

## Rafale Deal- An Analysis of the Reportage by Two Prominent National Newspapers – ‘The Times of India’ and ‘The Hindu’ from July 18 to Sept 18, 2018

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**Abstract:** *Dr. John Winston Spanier, Professor Emeritus, of the Department of Political Science at the University of Florida, in his book “Games Nations Play” wrote “A nation’s military strength is an important component of its power”. Today, India is more or less in a similar situation. Surrounded by hostile nations- Pakistan and China. India needs to create a deterrent to avoid war like situation in the subcontinent. Hence, from time to time, India tries to increase its might by buying more and more weaponry. Some of the prominent markets the country relies on are Russia, US, Israel, France, South Korea etc.*

*India is also one of the largest importers of arms in the world. Looking at the past records, the country has purchased infantry weapons such as Shipon- a rocket launcher from Israel, AGS-30- Auto Grenade Launcher from Russia, etc; vehicles such as Mitsubishi from Japan, Sisu Nasu from Finland, etc; Artilleries such as M777 Howitzer from United States, BM-21- Multiple rocket launcher from Soviet Union, etc; Missile systems such as Brahmos- Cruise missile from Russia-India, Bofors 40 mm gun- Anti aircraft artillery from Sweden, etc; Aircrafts such as IAI Harpy- Unmanned combat aerial vehicle from Israel, Boeing AH-64 Apache- Attack helicopter from USA, etc; Radars and all sort of weapons if needed for the safety of India.*

*However, not all deals or purchase are a smooth sailing. For example, the purchase of Bofors gun from Sweden ran into controversy due to the involvement of third party, and came to be known as ‘Bofors Scam’. Similarly, at present, once again the government is embroiled in a major controversy. An intergovernmental deal wherein India is buying Rafale fighter jets from France has put the government into a pool of allegations and questions.*

*The focus of the study is to understand how the Rafale deal controversy has been covered in the media and especially in the two prominent national newspapers i.e. Times of India and The Hindu. Why the two chosen is simply because both represent different verticals of thought and approach to the issue. The paper also tries to find out not just the extent of the coverage but also the tonality and substance in the coverage of the overall controversy in a defined period.*

**Key Words:** *Rafale, Dassault Aviation, HAL, DRAL joint venture and Government of India.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION:

Since the dawn of civilization mankind have had the ardent desire to become the most powerful both on land, sea and air. Many wars have been fought to not just control the land, sea but also the air space. As early as 431 BC, Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote about the great war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians noting that “fear . . . honor and interest” will always motivate humans to fight.

However, no thought or work on warfare or the role of military power can be justified without mentioning the name of Carl von Clausewitz whose book “On War”(1832) still remains outstanding and most relevant. Although land power and naval might were and have been a dominant force since ages, it is the advent of aviation that changed the paradigm of war.

Italian Army General and the father of strategic air power, Giulio Douhet (1869-1930), in his greatest military classic *Il dominiodell’aria* strongly advocated the use of airpower to defeat the enemy. He wrote, “He who controls

the air controls everything”. He further explained that “Because of its independence of surface limitations and its superior speed the Aeroplane is the offensive weapon par excellence.”

In the words of Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery, “If we lose the war in the air, we lose the war and we lose it quickly.”

“Traditionally, states have utilized wars as a way to violently intimidate an enemy, settle disputes and achieve multiple objectives. However, the escalating levels of destruction achieved with air attacks during World War II intensified war to levels never seen before”.

In the context of Indian subcontinent, India faces multiple threats in the form of internal insurgency supported by external forces and cross border terrorism. To combat security threat and challenges and maintain peace in the subcontinent, India needs to be prepared militarily. Fali H. Major, (Retd.) Chief of the Air Staff, states, “future conflicts are likely to be short and sharp; more challenging & unpredictable, requiring a capability for assured, clean, swift, calibrated, varied and flexible responses and a transportability of national power in all forms. Of all forms of military power, it is aerospace power that intrinsically possesses the characteristics that enable such responses”.

The Indian Air Force plays the role of deterrent as well as that of protection. With all its might and superb striking capabilities, we cannot underestimate the fact the Indian Air Force needs massive modernization drive. From time to time, voices have been raised over this issue.

In the year 2001, Indian Air Force demanded medium multi role combat aircraft (MMRCA) saying heavy and light weight vehicles and aircrafts were already available. India had won over Pakistan in the recently held Kargil war and the IAF played a vital role in the war. It was expanding its squadron and in order to cope up with the fellow developing nations, it felt the need of MMRCA in order to put India into the frontline and also be prepared for any kind of threat from other countries.

However, due to political barriers the process for the purchase of MMRCA could be initiated only in 2007 by the government of India. Then Defence Acquisition Council head- AK Antony approved the proposal to buy 126 MMRCA in August 2007. This was a breath-taking move by the government of India as this deal was the biggest deal of the Independent India. Followed by the approval of the proposal the bidding process started and companies from each and every part of the world showed interest in the deal.

After analyzing all the companies and their aircrafts, the ministry finally shortlisted six aircrafts:

- Rocket Martin- (F-16 Aircraft)
- Boeing- (FA18 Super hornet aircraft)
- Euro fighter Typhoon
- Mig 35 – Russia
- Sweden Saab
- Dassault Aviation’s Rafale Aircraft

After testing the shortlisted aircrafts, Euro fighter Typhoon and Rafale were finally chosen for the purchase. As the overall bidding price for the Rafale aircraft was very less and as its maintenance in India was easier than that of the Euro Fighter Typhoon, India approved 126 Rafale aircraft deal to Dassault Aviation.

In beginning it was estimated that the total cost for the deal would amount to ₹54,000 cr. According to this deal 18 jets were to be bought in ready to fly condition and the remaining 108 jets were to be bought by the transfer of technology with Hindustan Aviation Limited (HAL).

By 2012, Dassault Aviation won the contract and India started negotiating with the Dassault Aviation for the same deal. Normally, negotiations take 4 months to come to the final conclusion but here the case was totally different as the negotiations went on for about 4 years. This is because of the Presidential election in France in 2012 and 2014 Lok Sabha elections in India. Due to change of government in both the countries frequently, the deal was lying aside. After the loss of UPA (United Progressive Alliance), who initiated the Rafale deal, in the Lok Sabha elections the newly formed NDA government took some time to settle things in their way and the deal got delayed further.

When Narendra Modi came into power, he found that the cost of 126 aircrafts were very high in which only 18 jets were to be bought in ready to fly condition. And it would take a lot of time to manufacture 108 jets in India because India had to acquire the technology and then the manufacturing process would start. This process would take a lot of time and Indian Air Force couldn’t afford it as it was already very late since it announced the need of MMRCA in 2001. It is alleged that due to these reasons Manohar Parrikar, the then defence minister of India cancelled the previous deal and declared a fresh deal of 36 Rafale fighter jets in ready to fly condition.

On a visit to France in April 2015, Prime Minister Narendra Modi proposed a new deal of 36 Rafale jets in fly away condition to the French government. In January, 2016 the deal was finalized and the final agreement was signed in September, 2016.

## 2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

In the course of study, the researchers studied many websites of leading news organizations such as The Indian Express, NDTV, India Today, Economic Times, India Times, The Wire, Financial Express and The Quint apart from The Times of India and The Hindu in order to cross check and verify various facts and figures. However, the news has been tracked only from The Times of India and The Hindu.

Though the Indian National Congress and United Progressive Alliance II claim that they had signed the same deal at very low price and that too with more features than the present deal, there is no documented record available and there is no official statement recorded in the media that proves that the deal was actually signed in 2012. It is believed that the Dassault didn't agree to the conditions laid by the Government of India. It was not ready to take the responsibility of the quality of 108 fighter jets to be made in the Indian subcontinent in collaboration with Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, a Government of India enterprise, due to transfer of technology and unavailability of resources and it was not satisfied with the negotiations laid by India. However, there is no official record of these movements.

