

Theses of the Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

**Hungarian and German Women's Fates and Roles  
in Transcarpathia  
During the Establishment of the Soviet Regime  
(1944–1953)**

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## **I. Background and Objectives of the Dissertation**

For a long time, universal historiography and social discourse classified the societies of the past century – particularly those of the world wars – within the framework of heroes, victims, and traitors. In relation to women, none of these categories received substantial emphasis; least of all were the fates of victims examined—those whose wartime experiences did not fit into the heroic narrative of great victories.

In the years following the war, when writings on the subject did appear, they tended to highlight the heroic portrayal of women – as volunteers of the Red Army, as mothers of many children, or as exemplary workers and agitators who entered the workforce in place of, and later alongside, men. The life stories and achievements of these women were emphasized. However, topics that revealed the dark sides of war – those that obscured the mythologized, liberating image of the Red Army – were considered taboo. The absence of open research rendered scholarly understanding impossible. For decades, sexual violence against women, forced labor, and deportations could not be spoken of; the orders commanding retaliatory actions remained classified. Even today, some related archival materials are still not freely accessible.

In the autumn of 1944, Transcarpathia (Kárpátalja) – then still part of Hungary – ended the war on the losing side. The retribution carried out by the Soviet Union was suffered not only by the country's leadership but by the entire Hungarian nation, including the population of Transcarpathia. Under the fabricated principle of collective guilt, and in the course of ethnic cleansing, Soviet forces deported civilians, including women.

Following the Soviet change of power in Transcarpathia, the drastic transformations in social, economic, and family relations profoundly influenced the evolution of female roles. The primary aim of this dissertation is to examine and present, with scholarly rigor, the fates of stigmatized women – those interned, convicted, or deported for ethnic or political reasons – as well as to explore the situation of women who remained at home, focusing on how the regime sought to integrate them into a socialist-modeled society and economy, and what forms of grievance and suffering they endured in the process.

The novelty of the topic lies in the fact that no comprehensive work or even study has previously addressed the impact of Sovietization on women in Transcarpathia during the early years of Soviet occupation.

The years 2024–2025 mark an especially significant anniversary for researchers of the Soviet forced labor camps, as it was eighty years ago, between November 1944 and January 1945, that the mass deportations of Hungarian and German civilians—both women and men—began. This anniversary has renewed scholarly attention to the subject across the Carpathian Basin. The passing of time further underscores the urgency of in-depth exploration, since only a few survivors of the Soviet camps remain alive today to bear living witness to the nature of this inhuman, genocidal system. Even the children and close relatives of survivors are now of advanced age.

At the outset, the dissertation also seeks to clarify the terminology used to describe the Soviet camp systems and to highlight distinctions that are often blurred even in the writings of historians. Prisoners in the Soviet Union were held primarily in two types of camp systems: the GULAG (Glavnoe Upravlenie Lagerei / Main Administration of Camps) and the GUPVI (Glavnoe Upravlenie Voennoplennykh i Internirovannykh / Main Directorate for Prisoners of War and Internees). Both were under the supervision and authority of the NKVD (Narodny Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del / People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs), established in 1934. The distinction between the two systems lay in their function and prisoner composition: GUPVI camps held both prisoners of war and internees – often detained en masse regardless of identity, as Soviet authorities prioritized filling quotas or isolating entire ethnic groups. In contrast, the GULAG system confined individuals convicted through show trials and fabricated charges, those whom the regime labeled as „anti-regime” enemies deemed to be eliminated for the advancement of political goals.

As indicated in the title of the dissertation, the chronological scope extends from 1944, when Transcarpathia was occupied by Soviet forces, to 1953, the year of Stalin’s death – by which time most female prisoners had returned from the camps and the first phase of forced collectivization had concluded. However, when outlining the return of the Swabians deported to Tyumen, it proved necessary to extend the timeframe slightly, as they were only permitted to leave their place of permanent exile after a decree issued in 1955.

The dissertation thus sets out to achieve the following objectives:

1. To present how Transcarpathia became a zone of great power confrontation during the Second World War, how it was occupied by the Soviets, and how this occupation transformed the social and spatial structure of the region.
2. To explore the double burden borne by women during and after the Soviet occupation of 1944, by addressing the following key questions.

