

13 How the U-2 Became a Museum Object – Local Identities and Museum Collections at the Norwegian Aviation Museum in Bodø

Karl L. Kleve

The very first paragraph in the Norwegian Government's most recent Museum White Paper states that

Our museums are an expression of the development of society, the self-esteem of a nation, the standard for freedom of expression and democracy in a community. ... Just like the museums played an important role in the nation-building process of the young nation of Norway, they play an equally important role in our own time's understanding of ourselves.¹

This chapter discusses the role of the 1960 U-2 incident – when a spyplane headed for Bodø was shot down over the USSR – in shaping a local Cold War identity. It addresses the challenge of presenting an actual U-2 aircraft at the Norwegian Aviation Museum both as itself and as a representative of the international incident which had played an important part in shaping Bodø's modern identity as a town centred on defence and aviation.

The acquisition of a U-2 aircraft as one of the first and most prominent of the artefacts to be displayed at the museum at its opening in 1994 was primarily influenced by the role in Bodø's local identity and memory the U-2 incident had acquired. I will in this chapter address how the memory of the U-2 incident evolved to become an important identity marker for Bodø, how the interest in greater regional autonomy in the immediate post-Cold War years influenced both the struggle to establish the new national aviation museum in the North and influenced the acquisition of a U-2 aircraft to symbolise the military and aviation-related identity of the local area. I will also discuss how the display of the U-2 aircraft at the museum contributes to maintaining this identity.

The Role of the Museum

Torgeir Rinke Bangstad argues that museums of cultural history and identity are two sides of the same coin; museums are mirrors of society.² Museums view artefacts, which are their core, almost exclusively as materialised ideas. As Bill Brown argues, we all look through things in order to uncover what they say about history,

society, nature and first and foremost ourselves; but we hardly see the artefacts themselves.³

It is well acknowledged that the larger museums are important participants in identity processes, both national and local. Also, according to Pille Runnel, Krista Lepik and Linda Lotina, it seems museums rarely challenge dominant discourses on identity and visitors equally rarely challenge the information and representations found in museums.⁴

At the same time, many, perhaps most, visitors have expectations towards how history should be conveyed. Although a museum visit is generally understood to be a learning experience, nevertheless a certain distortion arises if these expectations are not met at all, according to Susan Crane and Maja Leonardsen Musum.⁵ The U-2 aircraft exhibited at the Norwegian Aviation Museum in Bodø is not the one downed by the Soviets in 1960, but it is a substitute for it. The museum must take into consideration the reason for it being in the museum in the first place. Even though it has its own story, this is not the narrative addressed. If the museum had stressed the artefact's own history instead of the so-called U-2 incident, this could well have surfaced Susan Crane's "distortion."

In deciding which artefacts to preserve, how to preserve them and how to present them, museums influence how history is perceived. Ola Svein Stugu uses the terms "Memory-policy and Forgetting-policy" to understand how we actively and passively choose to remember something and forget something.⁶ He shows how museums, by highlighting some objects and neglecting others, are actively influencing what we see as history and contribute to the building of national memories.

I will argue here that at the Norwegian Aviation Museum (of which I am a part), the way the U-2 aircraft is staged, renders it a national – or at least a local – myth. In the museum, new history is created, and the artefact acquires an additional identity.

By way of comparison, in 2020, the Aviation Museum acquired a police helicopter. It was the first one in Norway, entering service in 2008 without any particular public or professional attention. But when exhibited on museum, feedback from our visitors signifies that it has become quite popular, especially among service personnel – visiting police are for example very fond of taking selfies by the old police helicopter.⁷ In the museum, as an artefact, a previously mundane vehicle has become part of Norwegian police pride and identity.

The U-2 incident of 1 May 1960 resulted in an international crisis between the Soviet Union and the United States and its allies. When Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev threatened Bodø with nuclear annihilation, it also brought to the Norwegian public's attention that the last decade of military rearmament in Bodø and Northern Norway had put the region in the spotlight as a target in the event of nuclear war. These events cemented the U-2's connection with the town. It underlined Bodø's new military role and as a primary Soviet target in the event of war.

When the Norwegian parliament decided in 1992 to locate a National Aviation Museum in Bodø, local aviation enthusiasts immediately looked around for a way to secure a genuine U-2 aircraft for the new museum. Having failed to convince Russian authorities to donate the wreck of the 1960s aircraft, another U-2, no. 66953/Article 393 was found in California, which the US Air Force agreed to

give to the museum on a permanent loan. At the opening of the museum in 1994, the U-2 was hailed in the media and amongst the visitors as the new museum's best exhibit.⁸ Interest in the U-2 incident and the museum's U-2 as a representative of this event has been sustained in the years since.

This chapter explores how the U-2 incident of 1960 became a part of Bodø's Cold War era identity. How could one incident and one object contribute to shape the identity of a town and a region? By acquiring and displaying a U-2 aircraft, although not the one downed in 1960, the museum contributes to maintaining this identity. The chapter explores why the aircraft came to the museum, how it is exhibited and in what way the museum has an impact in perpetuating the role of the U-2 as an important part of Bodø's modern identity.

Local journalist Knut Hoff called the U-2 incident an *identity marker* for Bodø, in an important 1990 meeting I will return to later in this chapter. This is an apt expression, as it encompasses both the immaterial incident and the physical artefact. I define the term in this connection to mean an expression or example, physical or immaterial, of what the identity of the town is all about. But it is also something that can be expanded, for example in the way Per Rudling explores how the regime in Belarus developed the memory of the war against Nazi Germany as an identity marker for the nation under the Lukashenko dictatorship.⁹ I would also claim that the expression "Defence- and Aviation Town" is an identity marker for Bodø, of which the U-2 incident is the most prominent example. (The expression works in Norwegian but lacks a proper English translation.)

To evaluate the connections between the U-2 and the U-2 incident with Bodø, this chapter mainly draws on press and media: newspapers, TV/radio and modern digital media including websites and podcasts. Bodø is the capital of Nordland County, the largest of Northern Norway's three counties, which is geographically varied with several distinct regions, each with several daily newspapers. The number of sources even from the pre-internet age is therefore large. Local media have been tremendously important in establishing the U-2 incident and the U-2 spyplane as integral parts of Bodø's contemporary identity.¹⁰ First, however, I will set the scene by briefly exploring the relationship between geography and identity.

