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Unlike the already-surveyed material, however, it introduces the case in a rather gender-conscious manner, through a short *manga* that establishes a chain of equivalence between the silencing of modern-day sexual assault victims and the Japanese nationalist denial of the “comfort women” issue (Fight for Justice 2023c). Moreover, the site appeals to readers’ sympathy for former “comfort women” by asking them to think of how they would react “if [themselves] or [their] own sister, partner, or friends were victimized” (Fight for Justice 2023a). By doing so, the site calls for emotional deference not only to former “comfort women,” but to modern-day sexual assault victims as well, thereby implicitly linking two gendered issues.

However, there are areas where Korean nationalist discourses are somewhat reinforced – for instance, one page points out the apparently unique cruelty of the Japanese military in its establishment of the “comfort system” (Fight for Justice 2023b). As Ahn (2020) observes, this is a somewhat exclusionary view of historical military rapes that, in the end, serves a Korean nationalist project (68). Furthermore, the page asserts that the societal emphasis on chastity present during former “comfort women’s” youths is incomparable to contemporary attitudes (Fight for Justice 2023a), even though research indicates that the nationalism from which these attitudes originated still exists in modern-day South Korea (Han and Hundt 2023).

In sum, the discourse proliferated on the Fight for Justice website antagonizes gendered nationalism to some degree, but, like “Manga ‘ianfu’ repōto,” implicitly reinforces this nationalism in other areas. That said, its linkage of gender-based violence in the modern day and the experiences of former “comfort women” – and the rules of emotional deference that this establishes – could be argued to be an intriguing step in a more gender-conscious direction.

## Conclusion

Throughout this paper, it has hopefully become apparent that discussions surrounding the “comfort women” issue in both Japan and South Korea are marred by a nationalist

undercurrent, rendering invisible the gendered systems at the very foundations of the “comfort system.”

This phenomenon can be observed not only in Japanese nationalist media such as “The J Facts” that actively denies the suffering that former “comfort women” experienced, but also in media from South Korea, which, although generally more sympathetic towards these women, fails to address the gendered structures behind the “comfort system” in an attempt to assert a national identity.

That said, it appears that the discourses proliferated by transnational projects such as “Fight for Justice” represent a shift, possibly owing to the ways that the global nature of such movements forces their members to go beyond a nationalist framework. Arguably, this particularity affords such groups a unique capacity to investigate explanations for the existence of the “comfort system” and institutions like it through a different, more gender-conscious lens.

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