⁵

In a report by UN Special Rapporteur Agnes Callamard it is concluded that she has found

² Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, article 31, April 14, 1961.

³Diplomatic Immunity (January 9, 2020), <https://www.government.nl/topics/embassies-consulates-and-other-representations/diplomatic-immunity>.

⁴ Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, article 31, April 22, 1963.

⁵Martin Chulov, Jamal Khashoggi: murder in the consulate (October 21, 2018), <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/21/death-of-dissident-jamal-khashoggi-mohammed-bin-salman>.

‘credible evidence’ which links the Saudi Prince and other high officials to Khashoggi murder.⁶

Since khashoggi killing is a grave human right violation, it is important to understand how Saudi Arab hold obligation for such killing and to respect khashoggi’s human rights.

In order to track down the obligations on Saudi Arab, let us first look at the timeline of events which surrounded Khashoggi’s murder and are of great relevance.

Jamal Khashoggi first visited the Embassy on 28th September, 2018 when he was told to return on 2nd of October, 2018. On 2nd October, he was seen entering the consulate at 13:14 p.m. as recorded by the surveillance camera outside consulate.⁷ He was accompanied by Cengiz who waited for him outside the consulate and was asked to contact YasinAktay, a close friend to the Turkish president, in case anything went wrong.⁸

For a few days Saudi officials denied any knowledge about khashoggi whereabouts and told the reporters that the cameras inside the consulate have failed to capture any footage of khashoggi. However, on 20th October, Saudi government reported that an investigation by prosecutors concluded that the journalist died in a ‘rogue operation’ and that the exact cause of death is not known.⁹ Saudi has clearly denied any involvement of its crown prince in the event.

Saudi Arab is not a member to the most important international human rights convention, ICCPR, which could have directly protected khashoggi’s human rights. However, Saudi arab is a member to convention against torture and the Arab charter on human rights which is a regional convention. Therefore the obligations can either stem from the Charter, CAT or international customary laws.

Article 5 of the Arab Charter lays down that

“Every individual has the right to life, liberty and security of person. These rights shall be protected by law.”¹⁰

And Article 32(1) lays down that

“The present Charter shall ensure the right to information, freedom of opinion and freedom

⁶Daniel Hilton, The Sacrificial Animal (June 9, 2019), <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/sacrificial-animal-un-report-reveals-details-khashoggis-final-moments>.

⁷Jamal Khashoggi case: A timeline of events surrounding his murder (October 2, 2019), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/10/jamal-khashoggi-case-timeline-181017155740442.html>.

⁸ Id.

⁹Jamal Khashoggi: All you need to know about Saudi journalist's death (June 19, 2019), <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-45812399>.

¹⁰Arab Charter on Human Rights, article 5, May 22, 2004.

of expression, freedom to seek, receive and impart information by all means, regardless of frontiers."¹¹

If we look at the literal interpretation of Article 5 of Arab charter, this article can be divided into two part.

The first part puts a negative obligation on the state to protect the rights of an individual and refrain from using any kind of arbitrary force against that individual without a just reason. Any such force so used shall be absolutely necessary and be used as a last resort since no right is absolute in nature.

The second part puts a positive obligation on state to protect the rights of an individual not only from any other individual but also from any other state. While the negative obligation restricts the state to use any kind of unjustified force on an individual, the positive obligation requires them to undertake certain steps or draft certain policies which would safeguard the individual's right from any third party.

Further, the acts which have supposedly taken place constitute an act of torture as per the convention against torture which Saudi Arabia has ratified. Prohibition against torture is also provided under Article 5 of Universal Declaration of Human rights ¹²and is widely regarded as a customary principle in International law.¹³ The principle derives its validity from the case of Pinochet where Lord Hope observed that Torture will constitute as an International Crime.¹⁴ According to a paper by Swedish Forum on Human Rights, the prohibition of torture is absolute and cannot be justified in any circumstances.¹⁵

IV. ROLE OF UNITED NATIONS

Protection and promotion of human rights is the key purpose of the United Nations.¹⁶ The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) has lead responsibility in the UN system for the promotion and protection of human rights. The office supports the human rights components of peacekeeping missions in several countries, and has many country and regional offices and centres. The High Commissioner for Human Rights regularly comments on human rights situations in the world and has the authority to

¹¹Arab Charter on Human Rights, article 32(1), May 22, 2004

¹² https://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf

¹³Dr. H.O Agarwal, Human Rights.