Creating a Local Identity

Geographic identity involves the distinctive features of a particular place. These features make a place recognisable and differentiate it from other places. According to one definition of local identity by Shao, Lange and Thwaites, they stimulate strong feelings, including both positive and negative emotions.¹¹ Local identity is a combination of historical, social, economic and political processes.¹² It contains continuity and uniqueness. Cultural identity is part of this local identity and is related to historical events. It makes people proud of their local heritage and identifies themselves with their town.¹³

Gerhard van Keken argues that geographic identity is also about branding. Every place needs an identity, needs to look for distinctiveness. Recognised landmarks, buildings and monuments are good, but not crucial. The important thing is

to have a distinct narrative about what makes a place meaningful, extraordinary and distinctive.¹⁴ Spatial identity has grown in importance in modern branding, for use in tourism or to strengthen a region or town's recognition and making it more attractive for people and industry. The importance of events in influencing people's perception of place is also recognised by commercial businesses that offer to help in creating events with lasting impact on people's perceptions of place.¹⁵

Spatial identities, according to Kees Terlow, are social constructs created and reproduced through discourses among stakeholders, which materialise in newspaper articles, websites and elsewhere.¹⁶ Examples include the Norwegian aviation authority's homepage on Bodø, which states that "Bodø is the aviation town before anyone else"¹⁷; the local Bodø newspaper *Avisa Nordland* writing of the U-2 that it was "the airplane which put Bodø on the map" and that the U-2 is a centrepiece of the exhibitions at the National Norwegian Aviation Museum since it is located in the town which the plane made world famous.¹⁸ Likewise the popular Norwegian magazine *Vi Menn* has written repeatedly about the U-2, arguing that it is the plane which put Bodø on the map. Other articles compare the U-2 incident with other dramatic Cold War episodes: for instance a piece from July 2020 about an emergency landing of the intelligence plane SR-71 in Bodø in 1981, where the then Bodø Main Air Station Commander General Olav Aamoth stated that he had to do his utmost to prevent a "new U-2 incident."¹⁹

At the same time, the case in point involves not only an abstract event but also an actual object. The U-2 incident is made flesh through the prism of the U-2 spy-plane. In his chapter on the Vulcan bomber (q.v.), Sam Alberti makes use of object biography as a way of studying the impact of the object on the visitor. He shows how the Vulcan has a range of different meanings for different people. In the case of the U-2, there is the added complexity of the specific event. Is it the event or the object which is significant? In Bodø, it is clearly the event.

Operation Grand Slam: The U-2 Incident of 1 May 1960

The U-2 was a striking aircraft which triggered people's imagination due to its role as a purpose-built spyplane able to ascend to previously unheard-of heights.²⁰ Several pilots claimed it was the closest flying experience to being an astronaut.²¹ It entered service in 1956 with the CIA instead of US Air Force due to its precarious mission: overflying Soviet and other enemy airspace to gather intelligence on military developments, in particular the Soviet nuclear and missile programmes. Seeing the speed with which the Soviet Union reduced the US lead in nuclear weaponry and missile technology, Western politicians and military leaders feared the enemy might outproduce the NATO states and create a "Bomber Gap" and a "Missile Gap" between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers.²²

Due to the sensitive nature of the flights into Soviet airspace, U-2 flights required Presidential authorisation. The first flight into Soviet airspace was in the summer of 1956, when the U-2 was based in West Germany. In 1958, the main base moved to Turkey, with temporary, Forward Operational Bases in other US allied countries. From September to November 1958, two top secret U-2 planes were stationed at

Bodø Main Air Station. Although there are no contemporary recorded accounts, many locals claimed afterwards to have seen the aircrafts take off and land.²³

The 1 May 1960 flight was to be the first attempt to cross the entirety of the Soviet Union from Peshawar in Pakistan to Bodø. When the plane was subsequently shot down and pilot Francis Gary Powers captured, just two weeks before a planned summit between the two superpowers, this was a major propaganda coup for the Soviet Union. The USSR had attempted to shoot down U-2 flights before, without success. Now, it had both the pilot, a wreck in surprisingly good condition and an intact roll of 500 photographs taken by Powers before he was shot down.

That the aircraft was going to Bodø was made much of in the trial against Powers in August 1960. In public announcements, newspaper articles and speeches, the Soviet Union put enormous pressure to bear on Norwegian authorities to break relations with the United States.²⁴ For the Norwegian government, however, severing relations with the United States was of course out of the question, and the Soviets never pressed the matter. Although relations with the Soviet Union were tense, the situation did not escalate, and four years later, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev made a visit to Norway including several public displays of good relations.²⁵

After the 1960 debacle, the CIA sharply reduced its U-2 activity, closing it down for good in 1974. Even so, despite the crash landing in 1960, the programme overall was heralded by the United States as a success, and the Air Force had started its own programme in 1959: Project HASP – High Altitude Sampling Programme. There were however no further incursions into Soviet airspace. Coverage of the USSR was provided by satellites, including the Corona, the first military satellite programme which had launched in July 1960.

Except for a brief visit by a NASA U-2 in Stavanger in 1988 for ozone-layer observations, no U-2 visited Norway again.²⁶ Given that the 1960 attempt did not arrive, then, U-2 intelligence aircraft were only physically present in Bodø for two months in 1958.

The Role of the U-2 in Developing Bodø's Identity

In the history of the press in Bodø, Stian Bones states that

If Bodø had not been a Defence Town before – in the sense that one identified the Armed Forces with the Town – it definitely became so by the entrance to the 1960s. Maybe we may see the foreign policy crisis related to the U-2 incident as a symbolic expression of this.²⁷

In another history of Bodø, Wilhelm Karlsen likewise writes: “The U-2 incident marked Bodø’s prominence in the Cold War. If it hadn’t done so earlier, the town now appeared in Norwegian public opinion as the most central Defence Town in the country.”²⁸ But the U-2’s role was not so clear at the time, and I would argue that Bodø’s martial identity was not connected to the aircraft until much later. A more nuanced understanding can be gained by addressing the broader history of the town.

Bodø's strategic location as a link between the south and north of the country was recognised early in the Cold War, and a large airbase plus a number of other military installations including the National Northern Armed Forces Command was established from the early 1950s onward, almost wholly financed through the primarily United States-funded NATO Infrastructural Aid Programme.²⁹

The Bodø airbase grew to become one of the largest in Northern Europe and played host to huge military exercises every year, during which troops from NATO nations impacted upon the town. NATO Armed Forces activities during this period contributed to Bodø's military identity: troops participated in the National Day marches on 17 May each year, there were military parades on NATO anniversaries, new fighter planes were towed through the downtown streets in 1963, the same year there was a very prominent visit of US Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson.³⁰ Bodø's reputation was well entrenched by then.

In 1965, civil aviation in Bodø also greatly expanded when a secondary network of domestic air routes was established in Norway, as Bodø became one end of the first short-haul route and later also a hub for a large network of these routes and transition point to the primary network. More and more, Bodø also became an aviation town, with its constant hum of fighter jets and passenger aircraft.³¹

If the U-2 incident "put Bodø on the map," then, it did so gradually over the following decades. (And it was reinforced by the struggle for the establishment of the Aviation Museum in the early 1990s, as I will argue below.) I could find no direct mention of the U-2 as an identity marker for Bodø during the 1960s. There was significant media attention on the 1960 incident itself, not least because the Soviets themselves kept the topic alive throughout with the Powers trial and a U-2 exhibition in Moscow later on. Throughout the rest of the decade, between five and 20 regional newspaper articles were published yearly, evidencing a sustained interest in the U-2, but connections to Bodø were absent. Rather, focus through the 1960s was on other downed U-2s, in Cuba in 1962 and China later in the decade.

