

# **Greek-Israeli Relations and the Stance of Greek Media on the Gaza War**

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## **Abstract**

The present study examines the Greek-Israeli relations from the period of the post-1974 transition to Democracy (*Metapolitefsi*) to the present day, as well as Greece's stance on the Palestinian issue. However, it would be of little value to analyze these positions without considering the agents that shape them. For this reason, through archival research focusing on two ideologically opposed newspapers, this paper seeks to record the manner in which the 2024 Gaza War was represented in the Greek media, actors that bear a significant share of responsibility in shaping individual attitudes, beliefs, and even the Greek public opinion as a whole. More specifically, by evaluating ten relevant articles published between June 1 and June 30, 2024, in the right-leaning newspaper *Kathimerini* and the left-leaning newspaper *Avgi*, this study explores how the Gaza War was portrayed, emphasizing on the framing of the reports, that is, on the messages conveyed, the type of language employed, and the selection of accompanying images.

*Key-Words:* Greek-Israeli Relations, Gaza War, Media Coverage.

## Introduction

The ongoing conflict in Gaza represents the latest episode in the long-standing Arab-Israeli confrontation (Antonopoulos, 2023). Both Greece and Cyprus adhere to the European Union's official positions regarding the Palestinian issue, namely supporting a two-state solution along the 1967 borders and opposing unilateral Israeli measures, such as the construction of settlement camps and the annexation of Palestinian territories. However, neither country plays a leading role on this issue within the EU, and Israel has grown accustomed to their silence, continuing its controversial policies in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Mitchell, 2021).

When it comes to the Greek public opinion, two-thirds of Greeks support Greece's neutrality in the current war, while the 18.4% favor a pro-Israeli stance (Psaropoulos, 2023). However, Greece began to provide humanitarian assistance to the civilian population of Gaza through Egypt. On 12 December, 2023, the UN General Assembly approved a resolution calling for an immediate humanitarian ceasefire, and this time Greece voted in favor. In parallel with its alignment to EU policy, the Greek government also responded to domestic public-opinion trends. A survey conducted in early November 2023 showed that the majority of Greek citizens (46.3%) disagreed with the government's pro-Israeli stance, while 34.8% agreed with it (Tzogopoulos, Dec. 2023).

Taking into consideration that media shape attitudes and influence the public opinion, it is crucial to examine the way the Gaza War was portrayed in Greece by two popular outlets of differing political orientations. Having said that, the study hypothesizes that (i) the right-leaning newspaper *Kathimerini* was more favorably disposed toward Israel, while (ii) the left-leaning newspaper *Avgi* demonstrated greater sympathy toward Palestine.

## **Greek-Israeli Relations**

For a long period, Greece's foreign policy prioritized its relations with the Arab world, primarily as a result of the country's energy dependence on oil imports from the Gulf states (Blavoukos, 2021). However, the fact that the Greek Prime Minister, Andreas Papandreou, upgraded the status of representation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Greece during the 1980s, led to the country's relative isolation from its Western allies. In an effort to improve the country's image in the West, the Greek Government, Konstantinos Mitsotakis, officially recognized the State of Israel in 1990. Nevertheless, the formation of the Turkish-Israeli alliance in the mid-1990s triggered a strong Greek reaction, as Greece perceived the strengthening of Turkish-Israeli defense relations as a threat to its national security. Consequently, subsequent Greek governments gradually distanced themselves from the region (Karagiannis, 2020).

Following the *Mavi Marmara*<sup>2</sup> incident in June 2010, Israel sought to strengthen its ties with the countries of Southeastern Europe. This diplomatic shift led to the signing of bilateral agreements, the exchange of high-level diplomatic visits, and the organization of various joint military exercises. Particular emphasis was placed on Greece and Cyprus, which were not only regarded as political counterbalances to Turkey, but also offered significant economic opportunities for Israel (Baroud, 2018). In light of the Greek economic crisis, the Greek government of George Papandreou, in turn, leveraged the *Mavi Marmara* incident to engage with Israel. Subsequent governments under Papadimos, Samaras, and Tsipras continued efforts to strengthen Greek-Israeli relations (Karagiannis, 2020). The Greek-Israeli relations were solidified with the first visit of an Israeli Prime Minister to Greece in 2010, the establishment of the Joint Ministerial Cooperation Council in 2011, and the signing of a defense cooperation agreement in 2012 (Blavoukos, 2021). After all, Greece's approach toward Israel forms part of a broader strategy of outward engagement and efforts to establish the country as a leading power in the inter-Mediterranean corridor connecting Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa (Tanchum, 2021).