### 2.1 Highlights of the new rafale deal

According to the finalized deal, Dassault Aviation and part companies SAFRAN (manufactures engines) and THALES (manufactures electronic system of jets) had to share few technologies with DRDO (Defence Research and Development Organization), HAL (Hindustan Aeronautics Limited) and Reliance Aviation.

According to the signed deal:

- 36 Rafale jets in fly away condition.
- Total amount to be paid: ₹ 58,000 cr.
- 15% of the total amount to be paid in advance.
- Spare parts and weapons including METOR missile (one of the deadliest and advanced missiles in the world) to be given along with the fighter jet.
- France will spend 30% of the amount on military and aeronautics research in India and 20% of the amount on production of the components of Rafale in India.

Soon after the new Rafale deal was signed, the congress party and many other politicians started putting an allegation that the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) has agreed to pay higher price for the same aircraft, the particular deal favors a private defence company (Reliance Aviation) and does not include transfer of technology.

Congress accused BJP of putting the taxpayers in a great loss, Reliance Aviations made the deal partner of Dassault by wrong means and the present deal is three times higher than the deal signed in 2012. While Nirmala Sitharaman and Anil Ambani justified all the allegations made by the opposition saying they are trying to defame them. Prime Minister Narendra Modi also gave a statement saying 'present deal is far better than the previous deal.' Anil Ambani, in a press conference, said that the Reliance Aerostructure and Dassault opened a joint venture- Dassault Reliance Aerospace Limited much before the deal.

Rahul Gandhi, president of the congress party continued to blame BJP and wanted the details to be made public. Reply to which, defence minister Nirmala Sitharaman said the price of the deal cannot be made public due to inter-governmental agreement and also because the Rafale deal were covered under the Official Secrets Act, 1923.

But, on 17 November, 2017, Subhash Bable, in a press conference, revealed that the cost of one Rafale jet is ₹670 cr. excluding weapons and the delivery will be made by April 2022.

However, it is believed that the deal was not signed during UPA as the conditions such as transfer of technology was not accepted by the Dassault. Also, Dassault said that it will not be responsible for the quality control of 108 jets, if manufactured in India. Dassault proposed the cost of a Rafale jet to be ₹740 cr and India wanted a discount of 20%. There is no proper documented record of such proposals and whether the deal was signed in 2012, as claimed by the Congress, could not be proved due to lack of proper documents in public domain.

Almost after a year, during a parliamentary debate on 20<sup>th</sup> July, 2018 under 'No confidence motion', speculations on the Rafale deal got triggered in the Lok Sabha. Rahul Gandhi in his 'no confidence' speech claimed that they(UPA II) finalized ₹526 cr. as the base price of a single Rafale aircraft and the BJP has fixed ₹1571 cr. as the base price of a single aircraft. In a series of allegations, he said that the price finalized by BJP is 300% costlier than the previous one and BJP has made a great loss to Indian economy of about ₹40,000 cr.

As the Rafale issue was triggered off about 9 months before the 2019 Lok Sabha elections and the Rafale deal may be pronounced as a 'Rafale scam' which may become an important tool for the opposition to target the ruling party or due to socio-political reasons, an unusual type of coverage of the issue by the Indian media was seen.

### 3. OBJECTIVES:

- To study the media coverage of the RAFALE DEAL in its entirety within the mentioned period.
- To study the tonality and format of the coverage.
- To study the polarization of the Media on the issue.

### 4. METHODOLOGY:

A Quantitative study based on the media coverage of Rafale deal by two leading English newspapers of India namely 'The Times of India' and 'The Hindu' from July 18 to Sept 18, 2018. The selection of these two newspapers was based on the premise that both represent different verticals of thought and approach to the issue. The secondary data has been collected from various recognized YouTube channels and educational websites.

### 5. THE MEDIA TRACKING AND DETAILED ANALYSIS:

Rahul Gandhi claimed that French President told him that he has no objection to the details of Rafale deal being made public. But the spokesperson of France's Ministry of Foreign affairs said that both countries concluded in 2008 a security agreement that legally binds the two states to protect the data. This happened to be in the speech of No Confidence motion that took place in the Indian parliament on 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> July, 2018.

On 21<sup>st</sup> July, The Times of India reported, "*Rahul Gandhi had said that something happened after Narendra Modi visited France which led to the agreement being sealed. The 2008 deal was replaced by a confidentiality pact in 2018 that continued to shield the Indian Government from revealing classified info on Rafale contract*". This was just Rahul Gandhi's statement what he said and no influence or exaggeration was seen in this story. The Times of India wrote four stories on the day and reported as follows: "*French government responded on Rahul Gandhi's claim that neither President of France nor the French government told Rahul Gandhi about the secrecy clause rather it is true that according to the agreement any information cannot be shared to people in any case*". Here, the story talks about French govt. respond over Rahul Gandhi's claim. The next story talks concerning "*Rahul Gandhi's allegations on PM Modi for retreating contract from HAL. Whether, the withdrawal was made to favor Reliance Naval and Engineering Limited*". And the final story that talks about the previous cost of a Rafale aircraft under UPA that is said to be ₹540 cr. But govt. reconstructed the deal and made as ₹1600 cr. Rahul Gandhi questioned that how a businessman who is in ₹30,000 cr. debt got benefited and the contract from HAL was withdrawn". Instead of giving a single story on the front page or on a single page, The Times of India wrote four stories out of which one story was on lead and other three were inside stories.

On 22<sup>nd</sup> July, The Hindu reported, "*Arun Jaitley said that Rahul Gandhi himself lost his credibility by saying that French President Emmanuel Macron has talked to him about the matter of secrecy in Rafale deal. He also alleged Nirmala Sitharaman that she is lying to the country on the matter of defence deal and is just manipulating the country*". The Hindu wrote an inside story without any picture and the presentation seems to be more decent.

On 23<sup>rd</sup> July, The Times of India reported, "*Rahul Gandhi gave a message to his party men in Congress Working Committee's meeting to take the Rafale scam to the grassroots to unfold the scam of BJP*". It was an inside story whereas The Hindu didn't publish any story in the same regard.

On 25<sup>th</sup> July, The Hindu reported, "*Arun Jaitley accused congress of indulging in 'diversion' on the Rafale deal. He said that it has manufactured the role of Rafale deal, the issue is failing to cut much ice. Its involvement in national security and armed forces has preferred this aircraft for its improved combat availability*". While The Times of India published, "*Congress issued notices for delivering privilege motion against Sitharaman citing a mis-leading statement on the Rafale deal. Congress leaders Mallikarjuna Kharge, Veerappa Moily and Jyotir Aditya Scindia met Sumitra Mahajan and gave separate notices. The party will move the motion in Lok Sabha if approved by the speaker*". There is a prominent difference in the angle given to a story by both the newspaper. The Hindu didn't report anything about the privilege motion and The Times of India didn't report anything about Arun Jaitley's accusation. Both stories were found to be inside stories.

On 28<sup>th</sup> July, The Times of India reported, "*Randeep Singh Surjewala alleged BJP that the contract from HAL has been withdrawn and handed over to a company which was formed just 12 days before the deal was signed i.e., Reliance Defence*". While The Hindu reported, "*The Congress on Friday launched a fresh offensive against the Modi government over the Rafale deal by pointing out 'discrepancies in the government's responses so far', and announced that it would insist on a statement from Prime Minister Narendra Modi on the issue in Parliament next week*".

"*Releasing a set of documents, Congress's communication chief Randeep Surjewala alleged that there were discrepancies in the Defence Ministry's earlier statement (issued on February 7, 2018) that claimed 'no Indian offset partner for the 2016 deal for 36 Rafale aircraft has been selected by the vendor [Dassault Aviation]'* and the 2016

annual report of Dassault Aviation clearly stated that Anil Ambani-led Reliance Group will 'manage its offsets provided for in the country by the Make in India initiative'. The Congress further alleged that on February 16, 2017, a press release from Reliance Defence Ltd., the joint venture partner, put the value of the deal at €7.87 billion, or approximately ₹60,000 crore, despite the Modi government claiming it cannot disclose owing to a secrecy clause. However, Defence Ministry denied the fact". Both the stories were in lead but The Hindu has put in lot of stuffs regarding Randeep Surjewala's allegations whereas The Times of India has just thrown light on the matter.