- What kind of relationship developed between the occupying and subsequently consolidating Soviet authorities and the local civil society, particularly with regard to women?
  - Were women subjected to discrimination or sexual violence, and what were the consequences of resistance in a system that introduced profound social, political, and economic transformations?
  - How were women able to assume the role of head of the family as a consequence of the “málenkij robot,” during which the best of Hungarian and German men aged between 18 and 50 were deported?
  - What efforts were undertaken to secure the release of men from the labor camps?
  - Was there any real possibility for family reunification?
3. An examination of the process of transitioning to collective agriculture, with a focus on the means employed to involve – and often coerce – women into productive labor. The research subjects were predominantly women from lower social strata, for whom domestic work had previously constituted their primary occupation, as well as young women at the outset of their careers, who faced limited prospects. The study particularly concentrates on how mothers managed to balance household duties with their work responsibilities; whether young women were able to achieve upward mobility on the economic or social ladder; to what extent the state facilitated or hindered such progress; what the working conditions were like; how men viewed women entering traditionally male professions; and how the authorities dealt with those who resisted.
  4. An exploration of the practical implementation of the Soviet policy of collective responsibility, which primarily affected Swabian (ethnic German) women. The research aims to provide an approximate estimation of the number of German women deported from Transcarpathia on the basis of their nationality.
  5. An account of the tribulations faced by deported German families – mostly women, the elderly, and children – and an assessment of their prospects for returning to their homeland.
  6. A detailed analysis of the show trials conducted against Hungarian women in Transcarpathia, beginning with the introduction of Soviet criminal law and continuing through the sentencing phase, followed by their imprisonment and living conditions within the prisons and camps of the GULAG system. Within the defined chronological framework the study also seeks to determine the number of convicted women and to trace their return from the camps or from the places of perpetual exile.

## II. Sources and Methodology

The richest archival material relevant to the topic is preserved in the Transcarpathian Regional State Archives (TRSA), particularly in its branches located in Uzhhorod and Berehove, as well as in the Hungarian National Archives (HNA). As primary sources, we were able to utilize the Fond No. 14 of the TRSA, and within it, especially those documents that cover the years 1944–1946, a period officially referred to as Transcarpathian Ukraine. Among these sources we found numerous individual and collective petitions written by women and addressed to local people's committees, to the People's Council itself, to its chairman or to camp commanders. From these petitions, one can generally infer the social pressures resulting from the regime change at the turn of 1944–1945, as well as the losses and hardships suffered by families, which mostly arose as a consequence of the deportation of the male population for „málenkij robot” (a little work).

Similar petitions were also sent to the leadership of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior, the Allied Control Commission (ACC), and to General Béla Dálnoki Miklós, the President of the Provisional National Government. These petitions are preserved within the records of the Prisoner of War Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the HNA.

Attached to many of these petitions were personal data sheets of the deportees, submitted by their relatives. By comparing these petitions with other groups of sources, it became possible to estimate how many women had become widows, how many had to support their children alone for years, and how many children had been orphaned. One of the eighteen questions on the personal data sheets concerned the family status of the men and the number of their children, which provided valuable quantitative insight.

From the classified records relating to the Soviet Union – also housed in the HNA – we were able to reconstruct the situation of women and family members who were separated after the border closure, following the official annexation of Transcarpathia to the Soviet Union. Among these documents, several dozen petitions for family reunification can be found. These were written primarily by women who had arrived in the region with their husbands or had married men – often state officials – transferred to Transcarpathia from inner regions of the country for administrative or professional reasons after the First Vienna Award or following the complete reintegration of Transcarpathia into Hungary. These men were also deported for „málenkij robot” along with the local German and Hungarian populations. The women, stranded in Transcarpathia because of the sealed border, were not granted permission for family

reunification or for repatriation to Hungary – even in cases where their husbands had survived forced labor and returned to Hungarian territory with a transport of released prisoners.

From the communal collective farm records preserved in the Berehove branch of the Transcarpathian Regional State Archives (TRSA), we obtained information concerning the internal organization and operational structure of the kolkhozes, as well as the roles and work processes assigned to women within them. From the perspective of statistical analysis, the annual reports constitute key archival sources related to collectivization. These reports include data on the gender distribution of kolkhoz members and the number of workdays completed, from which we derived conclusions about women’s labor productivity within individual communities or where data were lacking attempted to identify the underlying causes of such disparities.