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<sup>2</sup> Mavi Marmara was the humanitarian aid flotilla that attempted to break the naval blockade of the Gaza Strip. However, it was intercepted by Israel, straining Turkish-Israeli relations (Blavoukos, 2021; Baroud, 2018).

In 2015, the Greek government under Alexis Tsipras signed a major military agreement with Israel, the *Status of Forces Agreement*, followed by additional joint exercises (Baroud, 2018). Later, in April 2021, a \$1.68 billion contract was signed for the establishment and operation of a state-of-the-art fighter jet simulation training center for the Hellenic Air Force (Blavoukos, 2021). Subsequently, on October 21, 2022, Greece and Israel established an international pilot training center in Kalamata, following an agreement with the Israeli-based international military technology company and defense contractor, *Elbit Systems*, further strengthening their strategic ties. Notably, in May 2023, the Hellenic and Israeli air forces conducted a joint F-16 air-to-air refueling exercise, which has since been held twice annually under the defense cooperation agreement, enhancing operational readiness, combat capability, and knowledge exchange. More recently, in September 2023, Greece purchased air-to-surface precision-guided munitions from the Israeli defense technology company, *Rafael Advanced Defense Systems*, to improve the strike capability of its F-16 fleet (Nomikos & Bard, 2023).

Undisputably, the primary motivation behind the close relationship between Greece, Cyprus, and Israel is the Leviathan and Tamar gas fields, located in Israeli territorial waters (Baroud, 2018). In 2018, Cyprus, Greece, and Italy, with the support of the EU, reached an agreement to construct the world's largest subsea pipeline, the *EastMed*, for the export of natural gas from Israel to Cyprus, and from there to Greece and Italy. However, following the withdrawal of the United States, the project was cancelled. Nevertheless, in January 2022, the EU allocated €736 million for the construction of a 2,000-megawatt subsea electricity cable, the *EuroAsia Interconnector*, which will connect Israel's electricity grid with those of Cyprus and Greece (Nomikos & Bard, 2023). As early as in June 2020, at the 4<sup>th</sup> annual Greece-Israel G2G summit, the Greek Prime Minister, Kyriakos Mitsotakis, and the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nikos Dendias, along with their Israeli counterparts already had committed to further deepen the economic cooperation of the two countries (Tanchum, 2021). Indeed, investment opportunities expanded, with Israel emerging as the leading investor in the Greek tourism and real estate sectors (Tzogopoulos, Feb. 2023).

However, the cooperation between Greece and Israel extends beyond military exercises and economic transactions. On March 3, 2016, a trilateral cooperation agreement was signed between Greece, Cyprus, and Israel, laying the groundwork for regular, annual intergovernmental meetings on issues, such as parliamentary collaboration, education, research, culture, technology, cybersecurity, counterterrorism, migration, emergency information exchange, and joint action in response to natural disasters. As early as March 2012, the Israeli Minister of Energy and Water, Uzi Landau, had already signed an agreement with the Greek Minister of Environment, Energy, and Climate, Giorgos Papakonstantinou, establishing intergovernmental cooperation in the field of environmental protection. Specifically, the agreement provided for the exchange of expertise, emphasizing on water management, desalination, and among others, the production of biogas and biomass. Complementarily, in both August 2021 and July 2023, Israel dispatched two firefighting aircraft to Greece to assist in combating its forest fires (Nomikos & Bard, 2023).

## **Methodology**

With the aim of examining how Gaza War is represented by the Greek media, the research component of the present study includes an archival analysis of ten online articles from two ideologically opposed Greek newspapers -*Kathimerini* and *Avgi*- covering the indicative period from 1 June 2024 to 30 June 2024. These two newspapers were selected both on the basis of their political orientation, with the former representing the political right and the latter the left, as well as their popularity among the Greek reading public.

## Analysis of Articles

An assessment of ten online articles from the newspaper *Avgi* reveals a clearly human-centred approach in its news coverage of the Gaza War.