¹⁴ Id.

¹⁵Matt Pollard, The Absolute and Comprehensive Prohibition of Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, https://www.apr.ch/content/files_res/TortureProhibition_SFHR.pdf.

¹⁶Protect Human Rights, <https://www.un.org/en/sections/what-we-do/protect-human-rights/>

investigate situations and issue reports on them.¹⁷

Under special procedure of human rights council resolution, independent human rights expert make a report from thematic study which is a broad study or a fact finding which is a narrower and more specific study.¹⁸

In the present case, UN Special Rapporteur Agnes Callamard has made the investigation and has submitted a report of her findings. Although as Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, she was appointed by the United Nations Human Rights Council and mandated under resolution 35/15 to examine situations of extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions in all circumstances, and to submit her findings on an annual basis, together with conclusions and recommendations, to the Human Rights Council and the General Assembly, she was working on her personal capacity and independent from any government or UN.¹⁹

Callamard has given a full finding and analysis of international human rights inquiry that she has conducted with regards to the unlawful death of journalist Jamal Khashoggi in her report. Her report states that she has found “credible evidence warranting further investigation on Saudi official and the crown prince” along with other important things to note.²⁰

However, the major question here arises as to what happens after the report is submitted by the independent rapporteurs to the human right council and a violation of Human right has been identified?

Human rights council to the UN is highly flawed and faces a lot of criticism not just for its structure but also for its report submission mechanism. Members of the council are supposed to be the ones which follow the highest standards of human right but the results are often disappointing.²¹ The conduct of the council is also often influenced by International relations i.e., relation between country as a member of the council and the country in question. Also, UN human rights machinery does not have any leverage over states that fail to comply with their obligations.²² States are far less willing to engage with protection activities because they

¹⁷Id.

¹⁸Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council, <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/SP/Pages/Introduction.aspx>.

¹⁹Inquiry into Killing Jamal Khashoggi, <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Executions/Pages/Inquiry.aspx>.

²⁰Read the full United Nations report on the killing of Jamal Khashoggi, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/read-full-united-nations-report-killing-jamal-khashoggi>.

²¹Ted Piccone, Assessing the united nations human rights council, (May 25, 2017), <https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/assessing-the-united-nations-human-rights-council/>.

²²Dr. Rosa Freedman, Failing To Protect: Systemic weaknesses within the UN human rights machinery (July 7, 2014), <https://www.universal-rights.org/blog/failing-to-protect-systemic-weaknesses-within-the-un-human-rights-machinery/>.

impact upon the immediate situation within a country. And a key weakness of UN human rights bodies is that, while they are set up for dialogue and engagement, they lack the teeth to effectively protect rights where a state is not willing to cooperate. Unlike the Security Council, human rights bodies do not have enforcement powers.²³

With regards to criminal investigation UN chief António Guterres said via his Spokespersons, "The Secretary-General does not have the power or the authority to launch criminal investigations without a mandate from a competent intergovernmental body, he stressed to journalists on Wednesday in New York, as "power and authority to do that, lies with Member States". If a full and effective criminal investigation is not conducted by Member States, the only way to effectively pursue an investigation, requiring the cooperation of relevant Member States, would be through a resolution of the Security Council, under the appropriate Charter provisions. All Member States should cooperate with those efforts".²⁴

In simple terms it means that the UN does not have any power to hold criminal investigations against any state. However, if an effective criminal investigation is not conducted by member states, UN can then pursue criminal investigation with the cooperation of member states in passing a resolution of Security Council under UN Charter.

This execution of Jamal Khashoggi is indeed a symbol of threats and targeted killing of journalists and shows how this impunity covers up serious Human Rights Abuse and other crimes. The United Nations General Assembly proclaimed 2 November as the 'International Day to End Impunity for Crimes against Journalists' in General Assembly Resolution A/RES/68/163. The Resolution urged Member States to implement definite measures countering the present culture of impunity. The date was chosen in commemoration of the assassination of two French journalists in Mali on 2 November 2013.²⁵

V. POSITION OF TURKEY AND U.S.A

On 2nd of October, 2018, Turkey came to know about the disappearance of the journalist, Jamal Khashoggi after his fiancé Hatice Called the government official as per the direction of Khashoggi. However, the question is whether Turkey and US has premeditated this happening well in advance? If yes, whether they are to be equally blamed for the death of Jamal Khashoggi?