An important component of the dissertation was the examination – on a settlement-by-settlement basis – of the local government lists compiled in July 1945, namely the so-called Turjanica registers preserved in the TRSA, comprising nearly 30,000 names. From these, we extracted and analyzed data in order to estimate the number of German women who had been deported. The female names found in the Turjanica registers were further supplemented with entries from the database titled “Deportees to the Soviet Union” maintained by the National Archives of Hungary.

Within both Transcarpathian and broader Hungarian GULAG research the exploration of the imprisonment of Transcarpathian women in the GULAG system represents a major contribution to filling a historiographical gap. It must be noted, however, that this chapter posed the greatest research challenge, as the trial records of the convicted are preserved in the former KGB archives, currently housed in the Uzhhorod Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), where access to sources remains extremely restricted. Consequently, obtaining even partial or complete copies of certain trial documents constituted significant progress. Through Oleksii Korsun’s published document collections, we gained access to several partial trial records. Furthermore, in the István Bendász Greek Catholic Archive, we were able to consult the complete trial documentation and personal memoir legacy of Sister Mária Teofília Manajló, the Basilian Mother Superior convicted in the show trial connected to the martyrdom of Blessed Theodore Romzha.

The rehabilitation of women deported to the GULAG – unlike that of the GUPVI prisoners, who had been deported en masse without formal sentencing – has indeed taken place. Following the regime change, the Rehabilitation Commission published a source edition containing the personal data of several thousand convicted individuals. From these lists, we

were able to determine how many women were sentenced in Transcarpathia between 1944 and 1953.

Additional primary sources were likewise obtained from Oleksii Korsun's published document collections. Between 2012 and 2016, he issued three major Ukrainian-language source publications that brought to light several hundred previously inaccessible documents from Russian archives. These sources illuminate the Soviet repressive actions in Transcarpathia – ranging from the „málenkij robot” (forced labor deportations) and the internment of ethnic Germans for compulsory labor, through the establishment and functioning of extraordinary tribunals and the sentencing of prisoners to GULAG captivity, to the implementation of forced collectivization.

In addition to archival materials, the testimonies of deportation survivors and informants who lived through the Sovietization process are of primary importance. Owing to the scarcity and fragmentary nature of documentary sources related to this topic, these personal recollections hold exceptional historical value. By employing the oral history method – a historical research approach currently enjoying a renaissance and focusing on individual and collective experiences – we were able to obtain further detailed information not contained in archival records or statistical data through interviews conducted with eyewitnesses and participants who still recalled the events. Great assistance was provided by the Oral History Collection of the Tivadar Lehoczky Social Science Research Centre, which preserves both the audio and written materials of Erzsébet D. Molnár and Sándor Bakura, who recorded interviews with German women deported from Transcarpathia. In addition, the source base was enriched by approximately thirty in-depth interviews conducted by the author (the doctoral candidate) with survivors of the labor camps, individuals who experienced Sovietization, and their family members.

To gain deeper insight into the circumstances of the deportations and daily life in the camps, we also examined another category of primary sources: letters sent home secretly and under difficult conditions as well as memoirs and manuscripts written after repatriation.

Among the aforementioned groups of sources, press materials also occupy a significant place in our research. Accounts and recollections of survivors appeared in the press columns as well; however, several contemporary newspapers – products of the party bureaucracy – were subjected to thorough source criticism. During the era of state socialism, mass communication was the exclusive monopoly of the party apparatus; therefore these publications cannot on their own serve to reconstruct the actual living conditions of women. Nevertheless, they vividly reflect the female ideal promoted and prescribed by the regime.

Through the synthesis of the above mentioned sources and the information found in both domestic and international scholarly literature we sought to explore the subject from multiple perspectives and to present a more nuanced interpretation of the historical processes under study.

### **III. New Scientific Findings of the Dissertation**

The Soviet totalitarian regime that occupied and established itself in the region sought to exercise control over all spheres of life. This required the population to develop new strategies of adaptation. In the years following the Second World War, the transformation of women's roles within the family became a general trend. In Transcarpathia this process was accelerated by the Soviet occupation and its negative society-shaping consequences, which were most clearly manifested in the deportation to Soviet forced labor camps of approximately 30 000 able-bodied men aged 18 to 50 during the so-called „málenkij robot”.

