

IZAZOVI SUVREMENOGA KOPNENOG POVEZIVANJA DUBROVNIKA

THE CHALLENGES OF THE MODERN MAINLAND CONNECTIONS WITH DUBROVNIK

DAMIR MAGAŠ¹

¹Sveučilište u Zadru, Odjel za geografiju & Centar za istraživanje krša i priobalja / *University of Zadar, Department of Geography & Centre for Karst and Coastal Research*

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Dubrovnik, kao važno geografsko i geoprometno središte Jadranske Hrvatske, jedno je od najpoznatijih suvremenih turističkih i kulturno-baštinskih čvorišta Sredozemlja i svijeta. Dubrovačko-neretvanska županija godišnje privlači oko milijun, razmjerno visokoplatežnih turista iz cijelog svijeta koji ostvare približno pet milijuna noćenja (oko 7% turističkog prometa Hrvatske). Geoprometni položaj, teritorijalna odvojenost "Neumskim koridorom" od ostalih dijelova Hrvatske, ukidanje željezničke veze 1976., kao i razmjerno velika udaljenost od regionalnih središta, uvjetovali su da se velikim dijelom suvremena prometna povezanost Dubrovnika odvija zračnim i pomorskim putem (redovite pruge, *cruiseri* i sl.). Kopneno cestovno povezivanje odvija se uglavnom prema ostalim dijelovima Hrvatske, a znatno manje prema susjednim zemljama Bosni i Hercegovini i Crnoj Gori. Sve veće potrebe suvremenoga cestovnog povezivanja traže novo i kvalitetnije rješenje u odnosu na sadašnje povezivanje starom Jadranskom turističkom cestom. Ponajprije se to odnosi na povećanje prohodnosti i brzine putovanja te izbjegavanje graničnih prijelaza, ali i na rješavanje prometne povezanosti poluotoka Pelješca i otoka Korčule (posredno i otoka Mljeta i Lastova). S tim u vezi se već započeta izgradnja mostovnog rješenja Klek – Pelješac u novije vrijeme pojavljuje kao odgovarajuće i kvalitetno rješenje suvremene cestovne (autocesta ili brza cesta) povezanosti Dubrovnika s europskim prostorom na zapadu i sjeveru, kao i s ostalim dijelovima Hrvatske.

Cljučne riječi: Dubrovnik, prometno povezivanje, Pelješac, Hrvatska, kopneni promet

As an important geographical and geo-traffic centre of Adriatic Croatia, Dubrovnik is one of the most famous modern tourist, cultural and heritage centres in the Mediterranean and in the World. Dubrovnik-Neretva County attracts around one million relatively high-paying tourists from all over the world a year, who realise about five million overnights (about 7% of the Croatian tourist traffic). The geo-traffic location, the territorial separation by the "Neum corridor" from other parts of Croatia, the suspension of the railway connection in 1976, as much as a relatively large distance from regional centres, resulted in a situation where for the most part the modern transport links with Dubrovnik are carried out by air and by sea (regular lines, *cruisers*, etc.). Inland roads connect mainly with other parts of Croatia but to a significantly lower degree with the neighbouring countries, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro. The growing needs of a modern road linkage require new and better solutions in relation to the current connections by the old Adriatic tourist road. This refers primarily to an increase in mobility and speed of travel, and to the avoidance of border crossings, but also to solving the transport connections between the Pelješac peninsula and the island of Korčula (indirectly the island of Mljet and Lastovo too).

In this regard, the already initiated construction of the bridge Klek–Pelješac has recently appeared to be an appropriate and high quality realisation of a modern road (a highway or a fast road) connecting Dubrovnik with the European space in the West and North, as well as with other parts of Croatia.

Keywords: Dubrovnik, traffic connecting, Pelješac Bridge, Croatia, mainland traffic

Uvod

Uz pojedine probleme lokalne povezanosti dubrovačkog prostora, kopnenog i otočnog dijela, sa središtem u Dubrovniku, posljednjih se desetljeća nameće važno pitanje kopnenoga prometnog povezivanja ovoga grada s ostalim dijelovima Hrvatske, kao i susjednih zemalja. S obzirom na turističko i kulturalno značenje Dubrovnika kao hrvatskog, jadranskog, sredozemnog, pa i svjetskog kulturnog, znanstvenog i turističkog odredišta i žarišta, odgovarajuće učinkovito rješenje toga pitanja iznimno je aktualno u suvremenim okolnostima njegova razvoja. Značenje Dubrovnika i njegove očuvane povijesno-kulturne baštine unutar hrvatskoga nacionalnog i jadranskog korpusa, posljedica je povijesno-zemljopisnog razvoja i uloge koju je ovaj grad imao u tisućljetnoj prošlosti.