²³ Id.

²⁴ Saudi Arabia in spotlight as UN-appointed independent investigator publishes full Khashoggi findings, (June 19, 2019), <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/06/1040821>.

²⁵ International Day to End Impunity for Crimes against Journalists 2 November, <https://www.un.org/en/events/journalists/>.

There is no credible evidence to show that either Turkey or U.S knew that something of this sort could happen, however, the author assumes that they did, keeping in account several incidents which occurred before the murder took place.

The fact that Saudi regime is strict and almost cruel when it comes to freedom of speech is not new. According to a report by Committee to protect journalists, “Countries on the list use a combination of blunt tactics like harassment and arbitrary detention as well as sophisticated surveillance and targeted hacking to silence the independent press. Saudi Arabia, China, Vietnam, and Iran are especially adept at practicing these two brands of censorship: jailing and harassing journalists and their families, while also engaging in digital monitoring and censorship of the internet and social media.”²⁶

According to a report by The Guardian, About 20 people have been arbitrarily detained this year [2019] and there have been 30 detentions since the murder in October last year of Khashoggi, a journalist, in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul, HRW said.²⁷

Jamal Khashoggi was one of the most influential journalists of Saudi Arabia. He was fired from a Saudi Newspaper, Al-watan twice for "pushing the boundaries of debate within Saudi society." After which he became a public commentator, criticising the Saudi policies.²⁸ He then went into a self-imposed exile to U.S in the fear of arrest and his life²⁹ where he started working for the Washington Post.³⁰

In 2017, U.S Intelligence agency intercepted an audio recording between Crown Prince and his top aid. In the conversation Prince Mohammed Said that Khashoggi had grown too influential and that his posts were tarnishing prince’s image. In another recording he said that he would ‘use a bullet’ if he did not return and end his criticism.³¹

A U.S. intelligence agency “that collects or acquires credible and specific information indicating an impending threat of intentional killing, serious bodily injury, or kidnapping directed at a person or group of people shall have a duty to warn the intended victim or those

²⁶10 Most Censored Countries, <https://cpj.org/reports/2019/09/10-most-censored-eritrea-north-korea-turkmenistan-journalist.php>

²⁷Michael safi, Saudi Arabia: arrests of dissidents and torture allegations continue (November 4, 2019), <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/nov/04/saudi-arabia-mass-arrests-of-dissidents-and-torture-allegations-continue>.

²⁸Jamal Khashoggi: A Profile (October 11, 2018), <https://www.voanews.com/middle-east/jamal-khashoggi-profile>.

²⁹Bill Law, I know Jamal Khashoggi personally and I fear for his safety (October 4, 2018), <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/fear-jamal-khashoggi-181004080147143.html>.

³⁰https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/who-is-jamal-khashoggi-a-saudiinsider-who-became-an-exiled-critic/2018/10/20/0a996bea-d492-11e8-a4db-184311d27129_story.html

³¹Mark Mazzetti, Year Before Killing, Saudi Prince Told Aide He Would Use ‘a Bullet’ on Jamal Khashoggi (February 7, 2019), <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/07/us/politics/khashoggi-mohammed-bin-salman.html>.

responsible for protecting the intended victim, as appropriate,” the new directive states. “This includes threats where the target is an institution, place of business, structure, or location.”³²

Now the question arises that if the intelligence agency knew or ought to have known about the threat to Khashoggi’s life and had clue that crown prince might do something which endangers his life why did they not warn or protect the life of a resident in their country who at that point of time was working for them.

Turkey on the other hand, speaking on the condition of anonymity, have said that their government has detailed evidence of a gory assassination, which they say the Saudi leadership ordered.³³Turkey noticed the arrival of 15 Saudi agents who flew into their territory on the day Mr.Khashoggi disappeared. They also knew that the agents were waiting for him inside the consulate.³⁴

Looking at the situations it can be assumed that there was a foreseeable danger to Khashoggi’s life which was neglected by the Turkish authorities.