On 2<sup>nd</sup> August, The Times of India reported, "*Congress Working Committee (CWC) meeting to be held to discuss Rafale Scam*". The Times of India published an inside story whereas no story was published in The Hindu.

On 9<sup>th</sup> August, The Times of India reported, "*Former BJP minister Yashwant Sinha and Arun Shourie and lawyer Prashant Bhushan demanded forensic audit by CAG into ₹ 59000 crore deals for 36 French rafale fighters*".

While The Hindu reported, "*Three Indian activists cum politicians held a press conference on 9th August 2018 revealing the alleged scandal on Rafale deal and charges of criminal misconduct misuse of public office and the subversion of national security on the Government of India. They demanded the government to immediately publicize all details of the purchase of 36 rafale jets by claiming that the Bofors scandal pales before what they alleged to be a ₹35000 crore scam*".

"Rajesh K Dhingra, CEO of Reliance Defence and Aerospace, claimed that no contract has been given to any Reliance Group by the Ministry of Defence related to Rafale deal. As per DPP, the ministry of defence has no role in the selection of Indian partners by the foreign vendors. This has been the position right from 2005, when offsets were first introduced. Advocate P. Bhushan claimed the present Air Force Chief, Air chief marshal B.S Dhanoawar in Paris when the deal was announced. The then Defence Minister M. P. Prakash was not aware about the deal of 36 jet that costs ₹670 cr. each by cancelling 126 Rafale fighter planes. The Times of India reported the same story with less facts and less information in a three columned story whereas The Hindu reported the same story with extra facts and detailed information with a five columned story and another single column story which goes like this: "*Union minister Arun Jaitley, denied all the wild allegations leveled against the government over Rafale aircraft acquisition deal. Targeting the congress which has been at forefront of raising alarms over the deal, Mr. Jaitley said that they must realize their responsibility*".

On 11<sup>th</sup> August, The Times of India reported, "*On the last day of monsoon session congress leader Sonia Gandhi led party MP's in protesting against the Modi government on the Rafale deal. Congress reiterated its demand for a Joint Parliamentary committee probe into the multi core Rafale fighter deal*". While The Hindu reported, "*On last day of Monsoon session of parliament, congress stepped up as offensive against Modi government over the Rafale deal. Stating it as the 'biggest case of corruption of Modi govt'. Sonia Gandhi along with Ghulam Nabi Azad, Anand Sharma, and Ambika Soni led the protest and demanded a JPC probe. Mr. Gandhi said that the jet price was over ₹540 cr. Mallikarjun Kharge called it a scam worth thousands of crores*". The Times of India reported the story with less information and in an inside three columned story whereas The Hindu reported the same story with more information in a four columned story.

The Hindu reported another story on the same day, "*Newly elected Deputy Chairman Harivansh adjourned the house due to protest over Rafale deal by Congress and incident of sexual abuse in U.P by Samajwadi Party and to allow any discussion on either of the topics. Chairman Venkaiah Naidu criticized opposition and said that there are many important issues that we must discuss like death of over 20 persons in Kerala flood*". This story was totally different than the previous one and The Times of India didn't report it. But The Hindu has given it a space of two columns in an inside story.

On 12<sup>th</sup> August, The Hindu reported, "*Rahul Gandhi attacked Modi for corruption in Rafale deal saying NDA has agreed to pay ₹1600 crore against the ₹540 crore in now abrogated deal with Dassault of France. He said Modi's friend Anil Ambani's company was formed just a week before the day while the price of the Rafale aircraft was increased by 3 times*". This was an exclusive story by The Hindu as The Times of India didn't publish any such story.

On 13<sup>th</sup> August, The Times of India reported, "*Congress has planned to file a petition in CVC (Central Vigilance commission) for the investigation in rafale scam*". While The Hindu reported, "*The Reliance Group headed by Anil Ambani on 12th August denied receiving any contract from the defence ministry and said "Unfounded and incorrect" allegations were being deliberately made to mis-lead people and cloud the issue. Rajesh Dhingra, CEO, Reliance Defence clarified that Dassault will supply the 36 Rafale Fighter jet, chose the group to meet its offset or export obligations in the contract and the defence ministry had no role to select the Indian companies by the foreign vendors*". The Times of India published a single inside story of three columns and THE HINDU published two inside stories of three columns each.

On 14<sup>th</sup> August, The Hindu reported, “Ravi Shankar Prasad on Monday accused Rahul Gandhi on employing balant lies and to distract people from Mr. Gandhi’s tax trouble. He also added, “Nobody takes him seriously and he’s lying about President Macron as well.” The transactions done by BJP are 9% less than UPA proposal. He added, “A Mr. Gandhi’s company ‘Young India’ purchased associated general limited for ₹50 lacs is in crisis for tax issues, the company showed income of ₹68 lacs but tax liability should be ₹154 cr.” On the same day, The Hindu published another story whereas no story was published in The Times of India. The Hindu’s second story: “Rahul Gandhi challenged Modi to an open debate on Rafale deal, accusing Ravi Shankar Prasad of weaving a ‘web of lie’. Randeep Surjewala asked the government to show which paragraph state that commercial cost can’t be revealed under the agreement between France and India and stake it that UPA has revealed about French Mirage and Sukhoe aircraft in the parliament. Mr. Gandhi said, ‘Modi ji spoke on everything except the Rafale deal, let the country know what happened’”.

On 16<sup>th</sup> August, The Hindu reported, “After unfurling the tricolor at the party headquarters, Rahul Gandhi reacted to PM Modi’s Red Fort speech. The party dared him to accept the congress president’s challenge to have a public debate on issues such as Rafale deal and other allegations of corruption, mob lynching and Chinese incursion. A couple of days ago, Mr. Gandhi said, PM Modi won’t be able to last a few seconds if he accepts an open debate on Rafale”. No story was published by The Times of India whereas The Hindu published a story.

On 19<sup>th</sup> August, The Hindu reported, “In a meeting chaired by Congress president Mr. Gandhi with Congress legislature party leaders, State unit chiefs All India Congress Committee (AICC), Office bearers, and all other members of congress decide that they will go to every level from district to state and ensure that a parliamentary committee is instituted for a fair judgement on Rafale, congress communication’s head Randeep Surjewala said. The rafale deal has caused a loss of over ₹41,000 crore to the exchequers. ‘A company belonging to a friend of the Prime Minister has been given a contract worth ₹31,000 crore after snatching it from Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL), a public company. It was decided that the corruption scams of the Modi government, particularly the Rafale aircraft scam, will be taken to the people of India,’ Mr. Surjewala added”.

On 21<sup>st</sup> August, The Times of India reported, “Reliance Group chairman Anil Ambani said corporate rivals and malicious vested interests have ‘misinformed, misdirected and misled’ by Congress president Rahul Gandhi. Ambani said Reliance’s role in the joint venture with Dassault is limited to defence offset exports/work share and that the Rafale fighter jets are not being manufactured by Reliance or the Dassault Reliance joint venture. All the 36 planes are to be 100% manufactured in France and exported from France to India”.

“Later on, in a letter to Mr. Gandhi, Ambani also said that all the 36 planes are to be 100% manufactured in France and exported from France to India. Not a single component worth a single rupee is to be manufactured by Reliance for these 36 Rafale jets. So, the allegations relating to lack of experience are irrelevant.”

