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ВИДКУН КВИСЛИНГ. ВОЕННЫЙ АТТАШЕ В ГЕЛЬСИНГФОРСЕ, 1919–21

Видкун Квислинг, лидер норвежского правого движения "Национальное объединение" в 1933–45 был знатоком российских и советских реалий. Как офицер норвежского генерального штаба в 1910-е годы он специализировался на российских военных вопросах и приобрел солидный запас знаний о России. В 1918 г. он служил норвежским военным атташе в Петрограде и в 1919–21 атташе в Гельсингфорсе. Затем ему пришлось пожить в Харькове в 1922–24 гг. и в Москве в 1925–29 в качестве ведущего сотрудника Международной комиссии по оказанию помощи России, во главе которой стоял его всемирно известный соотечественник Фридьоф Нансен, верховный комиссар Лиги Наций. Во время своего пребывания в России Квислинг женился сначала на одной, потом другой русской женщине. Кроме того, несколько из его соратников по партии являлись экспертами по России, такие как успешный бизнесмен Фредрик Притц и директор так называемого Русского офиса "Национального объединения" в 1940–45 Финн Сторен. Несмотря на многочисленные и долгосрочные связи между Квислингом и Россией до сих пор известно очень мало о его жизни в Советской России. Тем не менее, как представляется, обширный российский опыт Квислинга и глубокое знание им российского общества имели большое значение для него как министра обороны Норвегии в 1931–32 гг., как главы "Национального объединения" в 1930-е и в военные годы и как президента Норвегии в 1942–45 гг. В статье делается акцент на деятельности Квислинга в качестве военного атташе в Финляндии в 1919–21 гг., поскольку Гельсингфорс на несколько лет стал наиболее благоприятным местом для наблюдений за военным и политическим развитием в регионе Балтийского

моря. Несмотря на местопребывание в Финляндии, различные дипломатические и военные разведывательные операции Квислинга были одновременно тесно связаны с происходившей тогда трансформацией и усилением России.

Ключевые слова: Видкун Квислинг, Гельсингфорс, военный атташе, Финляндия, Советская Россия.

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VIDKUN QUISLING. MILITARY ATTACHÉ IN HELSINGFORS, 1919-21¹

Major *Vidkun Quisling*, the leader of the Norwegian right-winged movement, *Nasjonal Samling* (National Rallying), in 1933-45, was a specialist of Russian and Soviet conditions. As an Officer of the Norwegian General Staff in the 1910s he specialized in Russian military issues, and became fluent in Russian. In 1918 he was the Norwegian Military Attaché in Petrograd and in 1919-21 Military Attaché in Helsingfors. Later on he used to live in Charkov in 1922-24 and Moscow 1925-29, now as a leading Official of the *International Commission of Russian Relief*, headed by his world-known compatriot *Fridtjof Nansen*, High Commissar of the League of Nations. During his stays in Russia Quisling married first one and then another Russian woman. Moreover, a few of his close party associates were experts on Russia like the successful businessman *Fredrik Prytz* and the Director of the so called Russian Office of the *Nasjonal Samling* in 1940-45, *Finn Støren*. Although there are numerous and long-termed bonds between Quisling and Russia considerable little is yet known about his life in Soviet Russia. However, as it appears Quisling's broad Russian experiences and deep knowledge of Russian society was of great significance for him as the Defense Minister of Norway in 1931-32, as the leader of *Nasjonal Samling* in the 1930s and the war years and as the Norwegian Minister President in 1942-45. The article focuses on Quisling's performance as the Norwegian

¹The writing is an updated English version of an article in *Nordisk Arkivnyt* No 2 2017 P. 68-70.

Military Attaché in Finland in 1919-21, as Helsingfors for a few years appeared a most favourable place for observing military and political developments in the greater Baltic area. Although stationed in Finland the various diplomatic and military intelligence activities of Quisling were at the same time basically and extensively connected to the on-going crucial transformation of the early and strengthening Soviet Russia.

Keywords: Vidkun Quisling, Helsingfors, Military Attaché, Finland, Soviet Russia.

In the summer of 1919 the Norwegian General Staff was looking for a suitable professional with the capacity of serving as an Intelligence Officer stationed in Finland. One of the confident applicants was *Vidkun Quisling* (1887-1945), then a Captain of the General Staff. Later on, in the 1930s Quisling emerged a world-wide public person as the leader of the fascist organisation in Norway, Nasjonal Samling (National Coalition), and in 1942-45 the President of the so called national government in German-occupied Norway. However, Quisling's two and a half year stay in Helsingfors is a lesser known period in his life, heavily overshadowed by his more luminous periods. Nevertheless, in 1919-21 Quisling produced a considerable number of reports and writings to the Norwegian General Staff shedding light on his service as a military watchman and diplomat in Helsingfors.