The U-2 incident also owed much of its subsequent coverage to the spy Selmer Nilsen. Nilsen was a Norwegian national who had spied for the Soviet Union on the military build-up in North Norway since 1947 and was arrested in 1967. The trial was secret, but there was a rumour that he had spied on U-2 operations in Bodø.³² In the spring of 1972, Nilsen and the U-2 incident were again the subject of nationwide coverage due to two Swedish TV programmes. Norwegian freelance TV journalist Ivar Enoksen had recorded a documentary in 1970 on Nilsen for Norwegian Public TV NRK, but after much internal debate the NRK Board declined to broadcast on the grounds that it would "give the traitor a platform."³³ Enoksen then partnered with Swedish Public TV SR journalist Staffan Lamm instead, and together, they made two films, both on Nilsen, one of which specifically detailed the U-2 incident.³⁴ Selmer Nilsen was originally sentenced to over seven years in prison but released in the summer of 1970 due to his mental health. In an interview with Enoksen and later with author Paul Vatne who wrote a book about him, he claimed to have played a significant role in Soviet espionage against the U-2 programme.³⁵

Nilsen greatly exaggerated his own role, but his claims made for a renewed interest in the U-2 incident.³⁶ In the Swedish programme on the U-2, local Bodonians were interviewed about their observations of U-2 at Bodø Air Station. It seemed a great many people had observed the aircraft not only in 1958 but also in other years, when the U-2 was not stationed in Bodø. Memory is a flimsy thing. One of the people interviewed stated what later became the common view on U-2: “Suddenly Bodø was the center for the whole world’s attention!”³⁷ Bodø newspaper *Nordlands Framtid* ended its article on the TV programme with “The whole international atmosphere was suddenly transformed due to an aircraft and Bodø.”

NRK in the end felt compelled to broadcast and aired the episode on the U-2 incident in 1973, followed by a panel in the studio containing the Prime Minister and Defence Minister from 1960, Einar Gerhardsen and Nils Handal, as well as the Commander of the North Norwegian Air Force Einar Tufte-Johnsen. Tufte-Johnsen had cooperated closely with Military Intelligence and led the Norwegian part of the 1958 U-2 operations in Bodø. All three publicly denied any knowledge that the May 1960 U-2 was supposed to land in Bodø. They upheld the story Gerhardsen told the Soviets in 1960, that the United States had withheld knowledge from the Norwegians. Subsequently released records later cast doubt on this account, and some newspapers speculated that there had been more U-2 flights out of Bodø.³⁸ The net effect was that when the U-2 incident was mentioned in the Norwegian media in the 1970s and 80s, the Bodø connection was usually mentioned.

Later episodes that pushed the U-2 to the front pages included the death of pilot Francis Gary Powers in a helicopter accident in 1977; a movie based on his autobiography *The true story of the U-2 incident* was shown on NRK 4 November 1978. During the 1980s, the spyplane SR-71 made emergency landings at Norwegian airbases eight times, six of them in Bodø.³⁹ The SR-71 was considered the heir to the U-2, and the connection mentioned every time it was discussed.⁴⁰ But otherwise during the 1970s and 80s there were relatively few newspaper articles discussing the U-2 connection to Bodø.

A Gear-Shift in 1990

A significant shift in the perception of the relationship between the U-2 and Bodø occurred in 1990. In January, a public brainstorming session was organised by the municipality on how to mark the town’s upcoming 175th anniversary in 1991. Mayor Per Pettersen asked whether it would be possible to find an identity for Bodø; influential journalist Knut Hoff responded that “Bodø was a culture town, a communications town and an aviation town” and he suggested that the anniversary and identity should focus on two historic “marking points”: a diplomatic incident between Norway and the United Kingdom called the “Bodø Case” from 1814 and the U-2 incident of 1960.⁴¹ Hoff’s suggestion of these two events as marking points or identity markers, is a good example of retrospective regionalism – reaching back in history in a search of building blocks to create a modern geographic identity.

Later the same year, the newspaper *Nordlands Framtid* published a special 40-page supplement about “Aviation Town Bodø.”⁴² Two pages was dedicated to

the U-2 under the title “U-2: The Black Lady who never reached Bodø.” It stated that the U-2 incident was one of the most dramatic single episodes of the Cold War. In another article in the attachment, SAS Regional Director said that the term “Aviation Town Bodø” was a recent term, from the last two years. It would seem that the local community had started a conscious and collective attempt at place branding, the upcoming anniversary having stimulated a need for establishing a common story of Bodø, an identity. It seems that the process starting at the January meeting represents the most important shift towards connecting the U-2 with Bodø.

The Cold War was drawing to a close in this period, as communist governments fell in previously Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe. The dissolution of the Soviet Union coincided with debates in Norway, Sweden and Finland about possible membership in the EU which ended in a referendum in 1994, when Norway elected not to apply for entry. This also stimulated significant debate about national and regional identities. Certainly, there were several signs of this in Bodø at the time. As well as the upcoming anniversary, there was also the attempt by Nordland County to establish closer cultural and economic links directly with Northwestern Russia. A cooperation agreement between Nordland and Leningrad/St. Petersburg had been signed already in 1987. The dissolution of the Soviet Union then afforded greater autonomy for the Russian regions and talks of regional cross-border cooperation accelerated.⁴³

The third process going on at this time was the struggle to develop an aviation museum in Bodø. Despite aviation’s significance for Norway during the twentieth century, Norway did not have a dedicated museum. There had been talks among enthusiasts for several decades, and there was a nationwide network of aircraft hobbyists who collected historic aircrafts and restored them. Around 1990, these aircrafts were stored and worked on at Gardermoen Air Station outside Oslo.

Many of the enthusiasts were from Bodø. When talks about establishing an aviation museum gained purchase, the debate splintered into regions. Local politicians and influencers allied with the enthusiasts in launching Bodø as a good location for a National Aviation Museum. The discussion became a North–South struggle between Nordland and the capital area. And to strengthen the town’s claim as the town with the strongest links to aviation in Norway, Bodø needed a U-2, preferably the one shot down by the Soviets in 1960. In February 1992, a group of Nordland- and Bodø-politicians and aviation enthusiasts went to Siberia, ostensibly to deliver aid, but with a secret mission to ask the Russian authorities to donate the U-2 wreck.⁴⁴ Before the trip, they had also approached US authorities about getting an American U-2 but were turned down.