As a result, the social balance of power was disrupted, and the traditional family hierarchy and role structure underwent profound change. With the decline of the male population, women assumed an increasingly significant role in everyday life: they had to take over the function of breadwinners. In addition to searching for their captured, missing, or deported relatives, they were responsible for the care of their elderly parents and children, and for protecting their homes from Soviet soldiers who were looting, passing through, or occupying their settlements.

One of the chapters highlights the extraordinary resilience and overexertion of these women, which manifested in their fearless visits to collection camps to bring food to the deportees — often at the cost of depriving their own families of their last portion of bread – and while exposing themselves to various dangers, such as the violent behavior of soldiers or the epidemics rampant in those camps.

Among the Soviet atrocities committed against women perhaps the most silenced to this day remains the issue of sexual violence. In Transcarpathia, contemporary sources –published diaries, memoirs, and recollections – do not confirm that Soviet soldiers committed rape on a mass scale; such cases appear to have occurred sporadically. However, it can be established that in areas where Soviet troops merely passed through, sexual violence occurred less frequently, whereas in places where they were stationed for days or weeks, such incidents were considerably more common.

The role of victimhood did not always prevail. Women often sought the company of men, particularly of higher-ranking officers, for which they were at times stigmatized. Yet in certain cases, such relationships represented their only chance to improve their living conditions, to ensure protection for themselves and their families, or even to survive. In Transcarpathia, due to the lack of available sources, it was not possible to corroborate the spread of venereal diseases through military medical or public health reports. Nevertheless, this does not preclude the possibility that women who suffered sexual assault contracted various sexually

transmitted infections, such as syphilis or gonorrhea. The consequences of sexual violence extended far beyond physical illness: many women became infertile while others developed various psychological disorders as a result of the trauma.

The transformation of the traditional roles of Transcarpathian women was tantamount to their becoming “Soviet-type women”. This process entailed the attainment of a form of gender equality as defined within the Soviet Union, which in practice meant that local women were increasingly drawn – or coerced – into the sphere of social labor. The Party’s extensive economic policy laid the foundations for the ideology of the “working woman” driven by the compelling need for labor that arose from the acute shortage of male workers.

With the establishment of the kolkhoz (collective farm) system the role of the housewife became devalued, while that of the female worker gained prestige. Based on kolkhoz meeting records, it can be established that women constituted an equal or even majority share of the labor force within the collectives. Because mechanization advanced only slowly, women’s manual labor was in greatest demand; nonetheless, numerous examples attest that women were also elected to hold leadership positions within the kolkhozes.

The Communist Party attached great importance to propaganda conducted among women and by women themselves, particularly in predominantly Hungarian-populated areas where – to use the terminology of the Party’s jargon – “the remnants of fascism” had not yet been entirely eradicated. In response to poor agricultural performance efforts, were made to stimulate labor enthusiasm through awarding of honors and decorations, although the initiation of judicial proceedings against recalcitrant members of the population was likewise regarded as an effective means of enforcement.

Despite these measures, even in the early 1950s there were kolkhozes where 50 percent of the women failed to meet the minimum labor norm, and some recorded no workdays at all. Reports preserved in kolkhoz records and contemporary recollections attribute this situation to several factors: workdays were deducted even for minor infractions; without the consent of collective members, management sold kolkhoz property; inadequate working conditions and facilities further impaired productivity – developments which in turn led to the reduction or even withdrawal of workers’ remuneration.

In addition, the establishment of childcare institutions was delayed for years in several localities, rendering employment virtually impossible for mothers with many children. Although the regime continuously emphasized gender equality, relations between the sexes were far from free of contradictions. The incorporation of women into traditionally masculine professions proved to be not only an ill-considered and irresponsible policy from the standpoint

of biological capacity but also one that provoked resentment among men. This was particularly evident in cases where women were employed as tractor drivers, a symbolically charged occupation within the Soviet labor hierarchy.