Career Diplomat

Among several applicants the well-merited Quisling was appointed Intelligence Officer (etterretningsoffiser) – as the position bluntly was characterized. Subsequently, in September 1919 he arrived from Kristiania through Stockholm and Åbo by vessel and train to Helsingfors. In particular three qualities favoured the choice of Quisling. First, he was fluent in Russia. Second, he was one of the most outstanding specialists of Russia in Norway. Third, Quisling consumed alcohol with temperance. The Norwegian General Staff paid special attention to this third quality as the drinking habits in Finland were extensive in spite of the prohibition legislation, introduced in the spring of 1919, especially as Helsingfors was the main center of the illegal liqueur trade.

However, by that time, Quisling was not yet that actor posterity known, that quality he didn't catch until 1929 as he got involved in political life, and stepped forward as a Fascist leader. During his stay in Helsingfors in 1919-21 Quisling appeared an ambitious Intelligence Officer and Military Attaché, a career diplomat, correct, courteous, well-informed and deeply-read. To the intelligence field work he entertained at least formally a becoming distance. Surely, at dinners and parties, and at the frequent military parades he was politely present, dressed in his shining uniform in order to make his critical observations. Intelligence proper he let his subordinates take care of whereas he himself was punctual, methodical and reliable, focusing on desk work and analysis, although not very energetic.

As the Norwegian Ambassador in Finland, ex-Governor *Andreas Urbye*, at several occasions visited Norway Quisling, in his quality of the second man of the Embassy, five times carried out the charges d'affaires duties. Quisling's view of the Finnish leaders was not particularly favourable: the Finnish opinions appeared exaggerated, the spirit of the country was chauvinistic with Finnish nationalism and agitation for Greater Finnish goals. For his personal part Quisling sported at the end of the 1910s and the bulk of the 1920s an image of pro-Soviet and hosted a friendly-minded and supportive attitude towards the workers, although not for that sake being any leftist.²

Watchman in Helsingfors

In the summer and fall of 1918 Quisling served as the Norwegian Military Attaché in Petrograd. However, conditions there emerged so trying that the Norwegian Embassy was dissolved at the end of the year. In order to compensate this the Norwegian Foreign Office made efforts to develop Helsingfors a diplomatic station. True, by this time the city offered an extraordinary diplomatic look-out residence. In all of the areas surrounding Finland there

² *Dahl H. F.* Vidkun Quisling. En Fører blir til. Bind 1. Oslo, 1991. S. 76-81. Archival documents. 1) Vidkun Quisling's official writings from his time as a Military Attaché, included in the Archive of Generalstaben IV, Riksarkivet i Oslo, RAFA-3258, series Y09, Milierattachéene, rapporter. 2) the personal archives of Vidkun och Maria Quisling is included in the collections of the manuscript department of Oslo universitetsbibliotek. 3) Voluminous archives, which include numerous documents related to Quisling is included in the archive of the International Commission for Russian Relief, League of Nations Archives, the FN-Library in Geneva. A digitalized version of this so called Nansen Archive (Refugees Mixed Archival Group Nansen Fonds) is available in the Riksarkivet in Oslo, <http://biblio-archiv.unog.ch>

certainly occurred many crucial events during Quisling's service as Intelligence Officer and Military Attaché. Finnish voluntary forces, informally backed by the Finnish General Staff, pushed in the spring of 1919 for Lake Onega in order to occupy the Southwestern parts of Soviet Karelia, expand Finnish territory and threaten Petrograd. In the fall of 1919 the exile-Russian Northwestern Army under General *Nikolai Judenich* undertook its failed offensive against Petrograd, in the summer of 1919 the British Navy under *Sir Hubert Gough* pursued its blood-stained gunboat diplomacy in the Baltic with devastating blows by motor torpedo boats and aircrafts against Kronstadt and shelling enemy positions in the Riga area and Estonia.

In the Baltic countries the German General *Rüdiger von der Goltz* in 1919 fought Latvian and Estonian forces with his mixed German and Russian units. The incorporation of the Petsamo area in 1920 as Finland and the Soviet Union agreed on mutual relations in the Dorpat Peace Treaty rose a veritable Finnish national rapture as Finland now became an 'Ocean power' - to the dissatisfaction of the Norwegian government and Quisling. Later on, in 1921, the Kronstadt rebellion caused Western hopes of a break-down of the Soviet regime. In the fall of 1921 the League of Nations decided on the international status of the Åland Islands, favouring Finland on the behalf of Sweden.