The delegation succeeded in securing a MiG-15 which was ultimately delivered to Nordland County by the Russian Foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev in January 1993.⁴⁵ However, their request for the Soviet-owned U-2 wreck was declined.⁴⁶ Even so, later in 1992, Parliament decided to establish the National Aviation Museum in Bodø. Political scientist Thor-Martin Antonsen argues that the town had three advantages compared to the southern alternatives: local enthusiasm; support from the military in the north; and the capacity to focus on both military and

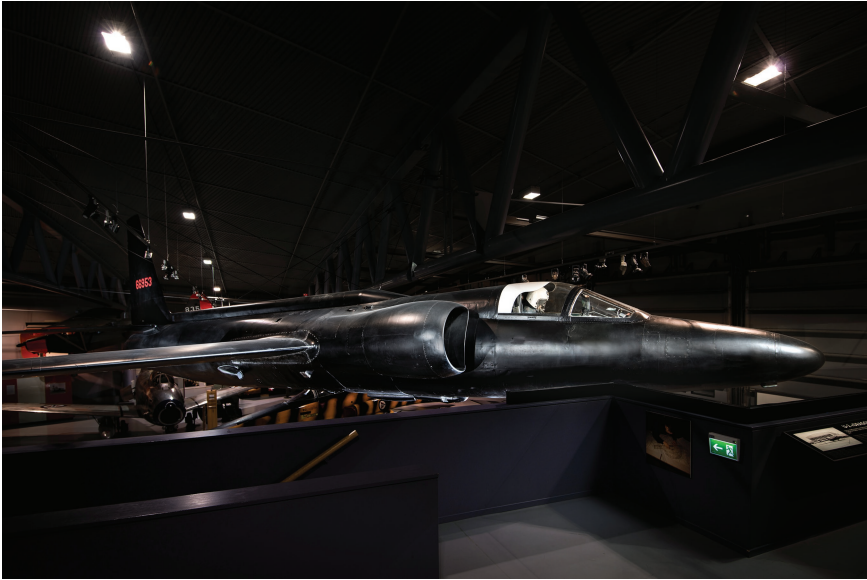


Figure 13.1 Article 393 exhibited at Norwegian Aviation Museum. Photo: Göran Kristensen

civil aviation.⁴⁷ I would argue that the attempt at highlighting Bodø's connection to the U-2 was also important.

Interest in the U-2 continued to be high. Local movie director Knut Einar Jensen started filming a motion picture about spy Selmer Nilsen and the U-2.⁴⁸ And after several decades of close alliance, there were many personal connections between Norwegian and US military personnel. Early in 1994, only a few months before the museum was due to open, the U-2 frame dubbed “Article 393” was located at Beale Air Force Base in California. It had been grounded in 1987 after 28 years of service in the US Air Force, the last 15 years as a trainer.⁴⁹ With help from the Norwegian Foreign Minister, the US Air Force agreed to transfer Article 393 on permanent loan to the new museum, despite attempts at sabotaging the deal by disgruntled enthusiasts from the south of Norway.⁵⁰ It could no longer fly but was carried to Bodø on a US military transport in March 1994. U-2 enthusiast and aircraft mechanic Captain Oddmund Bjørnaali spent the next month restoring the aircraft to its operational aspect as a 1960s/70s US Air Force U-2. It was on display in the museum in time for the grand opening on 15 May 1994. NRK called it the most central artefact of the museum and *Helgelands Blad* considered it “the pride of Norwegian Aviation Center”⁵¹ (Figure 13.1).

Article 393 – the U-2 at the Aviation Museum

Once in the museum, the focus of the interpretation around Article 393 became exclusively about the U-2 incident of 1960, and how it put Bodø on the map. Oddmund Bjørnaali knew little about Article 393 before commencing restoration, but he was familiar with the US Air Force U-2 programme in general and so he knew

how it would have looked when operational and this was the look he aimed for.⁵² To convert it into a CIA-version from 1960 would have taken too long; the older versions of the U-2 were structurally distinct and he only had one month.⁵³ Importantly, however, the differences between the CIA U-2s and those from the Air Force period were not well known. As of 1994, CIA had released precious few documents about its U-2 programme which was called “Project Chalice.”

The restoration process was unfortunately not documented, but we can glean something of the museum’s approach to the U-2 history from a museum extension project which was launched the year after opening. In 1995, a group of influential locals came together to form a planning group with the aim of extending the museum with a new wing dedicated to the Cold War in the Northern Norway. The group consisted of leaders from the Norwegian Air Force, Bodø Municipality, all three North-Norwegian counties and the local university. And for the launch of the museum extension plans, the planning group organised a Cold War conference in 1995 where the sons of Premier Khrushchev and Francis Gary Powers attended, alongside high-profile Cold Warriors like former Head of CIA Stansfield Turner and renowned historian Geir Lundestad.⁵⁴

In 1996, the planned Cold War exhibition extension was presented in a brochure titled *The Cold War Experience*.⁵⁵ The introduction offered “an up-close and Personal Encounter with the Cold War”:

Who was involved in the Cold War? What was the Cold War really about?
How close did the world come to the brink of disaster? How could this happen?
How was a great war avoided, despite the extremely tense situation?
Why build a museum about the Cold War in Bodø?⁵⁶

The U-2 incident was going to be the centrepiece of the exhibition. Soundscapes, images and exhibits like the previously mentioned Russian MiG-15 fighter aircraft, a British Canberra electronic warfare aircraft and others would work together to present an immersive experience with a re-enactment of the flight and downing of Francis Gary Powers and his U-2 on 1 May 1960 as the main event of the exhibition and thus the Cold War in the North.

This particular plan for a new museum wing never materialised. The Norwegian Aviation Museum still has plans for an extension focusing on the Cold War, but the intense focus on the U-2 in these exhibition plans is no longer apparent to the same degree. The American U-2 aircraft has been on continuous display at the museum since the opening in 1994, as one of several important and interesting artefacts. But just as the display and the interpretation is focused on the 1960 incident and not the actual aircraft on display, so too the media attention. The museum is therefore arguably contributing to over-playing the connections between the U-2 incident and the recent history of Bodø. This is evidenced in examples of audiences eliding the U-2 at the museum and the aircraft shot down in 1960. In the 10th anniversary book on the Barents Cooperation from 2003, for example, author and leader of the Barents secretariat Oddrunn Pettersen claimed that the museum actually had Power’s U-2 on display.⁵⁷

The U-2 Manifested in the Present

Regional interest in the U-2 incident has been continuously high since the museum opened its doors in 1994.⁵⁸ A three-part podcast on the U-2 launched in 2020 quickly became the most popular among the podcasts on the national portal “Museumspodden.”⁵⁹ Nationally too, the U-2 and the U-2 incident is today always mentioned as an important part of Bodø’s identity. The Swedish television programme from 1972 detailed early in this chapter contained several interviews with local Bodonians who claimed to have witnessed U-2 flights from the airbase. And although the close connection in the minds of the public between the U-2 and Bodø is primarily a more recent affair, the interviews gave a clear indication that several Bodonians were already starting to make that connection.