### i) Headlines

Beginning with the headlines of the articles, we observe the use of emotionally charged language to describe the war, such as “*deadly or intense bombardments,*” “*endless horror,*” “*new massacre,*” and “*ethnic cleansing*”. Certain headlines, such as “*Rafah: The City of Lost Children*”, make it immediately evident that the Gaza War is portrayed as a humanitarian crisis with numerous child victims. The full headlines of the articles are as follows:

1. «**Deadly Israeli bombardments** from north to south - Civilians forced to drink **contaminated water**».
2. «Endless **horror** - A new **massacre** by Israel, which bombed a UN school».
3. «**Intense Israeli bombardments** - No progress in ceasefire negotiations».
4. «Fighting and bombardments continue - **Extreme hunger** turns into **famine**».
5. «Mohammed El Batta - Palestinian refugee. The true aim of the war is **ethnic cleansing** in Gaza».
6. «Rafah: The city of **lost children**».
7. «**Humanitarian aid** enters **drop by drop** despite the Israeli "pause"».
8. «Israel struck refugee shelters in Al-Shati - **101 dead** within 24 hours».
9. «Israeli soldiers parade a **wounded Palestinian** tied to a jeep».
10. «**Uninterrupted Israeli attacks** on UNRWA offices aimed at dismantling it».

## ii) Images

Regarding the photographic material selected for use, it is observed that the majority of the articles include images from the Gaza War, depicting destroyed homes or entire cities, refugee camps, and bombed landscapes.



Refugee camp in Gaza (ΑΠΕ-ΜΠΕ/ΕΡΑ/ΗΑΙΘΗΑΜ ΙΜΑΔ). Retrieved from [https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/487447\\_fonikoi-israilinoi-bombardismo-i-apo-borra-os-noto-o-kosmos-pinei-molysmeno-nero](https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/487447_fonikoi-israilinoi-bombardismo-i-apo-borra-os-noto-o-kosmos-pinei-molysmeno-nero).



Ruins in Gaza (ΑΠΕ-ΜΠΕ/ΕΡΑ/ΗΑΙΘΗΑΜ ΙΜΑΔ). Retrieved from [https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/489189\\_me-stagonometro-i-eisodos-tis-anthropistikis-boitheias-para-tin-israilini-paysi](https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/489189_me-stagonometro-i-eisodos-tis-anthropistikis-boitheias-para-tin-israilini-paysi).

### iii) Information and Sources

Regarding the content of the articles, it is apparent that a perpetrator-victim framework predominates, with Palestinians being portrayed as persecuted and as the victims of the war. At the same time, significant emphasis is placed on numerical data, concerning Palestinian deaths and injuries. Illustratively, the following are excerpts from the examined articles:

*«The **Israeli bombardments and deliberate blockades** render access to the **trapped, starving civilians** practically impossible».*

*«[...]A total of **37,626 Palestinians** has been killed and **86,098** injured in Israeli strikes in the Gaza Strip since 7 October, according to a statement issued today (24/06/2024) by the **Ministry of Health** in the Palestinian enclave».*

*«Rafah has been transformed into a city of **wandering children**».*

*«More than **14,000 children** have been killed so far as a result of the Israeli attacks, according to estimates by the **Palestinian Ministry of Health**. **Tens of thousands** of others have been injured or orphaned. More than **17,000 children** are currently **unaccompanied**, according to **UNICEF** estimates».*

*«In April, the **Palestinian Ministry of Education** reported that more than **5,479 students** and **261 educators** had been killed since the beginning of the war».*

With regard to news sources, the newspaper *Avgi* appears to have a pluralistic character, drawing on sources from both Israel (e.g. the state television network Kan) and Palestine (e.g. the Palestinian Ministry of Health, spokespersons from the Al Quds Brigades). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the newspaper does not rely solely on official sources, such as the government, police, or military, but also incorporates information from humanitarian organizations (e.g. Médecins Sans Frontières), non-governmental organizations (e.g. Oxfam, Save the Children, UNICEF), and intergovernmental organizations, such as the World Health Organization and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). Finally, the use of human stories and testimonies from Palestinian refugees (e.g. Mohammed El Batta) renders the newspaper's approach even more human-centred.

An assessment of ten online articles from the newspaper *Kathimerini* reveals that a markedly different approach is adopted in the news coverage of the Gaza War.