Actually so much was happening that the Intelligence Officers at the Norwegian Embassy in Helsingfors were constantly busy, practically overloaded with work as the ambition was follow-up all of the events. However, the efforts paid well off. The Helsingfors reports to the General Staff in Kristiania were rich, initiated and adequate. This was true as well concerning the military and political events in the neighbour areas as the muddled inner political life of Finland and the deep cleavage among the Finnish Officers. Briefly, the Norwegian diplomatic watch-keeping in Finland was accurate in as well general covering as quality.³

Quisling's quarters

Initially the Norwegian Embassy had its office facilities at Andreegatan 17 (later on Lönnrothsgatan) in Kampen and then at Glogatan 4 b close behind Hotel Kämp, both situated in down-town Helsingfors. As the Embassy in the fall of 1921 purchased a house-property at Hornsvägen 1 (later on Rehbindervägen) in the fashionable Eira quarters Quisling participated in the preparations.⁴

³Militærattachéen i Helsingfors. Rapporter og skriv. Generalstaben IV, Volumes 86-92, RAFA-3258, The National Archives (Riksarkivet i Oslo).

⁴Adress- och yrkeskalender för Helsingfors jämte förorter 1919-1921 (1921).

Quisling himself took lodging in a convenient apartment at the Vestra chaussén 20 B (later on Mannerheimvägen 42 B) in a Jugend-style building for better-off people. Notably. At the same address, although not in the very same apartment, was staying the British Assistant Military Attaché, *Conrad O'Brien-ffrench*, a representative of MI6 and later on a reputed mountaineer, adventurer and artist. In his recollections O'Brien-ffrench briefly commented upon his neighbor with the disregarding remark that Quisling appeared to need some psycho-analysis⁵.

Courting Office girl Nini Bø

The Foreign Office in Norway sent Miss *Nini Bø* to the Norwegian Embassy in Finland as an Office girl, with whom Quisling got involved in some sort of a retarded love affair. Bø entertained an artistic and romantic disposition, almost worshipping the smart and bright Quisling. Certainly they had a common background as both of them were children of a vicar. Quisling, however didn't possess any eminent social skills. In spite of his 31 years he was almost shy, became easily embarrassed among parties, blushed, didn't dance and reflected an impression of an abstract and theoretical person.

Nini regarded herself secretly engaged, but Quisling wasn't likewise committed, broke their ties, and departed for Russia in early 1922 as an associate of the first High Commissar for refugees of the League of Nations, explorer *Fridtjof Nansen*. Knowingly Bø never met Quisling again, but nevertheless he became fatal to her. She continued admiring Quisling, never married, and eventually from 1940 deeply engaged in the political creation of Quisling, Nasjonal Samling.⁶

The short story by Quisling on the Russian Prince Variagin

His off-duty time in Helsingfors Quisling spent thinking and reading, getting absorbed in mathematics, philosophy and history. A literary disposition in him materialized in occasional poems and a short story he is supposed to have written during his Helsingfors years. The untitled manuscript wasn't published until 1988. However, the writing tells much about Quisling's view of women. The main character is the Russian Prince Variagin, Quisling's alter ego, a Ladies' Chevalier, blameless and entertaining restrained emotions. The Prince prevents a young woman on the slide from getting dragged into the

⁵ *O'Brien-ffrench C.* Delicate Mission. Autography of a Secret Agent. London, 1979. P. 99-101.

⁶ *Dahl H. F.* Vidkun Quisling. En Fører blir til. Bind 1. Oslo, 1991. S. 78-79, 89.

dirt. The scene of the short story is located to London, and the plot actually appears a kind of roman à clef as Quisling was a mobile eremite, who mostly met women in his working offices.⁷

Courting switchboard girl Aleksandra Voronina

In his Office in the PomGol administration building in Charkov Quisling spotted the 16 year old switchboard girl *Aleksandra Andreevna Voronina* (1905-93) got delighted and started to court her. On her 17th birthday in 1922 they married, after which he brought her to Norway. Subsequently, the couple lived for a few months in Quisling's apartment in downtown Kristiania.⁸

Due to Aleksandra Vidkun was a dominant, controlling and manipulative, although not violent husband. He took patriarchal care of Aleksandra, bought her some dresses, shoes and accessories, but provided her with no whatever cash for her own spending. She was totally depending of Quisling's favours. In the Winter of 1923 Vidkun and Aleksandra returned to the Soviet Union. By that Aleksandra was pregnant, but Quisling made her aborting the baby during a stay in Moscow, arranging the matter and paying the physician.⁹

Seduced by switchboard girl Maria Pasetsinikova?