Beyond examining the situation, employment, and social participation of the women who remained at home following the Soviet occupation, our research sought to uncover the circumstances surrounding the deportation of women to labor camps in the Soviet Union, the realities of their daily life in the camps, and the possibilities for their eventual return. The first punitive action targeting women was directed against those of German ethnicity. Soviet excesses and acts of brutality manifested not only against the male population. In fulfilling the quota of prisoners predetermined and imposed by Soviet authorities, when it became impossible to meet the prescribed numbers – due to factors such as evasion or escape – cases occurred in which Hungarian girls, or young women of German origin with German-sounding names who identified themselves as Hungarian, were also deported.

As in the earlier deportations carried out under Order No. 0036, the Soviets did not always adhere to the designated age limits of 18 to 30 years. As demonstrated by our findings, women up to forty years of age were also taken. This indicates that the goal was to fulfill a numerical quota set by Soviet leadership: a prescribed number of individuals had to be gathered and transported to labor camps across the Soviet Union.

In addition to the names found in the Turjanica lists and those collected from individual memoirs research was also conducted among the 681 955 registration cards of Hungarian and German prisoners held in the Soviet GUPVI and GULAG camps acquired in 2019 by the Hungarian National Archives from the Russian State Military Archive (RGVA). Within the online database of persons deported to the Soviet Union we identified the registration cards of 14 women from Transcarpathia who had been interned and transported to GUPVI camps, as well as one woman's name in the database of female deportees who returned from „malenkij robot”. By incorporating these names we were able to compile a database containing the names of 111 deported women. The absence of additional registration cards however does not exclude the possibility that the actual number of deported women was substantially higher. Those who managed to escape, were released or perished during transport were not recorded; nevertheless survivors did not report mass mortality either during the journey or within the camps. Due to the lack of records concerning the returnees and the deceased it is impossible to determine precisely how many female victims were involved.

The number of women deported to the GULAG system could be established with somewhat greater accuracy. This is primarily due to the fact that their rehabilitation, unlike that

of the women sent to the GUPVI camps, was largely carried out in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Based on data extracted from the Rehabilitation Commission we established that between 1945 and 1953 the Special Tribunal of Transcarpathia sentenced at least 189 women to terms of imprisonment ranging from one to twenty-five years, of whom forty-two were Hungarian. The online database of those deported to the Soviet Union contains the registration cards of 1 800 Hungarian GULAG prisoners, among whom the name of one woman from Transcarpathia sentenced to GULAG imprisonment has been identified.

Women were sent to the GULAG camps as political prisoners through show trials, whereas those deported as Germans were taken collectively and on an ethnic basis accused of complicity in war crimes. In both cases, and through the maintenance of both camp systems, the aim of the Soviet leadership was to exploit free labor as a form of war reparation to the fullest extent possible, while completely isolating individuals from the outside world, breaking them physically and psychologically, and attempting to “re-educate” them into becoming “Soviet-type” citizens.

Through the punishment and re-education of individuals the system sought to shatter their personalities and destroy their identities, value systems and systems of belief. To achieve this, the regime employed a wide range of methods: from deliberate starvation and exposure to harsh climatic conditions, to the deprivation of medical care and basic hygiene, and the enforcement of exhausting, continuous physical labor. Prisoners were subjected to an information blockade, uprooted from their accustomed social environments, and placed under total control, creating a pervasive sense of dependence on the regime. Women, either consciously or instinctively, developed and applied relatively effective coping strategies to counteract the psychological destruction inflicted upon them, thereby increasing their chances of survival. They nurtured social relationships, helped one another, refrained from exchanging their food rations for tobacco or alcohol, and made greater efforts to maintain hygienic conditions around themselves – traits less commonly observed among male prisoners.

Within the camps women remained in an extremely vulnerable position and suffered various forms of sexual violence, perpetrated both by camp personnel (guards) and by male inmates who were often common criminals. Yet, for some sexuality could also serve as a means of survival, functioning as a resource in their struggle to endure the hardships of camp life.

The dissertation devotes particular attention to the experience of motherhood within the camps. Pregnant women were regarded as a burden on the Soviet economy; therefore, the more fortunate among them were released after childbirth under amnesty decrees. However, the majority were separated from their children, who were sent to orphanages, while the mothers

were promptly returned to labor. The separation of children from their parents could in many cases become permanent. After their release women were often able to locate their children only with great difficulty, as records of where the children had been taken were rarely kept and their names were frequently changed.