This connection has become much more common and accepted the last 30 years. It is observable in the media, both in the recurrent interest in creating news items and programmes specifically about the incident, and how the link very often surfaces and is mentioned in various other contexts.⁶⁰ Local and national media often contact the Aviation Museum for interviews and statements when current world events or historic anniversaries can use an aviation angle. If it relates to the Cold War, Bodø and the U-2 are often mentioned. In 2014, for example, when Steven Spielberg and Tom Hanks revealed plans for a movie about the Francis Gary Powers/Rudolf Abel prisoner exchange in 1961, Norwegian news media immediately focused on Bodø and the “Norwegian spyflight-drama.”⁶¹

When the municipality of Bodø in 2017 decided to start a process towards applying to be a European Capital of Culture, the Aviation Museum was asked to participate, with an expectation that the Cold War history and the U-2 incident would be key parts of the contribution. The final application actually stated that the incident would be marked in May every year!⁶² The national tourist bureau Visit Norway’s latest web marketing brochure on Bodø says this about the Aviation Museum: “Another highlight in Bodø is Norwegian Aviation Museum, which can offer a collection of civil and military airplanes – including the iconic U-2 which put Bodø on the map during the Cold War.”⁶³ Comments and reviews of the museum on tourism sites like Tripadvisor also highlight the U-2.⁶⁴

It is perhaps telling of the focus being on an event more than the actual aircraft that visitors never express that deep personal connection to the actual U-2 at the museum, in the way Sam Alberti shows that many do with the Vulcan bomber at the National Museum of Flight in Scotland.⁶⁵ In any case, due to the secrecy surrounding it, very few of our visitors have any personal experience with the U-2. But people continue to speculate. What did Norwegian military personnel really know about the U-2? Did it ever land in Bodø after 1960? As late as 2022, I received messages from both a Swedish journalist and a Danish museum-curator, asking about rumours regarding a possible U-2 crash in the Salten Fiord outside Bodø or a rumour that there should have been both Norwegian and Danish U-2 pilots in the CIA or US Air Force programmes.⁶⁶

Conclusion

The U-2 incident of 1 May 1960 may be said to have been a latent identity marker for Bodø's image as a town centred on military and aviation, which then became a factual identity marker through a conscious place branding attempt in the early 1990s, by a coalition of local aviation enthusiasts and patriots. When the opportunity to establish a national aviation museum also arose, acquiring an actual U-2 aircraft to put on display at the new museum, would make the identity marker even more powerful.

Although attempts were made to acquire the actual U-2 wreck from the famous 1960 downing, the U-2 aircraft at the Norwegian Aviation Museum is not that one. As Torgeir Bangstad argues of museum objects in general, the aircraft on display is perhaps more a materialised idea than an actual object. Even so, I do not think one can go so far as to claim that the Aviation Museum consciously misrepresents history. The U-2 incident is presented to the best of the museum's knowledge. Nevertheless, by continuing to focus on the May 1960 incident, downplaying the history of the actual artefact on display and at the same time giving it a very prominent place, the museum is no doubt sustaining this local myth.

The U-2 – as an object and an idea – has been helpful in the context of this book on Cold War museology. The U-2's role in local identity is significant, as I have shown. The U-2 incident of 1960 continues to be visible; undeniably because it is manifested in the actual, physical U-2 at the Norwegian Aviation Museum, which even though it is not the U-2 of May 1960, still functions to uphold the bond between the incident and the town.

Notes

- 1 Ministry of Culture, Norway, *White Paper 23: Museums in Society: Thrust, Things and Time* (2020–2021), 7.
- 2 Torgeir R. Bangstad, "Mirror of the World and Graveyard of Things: Metaphors and the 'Doing' of Museology," *Norsk Museumstidsskrift* 3, no. 2 (2017): 61.
- 3 Bill Brown, "Thing Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (2001): 3–4.
- 4 Pille Runnel, Krista Lepik and Linda Lotina, "Constructing National Identity," *International Journal of the Inclusive Museum* 6, no. 4 (2014): 68–69.
- 5 Susan A. Crane, "Memory, Distortion and History in the Museum," *History and Theory* 36, no. 4 (1997): 57; See also Maja L. Musum, "The Open-Air Museum and the Contested Present: A Study of "All for Norway" at Hadeland Folkemuseum," *Norsk Museumstidsskrift* 6, no. 1 (2020): 28.
- 6 Ola S. Stugu, "Anniversaries as Memory Policy," in *The Art of Celebration: Constitution-Celebrations and Memory Policy*, eds. Olav Aagedahl, Ånund Brottveit and Pål K. Botvar (Oslo: Pax, 2017), 6.
- 7 Conversation with Curator Nina Bergum, Norwegian Aviation Museum, 18 October 2022.
- 8 "U-2 is the pride of the Norwegian Aviation Center," in T. E. Hansen, "The Aviation Museum Has Landed for Good," *Helgelands Blad*, 23 August 1994; "But What Really put People in a Good Mood Today Was the US spyplane U-2," *NRK TV*, "Opening of the Aviation Museum," 15 May 1994.
- 9 Per Rudling, "'For a Heroic Belarus!': The Great Patriotic War as Identity Marker in the Lukashenka and Soviet Belarusian Discourses," *Sprawy Narodowosciowe* 32 (2008): 52–56.

- 10 “Suddenly Bodø was the centre of the attention of the whole world,” the newspaper quoted local Bodonian Johan Sedolf Nordgård who was interviewed in the Swedish Television programme “The Spy Who Never Came” in May the same year. The newspaper article ended with “The Whole International Atmosphere at once Became Changed Due To an Airplane and Bodø,” in Kåre Antonsen, “Selmer Nilsen the First in the West Who Knew About the U-2 Downing,” *Nordlands Framtid*, 24 May 1972.
- 11 Yuhan Shao, Eckart Lange and Kevin Thwaites, “Defining Local Identity,” *Landscape Architecture Frontiers* 5, no. 2 (2017): 6.
- 12 Annette Pritchard and Nigel J. Morgan, “Culture, Identity and Tourism Representation: Marketing Cymru or Wales?,” *Tourism Management* 22, no. 2 (2001): 12.
- 13 Yuhan Shao, Eckart Lange and Kevin Thwaites, “Defining Local Identity,” *Landscape Architecture Frontiers* 5, no. 2 (2017): 31.
- 14 Gerhard Van Keken, “Place Making: The Construction of Regional Identity,” www.placebrandobserver.com/place-making-construction-of-regional-identity, 19 May 2015. See also Van Keken, “The Construction of Regional Identity: Zeeland. Strategies of Place Branding and Place Making” (PhD Dissertation, Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2011).
- 15 See for example the company eventIMPACT, who offer a toolkit to make sure your event is properly impactful: www.eventimpacts.com/impact-types/social/content/identity-and-image, accessed 20 March 2024.
- 16 Kees Terlouw, “Territorial Changes and Changing Identities: How Spatial Identities are Used in the Up-Scaling of Local Government in the Netherlands,” *Local Government Studies* 42, no. 6 (2016): 941.
- 17 www.avinor.no/avinors-flyplasser/bodo, accessed 23 March 2024.
- 18 Stein Sneve, “The Airplane Which Put Bodø on the Map,” *Avisa Nordland*, 24 April 2010.
- 19 Knut Støvne, “The Worlds Most Advanced Spyplane Had to Make an Emergency Landing in Bodø,” *Vi Menn*, 23 July 2020.
- 20 This short overview of the U-2’s history is mainly based on my own research, published through several non-scholarly articles and a three-part podcast-series in 2020. See Karl L. Kleve, “U-2: The Spyplane Which Put Norway on the Map,” *Flyhistorie* 56 (2020): 12–19; Karl L. Kleve, “The Spyplane,” *Levende Historie* 5 (2008): 38–41; U-2-three-part podcast: www.museumspodden.no/?s=U-2, 21–29 April 2020.
- 21 The author’s interview with Carmine Vito, 3 June 1999. See also James May, “James May at the Edge of Space,” *BBC 4*, 21 June 2009.
- 22 National Security Archive, *The Final Overflights of the Soviet Union 1959–1960*, Approved for release 2013, p. 159, www.nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB434/docs/U2%20-%20Chapter%204.pdf, accessed 25 March 2024.
- 23 In addition to the author, several Norwegian historians have written on the U-2 in Norway in 1958 and 1960. A good, short account is Rolf Tamnes, “Days in May: The U-2-Case in 1960,” in *In the Vicissitudes of Politics: Festival Script to Knut Einar Eriksen*, eds. Solveig Halvorsen, Terje Halvorsen, Einar Niemi and Helge Pharo (Oslo: LO Media, 2009), 268–88.
- 24 See Tom Christensen, “How the Soviet Union Attempted to Influence Norwegian Security Policy 1955–1964,” (Masters Dissertation, Oslo University, 2007), 88–92. The Soviet propaganda agency’s department for Norway, Sovinformbyrå, even published a 119-page booklet with selected texts from the trial, which made much out of the fact that Powers had been in Bodø before, namely during the 1958-operations. Sovinformbyrå, *The U-2 Powers-Case* (Oslo: Bryde, 1960).
- 25 At a visit to the Norwegian Folk Museum, he danced together with Norwegian Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen and two museum employees in national costumes. And during his visit to the large Herøya Industrial Complex in Porsgrunn, he received an almost rock star welcome by the workers. See for example this personal tale of how one of the local workers experienced the visit: Linda Faane and Mathias Soleng, “When Khruchew came to Herøya,” *Digitalt Museum*, 15 October 2014.