“He also said that allegations of Reliance benefitting by crores is a ‘figment of the imagination, promoted by vested interest’. ‘There is no contract from the defence ministry to any Reliance group company related to the 36 Rafale aircraft’”, while The Hindu reported, “In a letter to congress president Rahul Gandhi, Mr. Ambani termed all allegations against the Reliance Group ‘baseless, illinformed and unfortunate’. Mr. Gandhi continuously made personal attacks on Reliance Group, said Mr. Ambani. Explaining the role of Reliance in offset exports and work share with Dassault, he said that Reliance or the Dassault Reliance joint ventures would not build the Rafale jets. All 36 planes would be manufactured in France and exported to India, with Reliance making not even a single component. Hence the allegations are totally irrelevant, added Mr. Ambani”.

“He said the Defence Ministry has not awarded any contract related to the Rafale jet to a Reliance Group company. Allegations that Reliance had benefited by thousands of crores of rupees were a figment of imagination”. “Our role is limited to offset exports/export obligations. More than 100 medium, small and micro enterprises will participate in this, along with public sector undertakings like BEL and Defence Research and Development Organization (DRDO). This role strengthens Indian manufacturing capabilities, and is in pursuance of the Offsets Policy introduced by the Congress led UPA Government itself from 2005 onwards,’ Mr. Ambani said”.

“Mr. Gandhi had alleged that Reliance Defence was set up 10 days before the April 10, 2015 announcement in Paris to buy 36 Rafale jets. Mr. Ambani said: The Reliance Group announced its decision to enter the defence manufacturing sector in December 2014 January 2015, months before the intention for purchase of Rafale”.

On 23<sup>rd</sup> August, The Times of India reported, “Anil Ambani led Reliance group sent legal notices to Congressman Randeep Surjewala, Pawan Khera, Priyanka Chaturvedi, Shakti Singh Gohil, Jaiveer Shergil, Arjun Modhawadia and Sunil Jakhar”.

“However, Congress leaders reacted sharply to legal notices served on them, by Anil Ambani led Reliance Group asking them to ‘cease and desist’ from leveling charges of getting undue benefits from the multi billion

dollars Rafale Fighter aircraft deal, Congress President Rahul Gandhi said that they will not be scared and will neither cease nor desist from stating the truth”.

“Congress MP Sunil Jakhar, who received the ‘cease and desist’ notice from the Reliance group had said that the Rafale matter was a serious issue of national security and the notice was the result of nexus between BJP and the corporate world”.

While The Hindu reported, “The Anil Ambani led Reliance Group has sent legal notice to several Congress leaders, asking them to ‘cease and desist’ from leveling allegations that the group has received undue benefits from the multi-billion dollars Rafale deal”.

Several other Congress leaders like Punjab Congress Chief Sunil Jakhar, Maharashtra leader Ashok Chavan too have received a notice from the Reliance group. The principal opposition party said this only proved the ‘nexus between the BJP and the corporate world’ and maintained it will not be scared or silenced. The cautionary ‘cease and desist’ notice has been served on behalf of three group firms Reliance Infrastructure, Reliance Defence and Reliance Aerostructure Ltd. Reacting to the notice, Mr. Jakhar tweeted, ‘I reiterate, my Aeroplane making skills (as demonstrated in the Lok Sabha) are better than yours’

“Another spokesperson, Jaiveer Shergill, who received the notice, said that the fact that the BJP is getting legal notices sent through Anil Ambani proves that something is ‘fishy’ in the deal.”

On 24<sup>th</sup> August, The Hindu reported, “Congress president Rahul Gandhi on Saturday accused Prime Minister Narendra Modi of being ‘unpatriotic’ for misusing public anger over the country’s ‘job problem,’ reiterating a theme that has run through his interactions. During his visit to the U.K. and Germany, Mr. Gandhi drew parallels between Mr. Modi, U.S. President Donald Trump and other ‘populist’ leaders just after return to Europe, P. Chidambaram raises heat on rafale deal. Alleging that several procedures relating to defence procurement were isolated by the NDA government in the purchase of 36 Rafale fighter jets, former Union Minister P. Chidambaram said the matter is of ‘great suspicion’. Speaking to journalists there, he questioned the Centre’s refusal to disclose the price of the jets and the threefold increase in their price during the NDA government compared to the UPA government. ‘All of this taken together leads to great suspicion. Why the government is so secretive about price,’ he said. He also sought a ‘detailed enquiry’ on the matter. Mr. Chidambaram alleged that not only was the defence procurement procedure ‘completely bypassed’ by the Centre, but the deal was also not placed before the Cabinet Committee on Security for approval.”

On 26<sup>th</sup> August, The Times of India reported, “Reliance group have filed ₹5000 cr. defamation suit against congress owned ‘National Herald’, claiming an article published in the newspaper regarding the Rafale fighter deal was ‘libellous and derogatory’. The defamation suit was filed by Reliance Defence, which belong to Anil Ambani-led Reliance Group, against the associated journals limited, the publisher of National Herald, its editor in-charge Zafar Agha, and the article’s author Vishwadeepak. The suit was filed on Friday before city civil and sessions judge P J Tamakuwala, who issued notices and sought replies by September 7”.

On 27<sup>th</sup> August, The Hindu reported, “Today in India, people are discriminated on the basis of caste and religion. The marginalized are betrayed, while people like Anil Ambani benefit, he alleged. Attacking the BJP led government on the Rafale deal, he said, the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited had been manufacturing aircraft for the last 50 years, but the contract was given to ‘someone who floated his company just 19 days before the deal.’ ‘Nobody will get anything. Only Ambani will get everything. This man has accrued a debt of ₹45,000 crore,’ he alleged”.

On 29<sup>th</sup> August, The Times of India reported, “AICC spokesperson and former congress leader alleged that Rafale deal is between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Anil Ambani. He further alleged that even foreign secretary did not know about the deal. Defence minister Manohar Parrikar was not even present in France but Ambani knew it well and he registered his company which was just 12 days old in aviation sector”. While The Hindu reported, “Stepping up the attack on Prime Minister Narendra Modi over the multibillion dollars Rafale fighter jet deal, the Congress on Tuesday alleged that Mr. Modi acted like a medieval monarch”.

“Our [former] foreign secretary, two days before the deal, categorically said that Rafale deal will not be discussed, let alone finalized in the meeting between the Prime Minister of India and President of France. In other words, our foreign secretary did not know two days before the deal that it would be discussed and decided upon,’ senior party leader S. Jaipal Reddy said. ‘But there was one person in the country apart from the Prime Minister who knew that the contract would be signed (Anil Ambani). Twelve days before the contract was signed, on March 28, 2015, Anil Ambani registered his company. That means he knew that the contract would be signed, Hindustan Aeronautics Limited would be removed and he would get the contract. Therefore, he was contending in a responsible way that Mr. Anil Ambani could have known this secret only through conversations with the Prime Minister,’ Mr. Reddy said. Comparing the Prime Minister with King Louis XIV of France, Mr. Reddy said, ‘Just as Louis XIV had

said *I am the State,* Mr. Modi too believes he is the State and he does not need to consult anyone or follow procedures.

On 30<sup>th</sup> August, The Times of India reported, *“Finance Minister Arun Jaitley asked Rahul Gandhi 15 questions about Rafale deal and quoted that the price set by congress was under negotiation and was never finalized but NDA government broke that negotiation and presented India with Rafale deal under a very lucrative price”*. While The Hindu reported, *“Mr. Jaitley wrote a long blog post about the falsehood allegations on Rafale deal. He asked Mr. Gandhi and his party to ‘respond immediately’ to the 15 questions that were raised by him in his blog. In response to the blog of Mr. Jaitley, Mr. Gandhi tweeted, ‘Mr. Jaitley thanks for bringing nations attention back to the great Rafale Robbery! How about a joint Parliamentary Committee to sort it out? Problem is, your Supreme Leader is protecting his friend. So, this may be inconvenient. Do check and revert in 24 hours we’re waiting!’”*

The Times of India also published another story on the same day that goes like this: *“Rahul Gandhi alleged NDA that they don’t want joint parliamentary committee on Rafale deal because they have cheated whole country on this deal and will never allow JPC probe in rafale issue. He also asked finance minister Arun Jaitley to respond on the JPC probe in 24 hours and prove that there was no scam in Rafale deal”*.