Paragraph 7 of general comment no. 35 by human rights committee says-

*“States parties have the duty to take appropriate measures to protect the right to liberty of person against deprivation by third parties. States parties must protect individuals against abduction or detention by individual criminals or irregular groups, including armed or terrorist groups, operating within their territory. They must also protect individuals against wrongful deprivation of liberty by lawful organizations, such as employers, schools and hospitals. States parties should do their utmost to take appropriate measures to protect individuals against deprivation of liberty by the action of other States within their territory”*³⁵

It lays down the duty of the state to protect the right to liberty of person from any third person and to take appropriate measures in doing so.

Turkey and U.S.A, despite of being a party to the ICCPR have failed to perform their duty towards the person residing in their territory if they knew or ought to have known the threats to the life of Mr.Khashoggi.

VI. INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

Killing of Jamal Khashoggi provoked a global outcry. Countries reacted to it differently.

³²Steven Aftergood, Intelligence Agencies Have a “Duty to Warn” Endangered Persons (August 24, 2016), <https://fas.org/blogs/secrecy/2015/08/duty-to-warn/>.

³³David D. Kirkpatrick, Jamal Khashoggi’s Disappearance: What We Know and Don’t Know (October 15, 2018), <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/15/world/middleeast/missing-saudi-journalist-jamal-khashoggi.html>.

³⁴Id.

³⁵General comment no. 35

While some countries like Finland, Denmark and Germany banned arms sale to Saudi, Other countries such as the U.S.A is still unsure as to whether the crowned prince shall be blamed for the atrocity which can be confirmed by the statement made by U.S.A's President, Mr. Donald Trump where he said "Maybe he did, maybe he didn't." referring to the Crowned prince.³⁶He also said that "In any case, our relationship is with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. They have been a great ally in our very important fight against Iran. The United States intends to remain a steadfast partner of Saudi Arabia to ensure the interests of our country, Israel and all other partners in the region."³⁷

However, 22 senators from the U.S.A invoked the Global Magnitsky Act and demanded President Trump to investigate violations committed against Khashoggi. According to this act, "Upon receipt of a letter from a chairman and ranking member of an appropriate House or Senate committee, the president has 120 days to determine if a foreign individual committed a human rights violation."³⁸ U.S Secretary Pompeo announced travel restriction and revoked visas of the persons identified from investigations under this act³⁹.

Turkey's ties with Saudi have strained since the Murder took place inside Saudi's consulate which was located in Istanbul, Turkey. President, RecepTayyipErdogan called the killing a "political murder"⁴⁰The Turkish leader went on to call the killing "savage", adding that Ankara would continue its investigation until all questions have been answered.⁴¹

VII. CIRCUMVENTION BY SAUDI ARAB

Saudi Arabia initiated the prosecution of 11 charged suspects with regards to the killing of Jamal Khashoggi. However, there are a lot of problems in the way the trial is being conducted.

The very first one being that according to an article from National Public Radio (NPR), The office of Prosecutor Saud al-Mojeb said that 21 suspects were taken into custody. However, the office of Mojeb later declared that only 11 out of 21 suspects were charged. ⁴²No proper

³⁶Khashoggi's murder: One year on, here's what we know (October 1, 2019), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/09/year-jamal-khashoggi-murder-190930100740798.html>.

³⁷Donald Trump's full statement on Jamal Khashoggi killing (November 21, 2018), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/11/donald-trump-full-statement-jamal-khashoggi-killing-181120181652382.html>.

³⁸Ola Salem, What is the Magnitsky Act? How does it apply to Khashoggi's case? (October 28, 2018), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/10/magnitsky-act-apply-khashoggi-case-181011184312416.html>.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰YarnoRitzen, Khashoggi killing a 'political murder': Erdogan (October 23, 2018), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/10/khashoggi-killing-planned-turkish-president-erdogan-181023100141253.html>.

⁴¹ Id.

⁴²Bill Chappell, Khashoggi Case Update: Saudi Prosecutor Says 5 Suspects Should Be Executed (November 15, 2018), <https://www.npr.org/2018/11/15/668162272/khashoggi-case-update-saudi-prosecutor-says-5-suspects->

reasoning or validation is given by the authorities as to who and on what grounds were 10 suspects released.