After being married a little more than a year Quisling suddenly divorced Aleksandra. The reason was another women, *Maria Vasilyevna Pasek* (or Pasetchnikova) (1900-80), also an office and switchboard girl in the PomGol administration building in Charkov, actually Aleksandra's successor. Little is known on the beginning of the start of the love affair between Maria and Vidkun. However, no divorce certificate is known, so it is possible that Quisling become a bigamist. On the other hand, neither is any marriage licence with Maria known, so it is possible that the couple never formally married, although

⁷The short story is published in *Juritzen A. Privatmennesket Quisling og hans to kvinner*. Oslo, 1988. P. 103-117; *Dahl H. F. Quisling – En norsk tragedi*. Oslo, 2012.S. 103-115.

⁸*Juritzen A. Privatmennesket Quisling og hans to kvinner...* S. 55-62; In Quisling's shadow. The memoirs of Vidkun Quisling's first wife, Alexandra. By Alexandra Andreevna Voronine Yourieff and Kirsten A. Seaver. Stanford, California, 2007. P. 89-126.

⁹In Quisling's Shadow... P. 183-227.

Vidkun and Maria stayed closely together for the rest of Quisling's life time, ie. for 22 years.¹⁰

In her posthumous recollections Aleksandra claimed that Maria had seduced Quisling on the initiative of TRUST, as an agent of that O.G.U.P organization, designed for intrigues intelligence games abroad. The Chiefs of Pomgol in Charkov were Artamonov and Bashovitch, who were affiliated with the O.G.U.P. However, in 1923 Quisling brought as well Aleksandra as Maria to Paris, where they used to live together for a short time in the same apartment. When Quisling returned to the Soviet Union Aleksandra, now a divorced ex-wife of 19 years, settled in Paris. Neither did Maria follow Quisling to Moscow nor other places in the Soviet Union. She is supposed to have lived for a few years in Paris and Normandy, alone although still committed to Quisling.¹¹

Before Maria started dating, possibly on the instructions of Bashovich, Quisling in the spring of 1923 she, according to Aleksandra, used to live with a man called *S.I. Novikov* in Uritskaia ul. 6, kv. 7, Charkov, and had given birth to a child. However, as far as is known Maria was from the beginning to the end a faithful wife, or would-be-wife, of Quisling.

The pepper attentate – an epilogue to Quisling's stay in Helsingfors?

In May 1931, Quisling by now a Major, was appointed Minister of Defence of the Peasants' League. Some months later, in February the 2nd, 1932, he became the target of a mysterious attentate in his office in the Defence Department. He got maltreated, scratched with a knife in his neck, and hit into the floor, laying unconsciousness for half an hour. The incident, in Norway known as 'the pepper attentate', as the offenders above the other punches also threw pepper powder in Quisling's face.

Whereas the Norwegian newspapers run showy writings on the attentate Quisling remained uncommunicative and didn't either want to or couldn't explain the incident. Quisling's biographer *Hans Fredrik Dahl* supposes that the offenders were Finnish persons. A couple of weeks previously the Officer of the Swedish General Staff, *Willy Kleen*, had visited Quisling. Kleen then asked about the Norwegian attitude to transiting British troops over harbours in Norway in the case of an emerging armed conflict in the Baltic. Notably, ideas

¹⁰Juritzen *A. Privatmennesket Quisling og hans to kvinner...* S. 141-156; In Quisling's Shadow... P. 237-331.

¹¹In Quisling's Shadow... P. 333-346.

of this sort in this way occurred already at least eight years before the British-French so called Narvik-Luleå-plan in early 1940.¹²

Thus the question arises whether also the Finnish persons who penetrated the Norwegian Defense Department targeted the same information or documents as Kleen? And did Quisling maybe let them in the Department after the ending of the working hours because they were old acquaintances from his service days in Helsingfors ten to twelve years earlier? Alas, this is a riddle still 86 years after the pepper attentate. Not even in the interrogations with Quisling in 1945 he wanted to cast any final light on the incident.

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¹² Dahl H. F. Vidkun Quisling. En Fører blir til. Bind 1. S. 192-199; Dahl H. F. Quisling – En norsk tragedi... S. 118-130.

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