On 31<sup>st</sup> August, The Times of India reported, *“Rahul Gandhi alleged that rafale deal was cracked to help Modi’s capitalist friends demanding for JPC probe he further added that both weaponry and non-weaponry aircraft’s price is higher in NDA time. Congress was negotiating the price to cut it down but NDA finalized the deal at higher price to help Ambani and his aviation company”*. While The Hindu reported, *“Congress president Rahul Gandhi called Demonitisation, a fraud on the nation by PM Modi. Through interaction on demonitisation, Mr. Gandhi once again attacked on Modi about the Rafale jet. He said PM was ‘lying’ about Rafale deal and reiterated his demand for a joint parliamentary committee probe to find “what is the deal struck between Mr. Modi and Industrialist Mr. Anil Ambani.”*

On 1<sup>st</sup> September, The Times of India reported, *“Rahul Gandhi alleged that this Rafale deal smacks of global corruption in which many giant corrupt partners are putting their hands. Congress spokesman Abhishek Singhvi said that there were too many coincidences in the Rafale controversy to be taken at face value, referring to Ambani’s company producing a film for Julie Gayet, partner of the then French president who signed the Rafale deal. Ambani’s company has secured the offsets contract”*.

On 5<sup>th</sup> September, The Times of India reported, *“The government has advised Russia that its firm Kalashnikov Concern should tie up with the state-run Ordnance Factory Board (OFB) if it wants its proposal to manufacture the AK-103 assault rifles in India to be considered by the defence ministry.*

*Amid controversy on Rafale deal, government didn’t want to add new in the list and therefore suggested Russia not to involve Adani in the deal”*.

On 6<sup>th</sup> September, The Times of India reported, *“Finance minister Arun Jaitley ruled out the demand for joint parliamentary committee on rafale issue and quoted that JPC can not satisfy the ego of an ill-informed people. If somebody is naive about facts, then his ignorance comes to be subscribed by a dynastic party as a whole. Nothing can be more unfortunate,” the Finance Minister said. On the same day The Times of India published another story that goes like this: “Indian Air Force Chief Marshal SB Deo said that the rafale aircraft will revolutionize Indian air force and will bring all the capabilities to fight from the enemies. Rafale is very beautiful and very capable and 59000 crore aircraft will bring revolution in the Indian air force. Any scam in Rafale deal is just rumour and the people who are shouting are ill informed”*.

On 10<sup>th</sup> September, The Hindu reported, *“Though the Rafale jet deal has been caught in a political firestorm, the Indian Air Force is quietly readying infrastructure for the new fleet and training its fighter pilots to fly the aircraft. Official sources said that the IAF was sending a team of fighter pilot to France for the training of Rafale jet. India had inked an intergovernmental agreement with France in September 2016 for procurement of 36 of these jets at a cost of around ₹58,000 crore. The delivery of the jets capable of carrying a range of potent weapons and missiles are scheduled to begin from September 2019. The first squadron of the aircraft will be deployed at the Air Force Station in Ambala, considered one of the most strategically located bases of the IAF. The India Pakistan border is around 220 km from there. The second squadron will be stationed at the Hasimara base in West Bengal. Officials said the government had already sanctioned around ₹400 crore to build shelters, hangars and maintenance facilities in the two bases. In July 2017, Air Chief Marshal B.S. Dhanoa, during his visit to France, flew a Rafale jet at the Saint Dizier air base to gain firsthand experience 2019”*.

On 12<sup>th</sup> September, The Times of India reported, *“Yashwant Sinha and Arun Shourie alleged PM Narendra Modi of jeopardizing national security by ‘unilaterally’ striking the ₹59,000 crore deal by violating all defence procurement procedures”*.

*“Addressing a press conference with lawyer Prashant Bhushan here, the two former ministers said the government was now “forcing” the IAF top brass to ‘lie’ and come out in support of the deal inked for 36 Rafale fighters in September 2016. The IAF, which originally wanted 126 fighters with transfer of technology, is ‘actually demoralized’ at getting just 36 jets without any ‘Make in India’ component”.*

*‘Each time the government gives an explanation, it gets caught in its web of lies. They are coming out with a concoction of lies to hoodwink the country and protect one man, the Prime Minister,’ said Shourie. Referring to junior minister M J Akbar’s recent article that there was no ‘Uncle Quattrocchi in the Rafale deal’ like the one in the Bofors scam, Sinha said that there was ‘no need for an uncle since there is a nephew’ this time.*

*The trio alleged that prime minister Modi had favoured Anil Ambani-led Reliance Defence over PSU Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd (HAL) as the main offsets partner of Dassault Aviation in the Rafale deal, with the industrialist’s Reliance Entertainment also entering a deal to produce a film with the then French President’s François Hollande’s partner and actor Julie Gayet”.*

*On 13<sup>th</sup> September, The Times of India reported, “Defending the government’s decision to go in for the ₹59,000 crore contract to acquire 36 Rafale fighters, Air Chief Marshal B S Dhanoa on Wednesday said the French jets along with the ₹39,000 crore deal with Russia for five S-400 Triumf air defence missile systems would help plug the gaps in IAF’s combat capabilities”.*

*Faced with a two-front collusive threat from China and Pakistan, the IAF chief said his force is grappling with just 31 fighter squadrons (16-18 jets in each) when at least 42 were required. ‘Pakistan has 20 fighter squadrons. China has 1,700 fighters, of which 800 are fourth-generation jets. We need numbers to carry out full-spectrum operations and cater for attrition,’ he said.*

*He said India needed hi-tech fighters like the Rafale because Pakistan and China ‘are not sitting idle’. The IAF had earlier held the Rafale fighters would give India ‘unprecedented’ combat capabilities and ‘revolutionize’ air power in the Indian subcontinent, while dismissing as ill-informed the controversy surrounding the Rafale contract”.*

*Central Air Command chief Air Marshal S B P Sinha, in turn, said the MMRCA (medium multi-role combat aircraft) project, under which the first 18 fighters were to come in ‘a flyaway condition’ and the rest were to be licensed- produced by Hindustan Aeronautics, could not go through during the UPA government’s tenure because of ‘irresolvable differences’ between Dassault Aviation and the defence PSU on transfer of technology and the responsibility for manufacturing the 108 jets in India.*

*He also said that under the 36-jet deal, India is getting the Rafale with the latest weapons and sensors at a better price and overall delivery time-line from Dassault, along with 75% availability for five years”.*

*While The Hindu reported, “The Chief of the Air Staff, Air Chief Marshal B.S. Dhanoa, defended the ‘emergency procurement’ of 36 jets. He said such procurements were done on several occasions in the past, and sounded an alarm over the Air Force’s depleting combat edge in the eventuality of a two-front war. If the present deal was cheaper than the earlier deal for 126 jets which fell through, he said it would be answered by the Ministry of Defence. Last week, Air Marshal R. Nambiar, Deputy Chief of the IAF, said the present deal was 40% cheaper. India and France signed a €7.87 billion IGA for 36 Rafale multirole fighter jets in a flyaway condition during Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s visit to Paris in September 2016. While the Opposition parties, especially the Congress, say the deal is too expensive and allegedly favors the Anil Ambani group, the government has said that no procedure has been violated. Air Marshal S.B.P. Sinha, currently chief of the IAF’s Central Command and deputy chief during negotiations for the 126 jets, presented a 10 points defence on why the deal was better than the earlier one in terms of pricing, configuration and better terms. Drawing attention to the depleting fighter strength of the IAF from the sanctioned strength of 42 squadrons to 31, the Air Chief said China and Pakistan were rapidly modernising their Air Forces and were not ‘sitting idle.’ ‘We have to match the force level of our adversaries so that we can fight simultaneously on two fronts. Even when we do have 42 squadrons, we will be below the combined numbers of two of our regional adversaries,’ he said”.*