- 26 M. Hovland, "4 Extreme-Planes at Sola 1958–1989," *Sola Historielag*, 1 December 2020.
- 27 Stian Bones, "Party-Newspapers, Reconstruction and Cold War (1945–1970)," in *Start the Press! The Newspapers in Bodø through 150 years*, eds. Wilhelm Karlsen and Svein Lundestad (Trondheim: Akademia Forlag, 2012), 121.
- 28 Wilhelm Karlsen, *With Air Under the Wings, Bodø's History vol 4, 1950–2016* (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2016), 90.
- 29 Karl L. Kleve, "The Air Force as an Infrastructure-Developer in Northern Norway During the Cold War – Case-Study Andøya," *Norwegian Aviation Museum Series 6* (2003): 2–22.
- 30 See examples in the Norwegian Aviation Museum photo archives at Digitalt Museum: from the celebration of NATO's 10th anniversary in 1959: www.digitaltmuseum.no/021015550239/feiring-av-nato-som-fyller-10-ar, accessed 24 March 2024.
- 31 Karl L. Kleve, "How the Cold War Shaped North Norwegian Aviation and Society," in *The Cold War in the Arctic*, ed. Michael Soupron (Arkhangel'sk: Pomor University, 2009), 188–200.
- 32 Both *Lofotposten* 15 September 1967, and *Rana Blad* 16 September 1967, claimed that "a Soviet superspy" in North Norway gave the Soviet Union information which led to the U-2 being shot down.
- 33 *Nordlands Framtid*, "Selmer Nilsens Life and the U-2 Incident in Swedish TV," 20 May 1972.
- 34 Ståle Hansen, "The Spy Programme NRK Refused to Send," *NRK*, 25 October 2013.
- 35 Pål Vatne, *I Was a Russian Spy: The History of Selmer Nilsen* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1981), 83–97.
- 36 Stian Bones, "The Boy Who Became a Spy," *Avisa Nordland*, 1 October 2016.
- 37 Kåre Antonsen, "Selmer Nilsen the First in the West Who Knew About the U-2 Downing," *Nordlands Framtid*, 24 May 1972.
- 38 Alf R. Jacobsen, *The U-2 incident* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2009); and Asbjørn Jaklin, *Ice Frontier: The Cold War in the North* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2009), 139–55. See also Kleve, note 3 in this chapter, and *Nordlandsposten*, "U-2 Planes in Bodø as Late as 1964?" 10 November 1977.
- 39 The same plane and pilot landed two of the times in Bodø. After the second landing, the plane was given the name "Bodonian Express," painted on its side. It is exhibited at the US Air Force Museum in Dayton, Ohio today.
- 40 S. Larsen, "Technical Reasons Behind American Emergency Landing in Bodø Yesterday," *Nordland Framtid*, 14 August 1981, where the Norwegian Foreign Ministry spokesman Geir Grung says he doubt the SR-71 will cause a new U-2 incident.
- 41 Gerhard Van Keken, "Place Making: The Construction of Regional Identity," www.placebrandobserver.com/place-making-construction-of-regional-identity, 19 May 2015" Van Keken, "The Construction of Regional Identity: Zeeland. Strategies of Place Branding and Place Making" (PhD Dissertation, Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2011).
- 42 *Nordlands Framtid*, "Aviation Town Bodø," 40-page attachment, 2 June 1990.
- 43 Bjørn Rydmark, "The Black Lady Finally to Bodø," *Nordlandsposten*, 22 February 1992. A reportage about a trip to Russia of prominent Nordland-representatives, with the aims being a secret for the Ministries down in Oslo. See also Oddrunn Pettersen, *The Vision that Became Reality – The Regional Barents Cooperation 1993–2003* (Kirkenes: The Barents Secretariat, 2002).
- 44 Bjørn Rydmark, "The Black Lady Finally to Bodø," *Nordlandsposten*, 22 February 1992.
- 45 Jan O. Bodøgaard, "Competition, War and Merger (1990–2002)," in *Start the Press! The Newspapers in Bodø Through 150 years*, eds. Wilhelm Karlsen and Svein Lundestad (Trondheim: Akademia Forlag, 2012), 200.
- 46 But according to the NRK TV programme about the museum-opening in 1994, they still held up hope for some parts of the wreck. "Opening of the Aviation Museum," *NRK TV*, 15 May 1994.