**i) Headlines**

Beginning with the headlines of the articles, it is observed that neutral language is used to describe the war, such as “*systematic attacks*” or “*strikes*.” Furthermore, when referring to “*Israeli reprisals*”, “*Hamas’ attack*” and “*Israel’s operation in Gaza*” are framed within a cause-and-effect context. The full headlines of the articles are as follows:

1. «Israel: **The military** confirms that four additional Hamas **hostages** have died».
2. «How I Survived 51 Days as a **hostage of Hamas**».
3. «Gaza Strip: Eight **Israeli** soldiers **killed** in explosion in Rafah».
4. «**Israel**: The largest **mobilization** since the outbreak of war with Hamas».
5. «**Israeli Media**: The army was aware of Hamas’ attack plans»
6. «Gaza: Hamas “cannot be eliminated,” says **spokesperson** for the **Israeli defense forces**».
7. «Bank **robberies** by **Hamas members**».
8. «Gaza: **Strikes** on refugee camps - Two areas targeted by Israeli forces».
9. «The United Nations accused Israel of “**systematic attacks**” on hospitals».
10. «Hamas: No progress in **ceasefire** talks with Israel».

## ii) Images

Regarding the photographic material selected for use, it is observed that the majority of the articles include images of Israeli military vehicles or Israelis mourning the victims and captives of the 7 October attack.



Israeli funeral (Photographic Archive AP Photo/Oded Balilty). Retrieved from <https://www.kathimerini.gr/world/563057983/israil-o-stratos-epivevaiose-oti-alloi-tesseris-apo-toys-omiroyis-tis-chamas-einai-nekroi/>.



Demonstration of Israelis calling for the release of Hamas hostages (Reuters). Retrieved from <https://www.kathimerini.gr/world/563088172/gaza-i-chamas-den-mporei-na-exaleifthei-leei-o-ekprosopos-ton-israilinon-enoplion-dynameon/>.

### iii) Information and Sources

Regarding the content of the articles, although there are references to the humanitarian disaster in Palestine, it is noteworthy that considerable emphasis is placed on the numerical data concerning Israeli hostages and casualties inflicted by Hamas. Illustratively, the following are excerpts from the examined articles:

*«In total, the **IDF** have confirmed the **deaths of 41 of the 120 Hamas-held hostages who remained in the Gaza Strip**».*

*«During the **7 October incursion**, her husband and daughter were **killed**. Hen Almog Goldstein was found a few hours later **held captive** with her three other children in tunnels in Gaza».*

*«Of the **116 hostages** who remain in Gaza, **41 are deceased**, according to the **Israeli military**».*

*«The **elimination of Hamas** is an objective established by the **Cabinet**, and the **Israeli military** remains committed to it».*

*«The **Israeli armed forces** confirmed the **loss of eight soldiers** due to an explosion in Rafah [...] In total, since the beginning of the war in Gaza last year, **307 Israeli soldiers** have lost their lives».*

With regard to news sources, the newspaper *Kathimerini* appears to be less pluralistic than *Avgi*, as it predominantly relies on sources from Israel (e.g. the Israel Defense Forces, the Kan public broadcasting network). Not only the sources from Palestine are considered insufficient, but sources from humanitarian, non-governmental, or intergovernmental organizations are almost entirely absent. Finally, the use of human stories and testimonies from freed Israeli hostages of Hamas (e.g. Chen Almog-Goldstein) renders the newspaper's approach more human-centred.

## Conclusions

In conclusion, Greece's collaboration with Israel is multi-layered, with both countries placing significant emphasis on their economic and military cooperation. Regarding the media coverage of the Gaza War in Greece, both of our hypotheses are confirmed, as the left-leaning newspaper *Avgi* demonstrates a more pro-Palestinian stance and the right-leaning newspaper *Kathimerini* shows a more pro-Israeli orientation.

Overall, the way the Palestinian issue is covered in Greece does not differ substantially from practices elsewhere in the world. For example, the language used by many media outlets is as follows: “*Israelis are being killed and Palestinians are dying.*” When reporting numbers, the narrative tends to frame it as: “*Israeli losses are x. Palestinian casualties are y, according to Hamas.*” The former is presented as a fact, while the latter is treated as a claim. Even the former U.S. President, Joe Biden, stated that he had no idea whether Palestinians were telling the truth about the number of deaths. However, personal beliefs cannot override objective facts, as reported by the United Nations and numerous other reputable humanitarian organizations, which continue to operate in Gaza, despite the adverse conditions. Moreover, there were reports that bombs struck a densely populated area in Gaza, yet it was not revealed that this area was Jabalya, the largest refugee camp in the region, home to over 100,000 displaced Palestinians. While the media were not technically lying, the omission of such truths is hardly different from falsehood. According to the UN, the bombing of Jabalya may constitute a war crime. In any case, collective punishment is unacceptable, particularly when it escalates into genocide or ethnic cleansing (Tzannatos, 2023), while sensitivity to violence and human rights cannot be one-sided or subordinated to the harsh logic of Realpolitik (Tsoukalis, 2024).