## **6. DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE MEDIA COVERAGE OF RAFALE CONTROVERSY IN TIMES OF INDIA AND THE HINDU**

### **Number of stories**

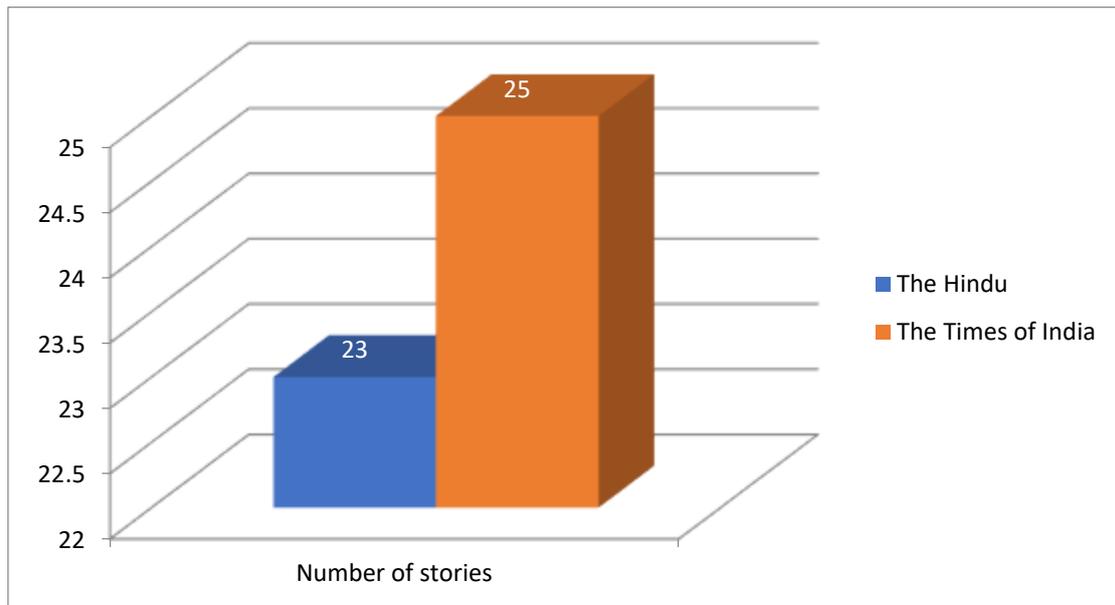


Fig1. A graph showing the number of stories published between 18 July, 2018- 18 September, 2018

There is a major difference between the number of stories published by The Hindu and The Times of India as shown in the Graph. Even the nature of the stories differs. This can be attributed to the fact that Times of India is a national daily whereas The Hindu is mainly a southern-based newspaper. The Times of India has a centre to centre leaning whereas The Hindu is centre to Left in its approach. Fig1. shows that The Hindu had published overall 23 stories and The Times of India had published 25 stories. Though the number of stories in The Times of India is greater than The Hindu, The Times of India is seen to have given equal prominence to other stories of national importance while giving coverage to Rafale deal. Being a national paper, The Times of India tried its best to ensure that the readers do not miss any story on any issues – be it Kerala flood or Rafale deal. As other issues like Kerala flood became more relevant for the day, the number and size of the story were reduced since August 9, 2018 and were relegated to inside pages in The Times of India. These stories were placed in inside pages like page 9 on August 9, page 16 on August 11, page 10 on August 13, etc, and were merely of one or two columns. Whereas The Hindu continued with its coverage of the Rafale Deal and giving more factual and data representation of the story.

For example, let's consider the story published in both the newspapers after a press conference held by Prashant Bhushan, Arun Shourie and Yashwant Sinha. On 9<sup>th</sup> August, The Times of India reported, "Former BJP minister Yashwant Sinha and Arun Shourie and lawyer Prashant Bhushan demanded forensic audit by CAG into ₹ 59000 crore deals for 36 French rafale fighters".

While The Hindu reported, "Three Indian activists cum politicians held a press conference on 9th August 2018 revealing the alleged scandal on Rafale deal and charges of criminal misconduct misuse of public office and the subversion of national security on the Government. of India. They demanded the government to immediately make public all details of the purchase of 36 rafale jets by claiming that the Bofors scandal pales before what they alleged to be a ₹35000 crore scam.

Rajesh k Dhingra, CEO of Reliance Defence and Aerospace, claimed that no contract has been given to any Reliance Group by the Ministry of Defence related to Rafale deal. As per DPP, the ministry of defence has no role in the selection of Indian partners by the foreign vendors. This has been the position right from 2005, when offsets were first introduced. Advocate P. Bhushan claimed the present Air Force Chief, Air chief marshal B.S Dhanoawar in Paris when the deal was announced. The then Defence Minister M. Parrikar was not aware about the deal of 36 jet costs ₹670 cr each by cancelling 126 Rafale fighter planes. The Times of India reported the same story with less facts and less information in a three columned story. It was not much informative and all the matter that the trio had said in a press conference was not covered. Whereas The Hindu reported the same story with extra facts and detailed information with a five columned story and another single column story which goes like this: "Union minister Arun Jaitley, denied all the wild allegations leveled against the government over Rafale aircraft acquisition deal. Targeting the congress which has been at forefront of raising alarms over the deal, Mr. Jaitley said that they must realize their responsibility". This particular story that talks about Arun Jaitley's remark over the accusations made on the Rafale deal was not covered by The Times of India.

### Lead, Inside and Editorial

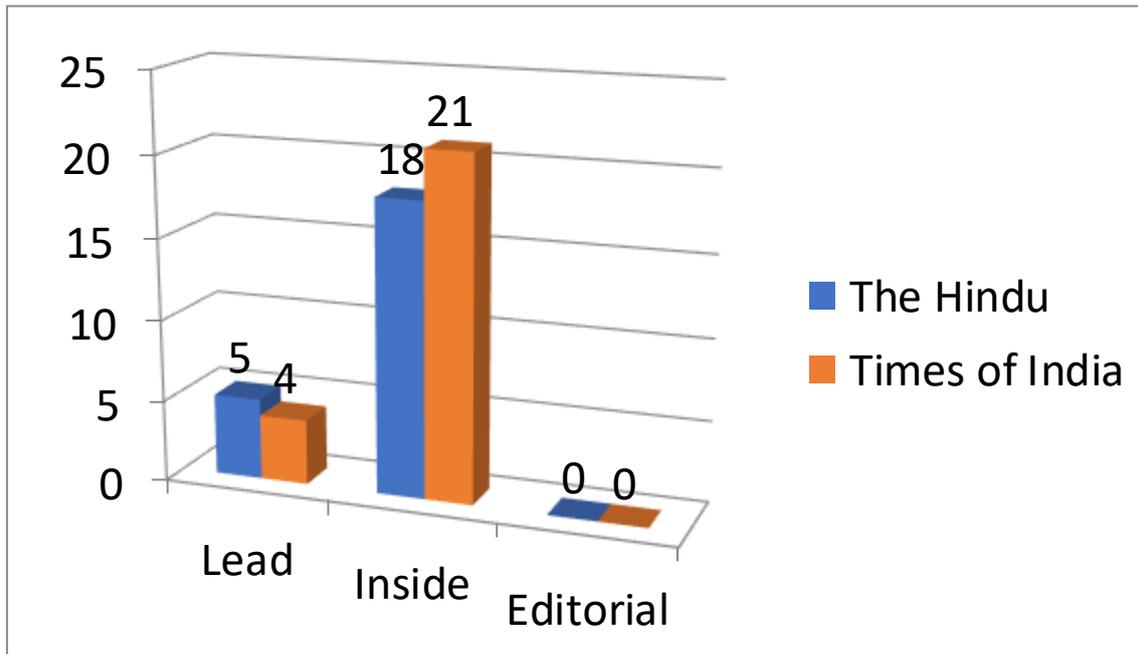


Fig2. A graph showing the number of lead, inside and editorial stories published

As far as the prominence of the Rafale story is concerned in the two newspapers, the Fig 2.graph shows that the number of lead stories on the Rafale deal began to dwindle in The Times of India after Aug 9, 2018. The Fig 2. clearly indicates that The Hindu had five lead stories against The Times of India’s four. The Times of India however, takes a lead over The Hindu in the number of inside stories. The Times of India had 21 inside stories on Rafale than of 18 in The Hindu. It may be clearly noted that for The Hindu, Rafale continued to enjoy prominence status as is seen from its front-page coverage under the mentioned period of the coverage.