A similar pattern could be observed among deported German families. Although families initially arrived together in Tyumen, Siberia, they were typically separated upon arrival: grandparents and children were isolated from the able-bodied adults and confined to separate forest camps. Their living conditions and provisions were even less organized than those of prisoners held in the GULAG and GUPVI systems. While prisoners of the GUPVI and GULAG camps were eventually repatriated – most of them within a few years and at the latest one or two years after Stalin’s death – the exile of the German families deported in 1946 was declared permanent. Although a 1955 decree formally modified this regulation, their return to their native homeland remained prohibited. They were permitted to settle only in other regions or countries, a policy which led to a sharp decline – and in many areas the near-total disappearance – of the German population from the region.

A feminist analysis of the Soviet forced labor camp system has made it possible to reconstruct, drawing upon the experiences of female prisoners, the fragmented remnants of women’s memories, and the synthesis of contemporary sources, at least some fragments of the broader picture of how the system treated women – even if not the entire reality in its completeness. In our research, we sought not only to focus on manifestations of female martyrdom but also to uncover the often-overlooked yet remarkably resilient forms of female agency by examining women’s capacities for everyday adaptation and resistance.

The Second World War and the subsequent Soviet occupation radically and dramatically transformed the demographic composition of Subcarpathia. According to available census data and archival sources the region’s total population increased between 1941 and 1959, however, the proportions of different nationalities shifted significantly. The Hungarian population which numbered 233 875 in 1941, had fallen to 134 558 by 1946 and by 1959 – when the first Soviet census was conducted in Subcarpathia – it had risen slightly to 146 247. This represents an overall decline of nearly 42% compared to the prewar level, a loss primarily attributable to wartime casualties, flight to the West, deportations, and the forced labor conscriptions known as „málenkij robot.”

The situation of the German minority was even more tragic: between 1941 and 1946 their numbers decreased by more than 80%, from 13 222 to 2 338 individuals. This dramatic reduction resulted chiefly from collective punishment, mass expulsions, and forced labor. By

the time of the 1959 census only 3 504 persons of German nationality were registered – barely one quarter of the prewar figure. Meanwhile, the proportion and absolute number of Ukrainians (Ruthenians) increased substantially, a development largely driven by Soviet internal migration policies combined with natural population growth.

As for changes in the gender structure, only partial data are available from the 1941 and 1946 censuses. In 1959 among the 146 247 Hungarians 68 376 were men and 77 871 were women; of the 3 504 Germans 1 625 were men and 1 879 were women. In earlier censuses women likely outnumbered men to a greater extent as tens of thousands of men were absent due to military service, and approximately 40 000 Hungarian and German men were deported during the 1944 “three days of small work” campaign.

The decline of the Hungarian and German populations coupled with the growth of Ukrainian and Russian inhabitants permanently and irreversibly altered the region’s ethnodemographic landscape. The distortion of the gender structure had profound effects on all strata of society: marriage rates declined, natural population growth remained low for decades and the community’s age profile exhibited a lasting trend toward aging.



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### List of publications related to the dissertation

#### Hungarian book chapters (3)

1. **Bimba, B.:** A maradék németység kollektív eltávolítása Kárpátaljáról: kényszerkitelepítés Szibériába.  
In: Családok a kitelepítések árnyékában. Szerk.: Bali János, Deáky Zita, Vámos Gabriella, ELTE BTK, Budapest, 136-150, 2022. ISBN: 9789634894926
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3. **Bimba, B.:** Kárpátaljai nők, mint szenvedő alanyok a bolsevik hatalmi gépezet időszakában.  
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4. **Bimba, B.:** Anyaság és gyermeknevelés a GULAG-GUPVI táborokban és a száműzetés helyein.  
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6. **Bimba, B.:** "Dicsősége hirdetését hagyjad a jövőnek": Az ungvári Manajló Mária Teofília O.S.B.M., a Szent Bazil rend tagja, kórházi főnővér koncepciók pere és következményei.  
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7. **Bimba, B.:** A nagyszülősi és a felső-tisza-vidéki sváb nők internálása 1944-45 fordulóján a Szovjetunió Állami Honvédelmi Bizottságának 7161. sz. parancsa alapján.  
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9. **Bimba, B.:** Kérelmek és beadványok - női közbenjárás a Kárpátaljáról malenkij robotra hurcolt férfiak ügyében.  
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