- 47 Tore M. Antonsen, "High Up and Far to the North – A Study of the Decision-Making Process Connected to the Establishment of the Air Force Museum" (Masters Dissertation, Oslo University, 1995).
- 48 Bjørn T. Pedersen, "Want to Make a Movie About Selmer Nilsen," *Nordlands Framtid*, 31 August 1993. The movie premiered in 1995.
- 49 F. Gander, "35 Fine Years with the Black Lady," *Nordlands Framtid*, 7 April 1994. As a trainer it was painted whole white. According to this interview with U-2 mechanic Jim Wood, they called it "Old Whitetrash" towards the end. It was quite worn out.
- 50 Finn Breivik, "I Did Not Want to Stop the U-2 Plane," *Nordlands Framtid*, 29 March 1993.
- 51 *NRK TV*, "Opening of the Aviation Museum," 15 May 1994; T. E. Hansen, "The Aviation Museum Landed for Good," *Helgelands Blad*, 23 August 1994.
- 52 Email conversations between the author and retired Captain Oddmund Bjørnaali, 24–29 November 2022.
- 53 The largest difference was the colour. Operational Air Force U-2s had been black since the mid-1960s. But the CIA U-2s were initially an unpainted aluminium silver. And by 1960 they were dark blue, as can be seen on the U-2 on display in Moscow. See also the Soviet presentation of Power's trial: Sovinformbyrå, *The U-2 Powers-Case*, 59. This difference was not publicly known, though – to this day.
- 54 Svein Lundestad, ed., "U-2 Flights and the Cold War in the High North: Report from Cold War Forum Conference on the Cold War in Bodø, October 7–8, 1995," *HBO-rapport* 1, 1996 (Bodø: Bodø University College, 1996).
- 55 Norwegian Aviation Museum, *The Cold War Experience* (Mysen: TE Kommunikasjon, 1996). The brochure is available digitally through the Norwegian Aviation Museum library at <https://asp.bibliotekservice.no/nlm/title.aspx?tkey=16147>.
- 56 Norwegian Aviation Museum, *The Cold War Experience* (Mysen: TE Kommunikasjon, 1996), 3.
- 57 Oddrunn Pettersen, *The Vision that Became Reality – The Regional Barents Cooperation 1993–2003* (Kirkenes: The Barents Secretariat, 2002), 23.
- 58 The latest examples are Ola Hellnes, "When Norway Was in Cold War," *NRK*, 6–20 October 2022, a three-part podcast series with one episode dedicated to the U-2 incident. According to Hellnes, it became one of the most popular NRK podcasts that year. See (hear) www.radio.nrk.no/podkast/hele_historien/sesong/da-norge-var-i-kald-krig, accessed 25 March 2024; and Lars Risberg and Dang Trinh, "When Soviet Threatened Norway with Nukes," *National Library podcast*, 16 November 2022, www.nb.no/historier-fra-samlingen/da-sovjet-truet-norge-med-atomvapen.
- 59 Karl L. Kleve, U-2-three-part podcast: www.museumspodden.no/?s=U-2, 21–29 April 2020. According to Museumspodden-editor Kjartan Abel Nilsen, the series quickly became one of the most downloaded of all Museumspodden-podcasts (email to author 16 June 2020).
- 60 In 2017 NRK made a 4-part documentary about former Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen, where the U-2 drama of 1960 and its Bodø-connection was an important part of episode 3: "Einar – The Whole Story," *NRK*, 2017, <https://tv.nrk.no/serie/einar-hele-historien>. When the US Air Force in the spring of 2023 announced the planned retirement of the U-2 planes in 2026, the Bodø connection was mentioned in Norwegian newsmedia. See for example M. Hem, "USA Will Retire the "Dragon Lady," *Forsvarets Forum*, 10 May 2023.
- 61 The two largest Norwegian broadcasters made similar news items: Kjell Persen, "Spielberg and Hanks are Going to Make a Movie About Norwegian Spyflight-Drama," *TV2*, 22 April 2014; and Susanne S. Lysvold, "Spielberg and Hanks Want to Make Movie About Norwegian Spyflight-Drama," *NRK*, April 22, 2014.
- 62 Bodø Municipality. *Bodø 2024 European Capital of Culture Candidate City Application* (Bodø, 2018), 33, <https://bodo.kommune.no/les/ECC>.

- 63 Visit Norway, *Bodø – Saltens Small Big City*, www.visitnorway.no/reisemal/nord-norge/bodo, accessed 25 March 2024. The local branch also focuses on the U-2. In their half page on the history of Bodø in the Bodø Guide for tourists, the U-2 incident is discussed under the heading “International Attention”. Visit Bodø, *Bodø Guide 2013* (Bodø, 2013), 37.
- 64 Some examples: Frøydis Refsvik G said “Love the military side. Check out the U2 and its Bodoe related history!” July 2023. Bernhard R thought the contextual material was excellent. He had even recognised that it is not Powers’ U-2 on display, April 2019. Midtkandal though the most impressive must be the museums U-2 spy plane, January 2015. See www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g190470-d535029-Reviews-or10-Norwegian_Aviation_Museum-Bodo_Nordland_Northern_Norway.html, accessed 25 March 2024.
- 65 Alberti in this volume.
- 66 Email to the author from Swedish SVT journalist Anders Öhlund, 16 October 2022; and Messenger-message to the author from Danish Curator Peer Henrik Hansen, 11 October 2022.

References

- Antonsen, Kåre. “Selmer Nilsen the First in the West Who Knew About the U-2 Downing.” *Nordlands Framtid*, 24 May 1972.
- Antonsen, Tore M. “High Up and Far to the North – A Study of the Decision-Making Process Connected to the Establishment of the Air Force Museum.” Masters Dissertation, Oslo University, 1995.
- Avinor. www.avinor.no/avinors-flyplasser/bodo. Accessed 23 March 2024.
- Bangstad, Torgeir R. “Mirror of the World and Graveyard of Things: Metaphors and the ‘Doing’ of Museology.” *Norsk Museumstidsskrift* 3, no. 2 (2017): 60–76.
- Bodø Municipality. *Bodø 2024 European Capital of Culture Candidate City Application*. Bodø, 2018. <https://bodo.kommune.no/les/ECC>.
- Bodøgaard, Jan O. “Competition, War and Merger (1990–2002).” In *Start the Press! The Newspapers in Bodø through 150 years*, edited by Wilhelm Karlsen and Svein Lundestad, 199–222. Trondheim: Akademia Forlag, 2012.
- Bones, Stian. “The Boy Who Became a Spy.” *Avisa Nordland*, 1 October 2016.
- Bones, Stian. “Party-Newspapers, Reconstruction and Cold War (1945–1970).” In *Start the Press! The Newspapers in Bodø through 150 years*, edited by Wilhelm Karlsen and Svein Lundestad, 107–26. Trondheim: Akademia Forlag, 2012.
- Breivik, Finn. “I Did Not Want to Stop the U-2 Plane.” *Nordlands Framtid*, 29 March 1993.
- Brown, Bill. “Thing Theory.” *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (2001): 1–22.
- Christensen, Tom. “How the Soviet Union Attempted to Influence Norwegian Security Policy 1955–1964.” Masters Dissertation, Oslo University, 2007.
- Crane, Susan A. “The Conundrum of Ephemerality: Time, Memory, and Museums.” In *A Companion to Museum Studies*, edited by Sharon MacDonald, 98–109. Chichester, West Sussex: Blackwell, 2011.
- Crane, Susan A. “Memory, Distortion and History in the Museum.” *History and Theory* 36, no. 4 (1997): 44–63.
- Faane, Linda M. and Mathias Soleng. “When Khrushchev Came to Herøya.” *Digitalt Museum*, 15 October 2014.
- Gander, F. “35 Fine Years with the Black Lady.” *Nordlands Framtid*, 7 April 1994.
- Hansen, Ståle. “The Spy Program NRK Refused to Send.” *NRK*, 25 October 2013.