As ‘Kerala flood’ issue evolved and intensified, importance of the stories on ‘Rafale deal’ deceased in The Times Of India. Not to say that The Hindu continued with its coverage of both Kerala flood and the Rafale simultaneously.

### Tonality of the story

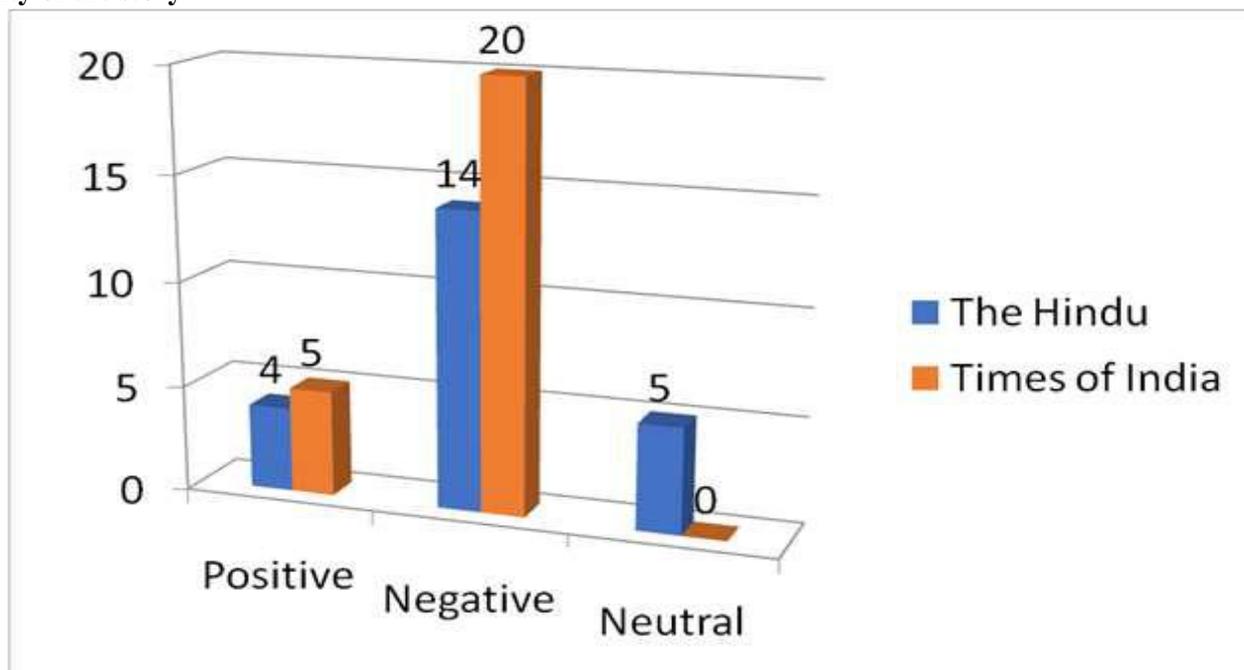


Fig3. A graph showing the tonality of the stories published by The Hindu and The Times of India

Fig3. shows the tonality of the stories published in the newspapers. It was found that four stories of The Hindu were neutral with balanced perspective whereas The Times of India had more positive stories i.e five in number. For example, let's consider a story published on 11<sup>th</sup> August, 2018.

#### Times of India-

Story 1- Page-16

Headline: Rafale deal: Cong's pitch for JPC probe gets shriller

Sub-heading: Party Protests Both Inside & Outside House

Story highlights: *"On the last day of monsoon session congress leader Sonia Gandhi led party MP's in protesting against the Modi government on the Rafale deal. Congress reiterated its demand for a Joint Parliamentary committee probe into the multi core Rafale fighter deal"*.

#### The Hindu-

Story 1- Page-1

Headline: Cong. Ups the ante against Rafale deal

Sub-heading: Opposition led by Sonia Gandhi stages protest, demands a JPC investigation

Story highlights: *"On last day of Monsoon session of parliament, Congress stepped up as offensive against Modi government over the Rafale deal. Stating it as the 'biggest case of corruption of Modi Government'. Sonia Gandhi along with Ghulam Nabi Azad, Anand Sharma, and Ambika Soni led the protest and demanded a JPC probe. Ms Gandhi said that the jet price was over ₹540 cr. Mallikarjun Kharge called it a scam worth thousands of crores"*. The Times of India reported the story with less information and in an inside three columned story whereas The Hindu reported the same story with more information in a four columned story.

Story 2-Page-8

Headline: Rajya Sabha adjourned over Rafale deal row

Sub-heading: SP protests over Deoria sex abuse

Story highlights: *"Newly elected Deputy Chairman Harivansh adjourned the house due to protest over Rafale deal by Congress and incident of sexual abuse in U.P by Samajwadi Party and to allow any discussion on either of the topics. Chairman Venkaiah Naidu criticized opposition and said that there are many important issues that we must discuss like death of over 20 persons in Kerala flood"*. This story was totally different than the previous one and The Times of India didn't report it whereas The Hindu gave it a two-column space in inside pages. Thus, covering the both sides of the story and making it neutral.

The Times of India published a greater number of positive\* stories as compared to The Hindu. The stories appeared to be focusing more on who said what and where. But it was not the case with The Hindu. It came out with more accurate information on the deal. However, The Hindu also published few stories that were not directly connected with Rafale but were related to it in some way or the other. In both the newspapers, the effect of polarization was felt; However, it was quite less in The Hindu but more in The Times of India.

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\*Positive: In favor of the government.

\*Negative: Against the government.