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## Appendix

The articles used for the analysis are as follows:

### *AVGI*

1. [https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/487447\\_fonikoi-israilinoi-bombardismo-i-apo-borra-os-noto-o-kosmos-pinei-molysmeno-nero](https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/487447_fonikoi-israilinoi-bombardismo-i-apo-borra-os-noto-o-kosmos-pinei-molysmeno-nero)
2. [https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/487557\\_friki-horis-telos-nea-sfagi-apo-israil-poy-bombardise-sholeio-toy-oie](https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/487557_friki-horis-telos-nea-sfagi-apo-israil-poy-bombardise-sholeio-toy-oie)
3. [https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/488464\\_sfodroi-israilinoi-bombardismo-i-kamia-proodos-stis-diapragmateyseis-gia-katapaysi](https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/488464_sfodroi-israilinoi-bombardismo-i-kamia-proodos-stis-diapragmateyseis-gia-katapaysi)
4. [https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/488606\\_synhizontai-oi-mahes-kai-oi-bombardismo-i-akraia-peina-metatrepetai-se-limo](https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/488606_synhizontai-oi-mahes-kai-oi-bombardismo-i-akraia-peina-metatrepetai-se-limo)
5. [https://www.avgi.gr/gallery/podcasts/488792\\_o-alithinos-skopos-toy-polemoy-einai-i-ethnokatharsi-sti-gaza](https://www.avgi.gr/gallery/podcasts/488792_o-alithinos-skopos-toy-polemoy-einai-i-ethnokatharsi-sti-gaza)
6. [https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/488402\\_i-poli-ton-hamenon-paidion](https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/488402_i-poli-ton-hamenon-paidion)
7. [https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/489189\\_me-stagonometro-i-eisodos-tis-anthropistikis-boitheias-para-tin-israilini-paysi](https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/489189_me-stagonometro-i-eisodos-tis-anthropistikis-boitheias-para-tin-israilini-paysi)
8. [https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/489293\\_israil-eplixe-prosfygika-katalymata-sto-al-sati-101-nekroi-mesa-se-ena-24oro](https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/489293_israil-eplixe-prosfygika-katalymata-sto-al-sati-101-nekroi-mesa-se-ena-24oro)
9. [https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/489334\\_israilinoi-stratiotes-periferoy-n-palaistinio-traymatia-demenon-pano-se-tzip-binteo](https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/489334_israilinoi-stratiotes-periferoy-n-palaistinio-traymatia-demenon-pano-se-tzip-binteo)
10. [https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/489368\\_adiakopes-epitheseis-toy-israil-sta-grafeia-tis-unrwa-me-stoho-ti-dialysi-tis](https://www.avgi.gr/diethni/489368_adiakopes-epitheseis-toy-israil-sta-grafeia-tis-unrwa-me-stoho-ti-dialysi-tis)

### *KATHIMERINI*

1. <https://www.kathimerini.gr/world/563057983/israil-o-stratos-epivevaiose-oti-alloi-tesseris-apo-toys-omiroy-tis-chamas-einai-nekroi/>
2. <https://www.kathimerini.gr/world/563067835/pos-ezisa-51-imeres-omiros-tis-chamas/>
3. <https://www.kathimerini.gr/world/563082061/lorida-tis-gazas-okto-israilinoi-stratiotes-nekroi-apo-ekrivi-sti-rafa/>
4. <https://www.kathimerini.gr/world/563082190/israil-i-megalyteri-kinitopoiisi-apo-to-xesasma-toy-polemoy-me-ti-chamas/>

5. <https://www.kathimerini.gr/world/563085022/israilina-mme-o-stratos-gnorize-gia-ta-schedia-epithesis-tis-chamas/>
6. <https://www.kathimerini.gr/world/563088172/gaza-i-chamas-den-mporei-na-exaleifthei-leei-o-ekprosopos-ton-israilinon-enoplion-dynameon/>
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9. <https://www.kathimerini.gr/world/563096731/ta-inomena-ethni-katigoris-an-to-israil-gia-systimatikes-epitheseis-se-nosokomeia/>
10. <https://www.kathimerini.gr/world/563103022/chamas-kamia-proodos-stis-synomilies-katapaysis-toy-pyros-me-to-israil/>