- Hansen, T. E. "The Aviation Museum Has Landed for Good." *Helgelands Blad*, 23 August 1994.
- Hellnes, Ola. "When Norway Was in Cold War." *NRK*, 6–20 October 2022.
- Hem, M. "USA Will Retire the 'Dragon Lady'." *Forsvarets Forum*, 10 May 2023.
- Hovland, Martin. "4 Extreme-Planes at Sola 1958–1989." *Sola Historielag*, 1 December 2020.
- Jacobsen, Alf R. *The U-2 Incident*. Oslo: Aschehoug, 2009.
- Jaklin, Asbjørn. *Ice Frontier: The Cold War in the North*. Oslo: Gyldendal, 2009.
- Karlsen, Wilhelm. *With Air Under the Wings: Bodø's History Vol 4, 1950–2016*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2016.
- Kleve, Karl L. "The Air Force as an Infrastructure-Developer in Northern Norway During the Cold War – Case-Study Andøya." *Norwegian Aviation Museum Series* 6 (2003): 1–90.
- Kleve, Karl L. "Fearing the Eye in the Sky: How the Fear of Espionage Affected the Development of Civil Aviation during the Cold War." *International Journal of Intelligence, Security and Public Affairs* 22, no. 3 (2020): 307–27.
- Kleve, Karl L. "How the Cold War Shaped North Norwegian Aviation and Society." In *The Cold War in the Arctic*, edited by Michael Soupron, 188–200. Arkhangelsk: Pomor University, 2009.
- Kleve, Karl L. "The Spyplane." *Levende Historie* 5 (2008): 38–41.
- Kleve, Karl L. "U-2: The Spyplane Which Put Norway on the Map." *Flyhistorie* 56 (2020): 12–19.
- Kleve, Karl L. "U-2." *Museumspodden*, 21–29 April 2020.
- Larsen, S. "Technical Reasons Behind American Emergency Landing in Bodø Yesterday." *Nordland Framtid*, 14 August 1981.
- Lundestad, Svein, ed. "U-2 Flights and the Cold War in the High North: Report from Cold War Forum Conference on the Cold War in Bodø, October 7–8, 1995." *HBO-rapport* 1, 1996. Bodø: Bodø University College, 1996.
- Lysvold, Susanne S. "Spielberg and Hanks Want to Make Movie About Norwegian Spyflight-Drama." *NRK*, 22 April 2014.
- May, James. "James May at the Edge of Space." *BBC* 4, 21 June 2009.
- Ministry of Culture, Norway. *White Paper 23: Museums in Society: Thrust, Things and Time*. 2020–2021.
- Musum, Maja L. "The Open-Air Museum and the Contested Present: A Study of "All for Norway" at Hadeland Folkemuseum." *Norsk Museumstidsskrift* 6, no. 1 (2020): 24–44.
- National Security Archive. *The Final Overflights of the Soviet Union 1959–1960*. Approved for release 2013; accessed 25 March 2024. nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB434/docs/U2%20-%20Chapter%204.pdf.
- Nordlands Framtid. "Selmer Nilsen's Life and the U-2 Incident in Swedish TV." 20 May 1972.
- Nordlands Framtid. "Aviation Town Bodø." 2 June 1990.
- Nordlandsposten. "1991 to Become the Great Festival Year." 31 January 1990.
- Nordlandsposten. "U-2 Planes in Bodø as Late as 1964?." 10 November 1977.
- Norwegian Aviation Museum. *The Cold War Experience*. Mysen: TE Kommunikasjon, 1996.
- NRK TV. "Einar – The Whole Story." 2017. Accessed 25 March 2024. <https://tv.nrk.no/serie/einar-hele-historien>.
- NRK TV. "Opening of the Aviation Museum." 15 May 1994.
- Pedersen, Bjørn T. "Want to Make a Movie About Selmer Nilsen." *Nordlands Framtid*, 31 August 1993.

- Persen, Kjell. "Spielberg and Hanks Are Going to Make a Movie About Norwegian Spyflight-Drama." *TV2*, 22 April 2014.
- Pettersen, Oddrun. *The Vision that Became Reality – The Regional Barents Cooperation 1993–2003*. Kirkenes: The Barents Secretariat, 2002.
- Pritchard, Annette and Nigel J. Morgan. "Culture, Identity and Tourism Representation: Marketing Cymru or Wales?" *Tourism Management* 22, no. 2 (2001): 167–79.
- Risberg, Lars H. and Dang Trinh. "When Soviet Threatened Norway with Nukes." *National Library Podcast*, 16 November 2022. www.nb.no/historier-fra-samlingen/da-sovjet-truet-norge-med-atomvapen.
- Riste, Olav and Arnfinn Moland. *The Norwegian Intelligence Service: 1945–1970*. London: Frank Cass, 1999.
- Rudling, Per. "For a Heroic Belarus!": The Great Patriotic War as Identity Marker in the Lukashenka and Soviet Belarusian Discourses." *Sprawy Narodowosciowe* 32 (2008): 43–62.
- Runnel, Pille, Krista Lepik and Linda Lotina. "Constructing National Identity." *International Journal of the Inclusive Museum* 6, no. 4 (2014): 67–77.
- Rydmark, Bjørn. "The Black Lady Finally to Bodø." *Nordlandsposten*, 22 February 1992.
- Shao, Yuhan, Eckart Lange and Kevin Thwaites. "Defining Local Identity." *Landscape Architecture Frontiers* 5, no. 2 (2017): 24–41.
- Sneve, Stein. "The Airplane Which Put Bodø on the Map." *Avisa Nordland*, 24 April 2010.
- Sovinformbyrå. *The U-2 Powers-Case*. Oslo: Bryde, 1960.
- Støvne, Knut J. "The Worlds Most Advanced Spyplane Had to Make an Emergency Landing in Bodø." *Vi Menn*, 23 July 2020.
- Stugu, Ola S. "Anniversaries as Memory Policy." In *The Art of Celebration: Constitution-Celebrations and Memory Policy*, edited by Olav Aagedahl, Ånund Brottveit and Pål K. Botvar, 1–14. Oslo: Pax, 2017.
- Tamnes, Rolf. "Days in May: The U-2-Case in 1960." In *In the Vicissitudes of Politics: Festival Script to Knut Einar Eriksen*, edited by Solveig Halvorsen, Terje Halvorsen, Einar Niemi and Helge Pharo, 268–88. Oslo: LO Media, 2009.
- Terlouw, Kees. "Territorial Changes and Changing Identities: How Spatial Identities Are Used in the Up-Scaling of Local Government in the Netherlands." *Local Government Studies* 42 no. 6 (2016): 938–57.
- Universal International News. "Summit Crisis." *Nuclear Vault Newsreel*, 1960. Accessed 25 March 2024. www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Y8zB7arc_M.
- Van Keken, Gerhard. "The Construction of Regional Identity: Zeeland. Strategies of Place Branding and Place Making." PhD Dissertation, Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2011.
- Van Keken, Gerhard. "Place Making: The Construction of Regional Identity." 19 May 2015. placebrandobserver.com/place-making-construction-of-regional-identity.
- Vatne, Per. *I Was a Russian Spy: The History of Selmer Nilsen*. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1981.
- Visit Bodø. *Bodø Guide 2013*. Bodø: Forretningstrykk, 2013.
- Visit Norway. *Bodø – Saltens Small Big City*. Accessed 25 March 2024. www.visitnorway.no/reisemaal/nord-norge/bodo.