Even after being asked for transparency in the proceedings against 11 suspects by Turkey and other countries, Saudi Arabia has declined the requests and demands for transparency. Neither the charges nor the identities of those accused for the killing have been released.⁴³

Saud al-Qahtani, who was the crown's top aides and Salah Muhammed al-Tubaigy, a forensic doctor, who are believed to have a major role in Khashoggi's execution are not charged till date. The Turkish newspaper Daily Sabah reported recently that Mr.Tubaigy is living quietly with his family in a villa in Jiddah. It indicates that although some level of justice may be given through the ongoing prosecution in Saudi, those who were close to the crown will be shielded and protected.⁴⁴

The prosecution has asked death penalty for 5 of the accused. However, without the transparency and the identities of the accused being released, capital punishment could lead to grave miscarriage to justice.

All the proceedings are being taking place behind closed doors which would have been fine if the case was a domestic issue. However, Khashoggi being a resident of USA and being killed on the grounds of Turkey, this case is no longer a domestic case.

VIII. REMEDIES

Killing of Jamal Khashoggi is a grave violation to his fundamental right and has violated certain other basic principles of international law. Saudi Arab has only taken timid steps with regards to investigation and prosecution of those suspected with the killing. Moreover, the secretive proceedings have also lead to violation of rights of the kin, colleagues and many others.

The author of this report is of the opinion that principle of universal jurisdiction should be followed in prosecuting the accused since the killing has led to an international crime and has violated the principle of Jus Cogens.

“Based on the notion that certain crimes are so grave that they affect the international community as a whole, the principle of universal jurisdiction, which entitles a State to

should-be-executed.

⁴³BorzouDaragahi, Saudi Arabia rejects pressure for more transparency in Khashoggi murder trial (March 14, 2019), <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/khashoggi-murder-trial-saudi-arabia-bin-salman-mbs-latest-a8822911.html>.

⁴⁴Saudi Arabia's trial for Khashoggi's murder is a travesty. Congress must insist on justice (January 7, 2019), https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/saudi-arabias-trial-for-khashoggis-murder-is-a-travesty-congress-must-insist-on-justice/2019/01/06/c76531a8-1053-11e9-8938-5898adc28fa2_story.html.

prosecute offenders even in the absence of any link between the crime committed and the prosecuting state, is one means of facilitating and securing the repression of such crimes. The rationale of universal jurisdiction is to avoid impunity and to prevent those who committed serious crimes from finding a safe haven in third countries.”⁴⁵The crimes covered by universal jurisdiction include genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, torture and enforced disappearances.⁴⁶

Since the proceeding conducted by Saudi Arabia is unjust and in violation of certain rights such as right to know, Turkey or USA should be given right to prosecute the suspected persons since the principle envisage that States can prosecute criminals who are on their territory, regardless of where the crimes may have been committed or of the nationality of the perpetrators and the victims.⁴⁷

Saudi Arabia should come forward and accept state liability and accountability. The authority should provide a formal apology along with compensation to the family and friends of Jamal Khashoggi and should extend the apology to Turkish Government for misusing their powers.

IX. CONCLUSION

Jamal Khashoggi who entered the consulate of Saudi Arabia in Istanbul, Turkey with a dream to marry his beloved was never seen again. He was mercilessly killed inside the consulate and his body disposed, which is not found till date. Whether or not Saudi accepts the accountability of this execution, the fact that his rights, not just as a citizen of any country but as a human, were grossly violated will never change. This execution is not the first of its kind. There are cases like such before and there will be cases like this in future if the attitude of authoritarian states do not change.

The murder was not only a violation of his rights under a particular state but it violated a number of laws under international law. Consular and diplomatic immunity under Vienna convention on Consular Relations and Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations were gravely misused in executing the murder. Further, the killing may also constitute acts of torture which is a violation to the norms of Jus Cogens and Right to life, most fundamental and important human right was

For this incident to be the last, member states of UN should come together to set up a criminal investigation against those persons who are connected with the execution of Jamal

⁴⁵ <https://www.icrc.org/en/download/file/1086/universal-jurisdiction-icrc-eng.pdf>

⁴⁶ValériePaulet, *The ICC & universal jurisdiction: Two ways, one fight* (May 23, 2017), <http://www.coalitionfortheicc.org/news/20170519/icc-universal-jurisdiction-two-ways-one-fight>.

⁴⁷Id.

Khashoggi and make sure that justice is served not only to him but to every other Journalist or person who was stopped from enjoying his freedom of opinion and expression. UN should also adopt resolutions to enhance the safety and protection of journalists and curtail targeted killings.