#### **Number of columns in the story**

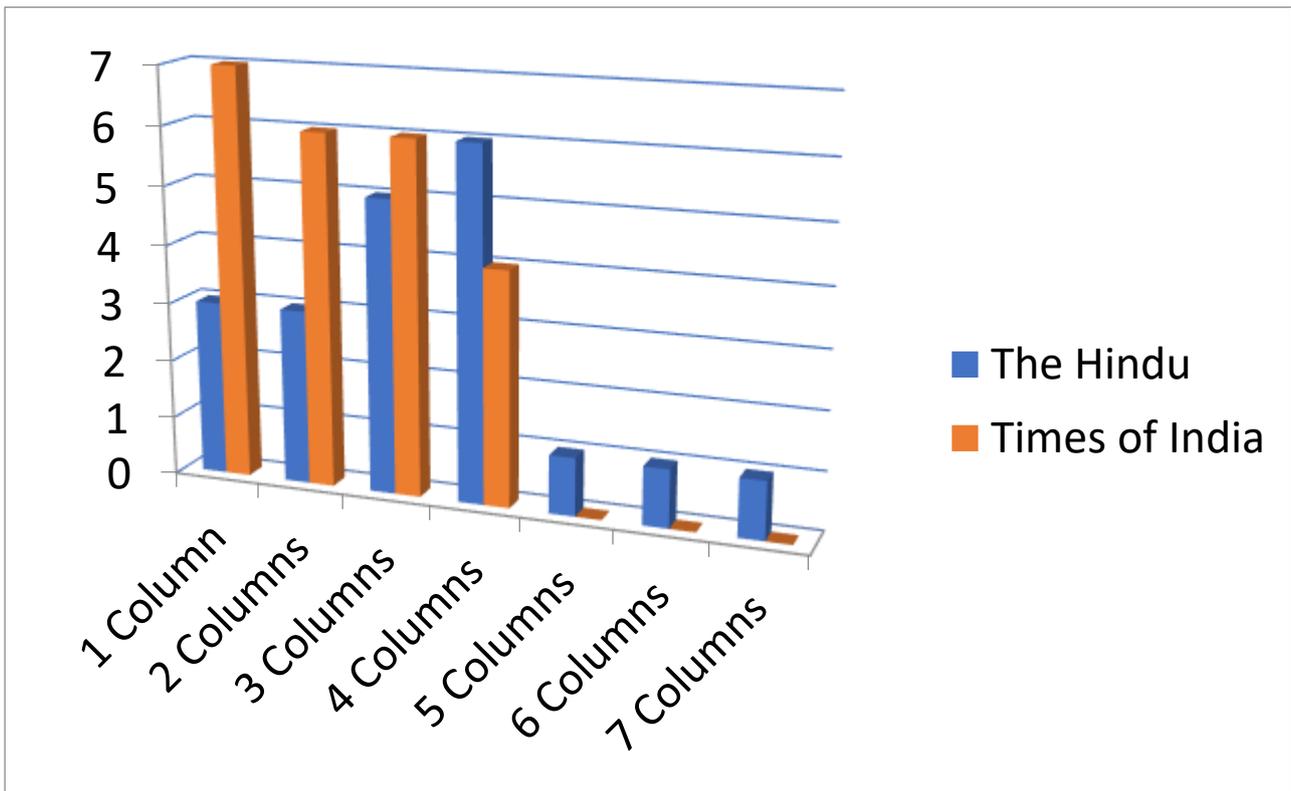


Fig4. A graph showing the number of stories published based on columns

It is quite interesting to look at the number of columns given by both the newspapers to their stories. There is not even a single story of 5, 6 and 7 columns in The Times of India whereas The Hindu has one in each. The Hindu has published lesser number of 1 and 2 column stories and a greater number of 3 and 4 column story but it is converse with The Times of India, thus reflecting the level of interest each newspaper had given to the story.

### 7. CONCLUSION:

On the hindsight, it all started in 2001 when the Indian Air force felt the need of medium multi role combat aircraft (MMRCA) as heavy and light weight vehicles and aircrafts were already available. The IAF demanded Indian government the MMRCA. After few years, in the year 2007 the government started the process of the purchase. It took four years to finalize the aircraft and its deal price after negotiations. Due to continuous change in the government in both India and France, the deal got delayed and when National Democratic Alliance government came in power in April 2014, it cancelled the previous deal of 18 fighter jets in fly away condition and 108 fighter jets that were to be made in India with the transfer of technology. Later, it signed a new deal of 36 fighter jets in fly away condition. As the time passed speculations started rising against the government regarding Rafale deal and the controversy began.

The coverage of an issue by media is influenced by many factors like national importance, reader's interest, proximity, timeliness, biasness etc. Here, both the newspapers tried to do justice to the Rafale coverage in their own way. No doubt that in the coverage, they were guided by the interest of their readers as well as of their political and ideological affiliations. The Hindu with Left orientation had to be critical of the ruling party. Needless to say, that even in criticism, The Hindu was factual in its presentation. The Times of India being a national newspaper judiciously balanced Rafale issue with other stories of national importance. Kerala flood was also of national importance and hence needed wide coverage. As per the need of the day, the newspapers covered the stores accordingly.

The structure and tone of the stories too varied from time to time in both the newspapers. The shift in the tone of the stories happened when the alleged corruption angle began to be highlighted by the opposition parties. In fact, The Times of India was seen to be adopting a neutral approach in its coverage. In contrast for The Hindu, Rafale remained an important story and published it regularly with in depth analysis which was lacking with The Times of India.

However, in its positive approach, The Times of India can be seen to be more in sync with the ruling faction and the defence deal partners of the Rafale deal. This doesn't mean that The Hindu is going against the tide. The level of polarization in The Hindu was there but in lesser amount. As whereas the Rafale deal controversy is concerned, the delivery of Rafale fighter jets is believed to commence from September 2019 onwards and the controversy continues.

#### ABBREVIATIONS:

MMRCA: Medium Multi Role Combat Aircraft  
HAL: Hindustan Aeronautics Limited  
NDA: National Democratic Alliance  
UPA: United Progressive Alliance  
BJP: Bhartiya Janata Party

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- <https://bit.ly/2SH4NGq>

#### ANNAXURE:

#### Media Tracking

Date	No. of Stories	Presentation				Tonality			Column Size
		Lead	Inside	Article	Editorial	Positive	Negative	Neutral	
18/07/18	The Hindu								
	The Times of India		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19/07/18	The Hindu								
	The Times of India		-	-	-	-	-	-	-

20/07/18	The Hindu									
	The Times of India		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21/07/18	The Hindu	2	1						1	3
	The Times of India	4	1	3	4	-	1	3		3
22/07/18	The Hindu	1		1					1	3
	The Times of India	1		1				1		3
23/07/18	The Hindu									
	The Times of India	1		1				1		1
24/07/18	The Hindu									
	The Times of India	1		1				1		1
25/07/18	The Hindu	1		1					1	1
	The Times of India	1		1				1		1
26/07/18	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
27/07/18	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
28/07/18	The Hindu	1	1					1		2
	The Times of India	1	1					1		2
29/07/18	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
30/07/18	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
31/07/18	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
08-01-2018	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
08-02-2018	The Hindu									
	The Times of India	1		1				1		1
08-03-2018	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
08-04-2018	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
08-05-2018	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
08-06-2018	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
08-07-2018	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
08-08-2018	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
08-09-2018	The Hindu	2		2				1	1	5,1
	The Times of India	1		1				1		3
08-10-2018	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
08-11-2018	The Hindu	2	1	1					1	4, 2
	The Times of India	1		1				1		3
08-12-2018	The Hindu	1		1				1		1
	The Times of India									
13/8/2018	The Hindu	1		1				1		1
	The Times of India	1		1				1		4
14/8/2018	The Hindu	2		2				1	1	3, 3
	The Times of India									
15/8/2018	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
16/8/2018	The Hindu	1		1				1		4
	The Times of India									
17/8/2018	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
18/8/2018	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
19/8/2018	The Hindu	1		1				1		4
	The Times of India									
20/8/2018	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									
21/8/2018	The Hindu	1		1				1		3
	The Times of India	1		1				1		1
22/8/2018	The Hindu									
	The Times of India									

23/8/2018	The Hindu	1		1			1	2
	The Times of India	1		1		1		2
24/8/2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India							
25/8/2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India							
26/8/2018	The Hindu	1		1			1	6
	The Times of India	1		1		1		1
27/8/2018	The Hindu	1		1			1	4
	The Times of India							
28/8/2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India							
29/8/2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India	1		1			1	2
30/8/2018	The Hindu	1		1			1	4
	The Times of India	2	1	1			2	2,2
31/8/2018	The Hindu	1	1				1	3
	The Times of India	1		1			1	2
09-01-2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India	1		1			1	4
09-02-2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India							
09-03-2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India							
09-04-2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India							
09-05-2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India	1		1			1	1
09-06-2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India	2	1	1			2	4,4
09-07-2018	The Hindu							
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09-08-2018	The Hindu							
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09-09-2018	The Hindu							
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09-10-2018	The Hindu	1		1			1	4
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09-11-2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India							
09-12-2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India	1		1			1	1
13/9/2018	The Hindu	1		1			1	7
	The Times of India	1		1		1		3
14/9/2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India							
15/9/2018	The Hindu							
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16/9/2018	The Hindu							
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17/9/2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India							
18/9/2018	The Hindu							
	The Times of India							

**Note: Blank space in cells denote zero (0).**