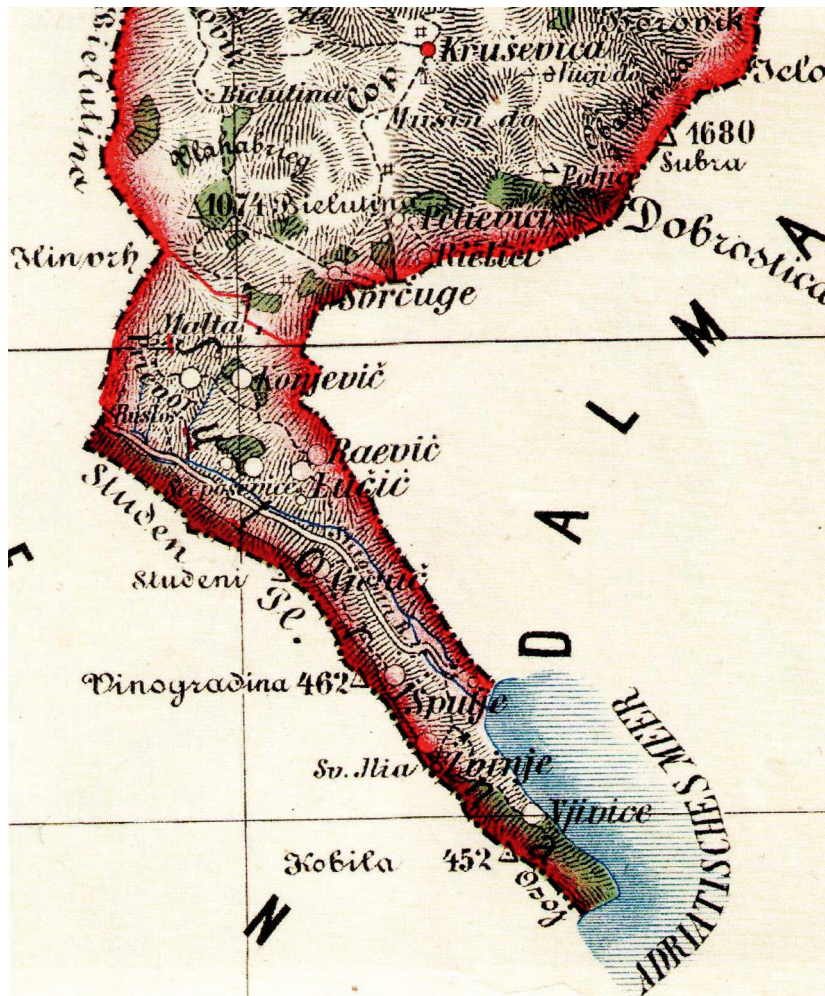
Introduction

Along with some specific problems related to local connections of the Dubrovnik area, of mainland and the islands with the centre in Dubrovnik, last few decades have seen the rise of an important issue regarding the traffic connections between this city and other parts of Croatia, and with the neighbouring countries. In view of the tourist and cultural significance of Dubrovnik as a Croatian, Adriatic, Mediterranean, and the World cultural, scientific and tourist destination and centre, an appropriate efficient solution to that issue is of major importance in contemporary circumstances of its development. The significance of Dubrovnik and its preserved historical and cultural heritage within the Croatian national and Adriatic corpus is the consequence of the historical-geographical development and the role this city has had in its millenary past.



Slika 1. "Neumski koridor" s granicom BiH i Dalmacije na Topografskoj karti Austro-Ugarske Monarhije, List Klek 1883. (K.u.k. Militärgeographisches Institut, Wien, M=1:75.000, prilagođeno, isječak)

Figure 1 "Neum Corridor" with the border between B&H and Dalmatia on the Topographic map of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Sheet Klek 1883 (K.u.k. Militär geographisches Institut, Wien, M=1:75.000, adapted, segment)



Slika 2. "Sutorinski koridor" s granicama Bosne i Hercegovine i Dalmacije, 1884., u vrijeme Austro-Ugarske Monarhije (isječak topografske karte 1:150 000, List XIX Trebinje, Generalkarte von Bosnien und der Herzegovina; prilagođeno prema: TUNO I DR., 2011., 41)

Figure 2 "Sutorina Corridor" with the borders between B&H and Dalmatia, 1884, during Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (topographic map cutting 1:150.000, Sheet XIX Trebinje, General karte von Bosnien und der Herzegovina; adapted by: TUNO ET AL., 2011, 41)

Geostrateški odnosi među velikim silama 17. i 18. stoljeća u ovom dijelu Europe, rezultirali su granicama Dubrovačke Republike prema Osmanskom Carstvu i Mletačkoj Republici, na način da se ustupanjem svojega teritorija Osmanskom Carstvu u koridorima Neumskom i Sutorinskom, Dubrovačka Republika osigurala od izravne granice sa suparničkom Mletačkom Republikom. Ti koridori su opstali sve do 20. stoljeća (Sl. 1., Sl. 2.), kada su poslije Prvoga svjetskog rata anulirani u okvirima političkih tvorevina unutar Kraljevine Jugoslavije, poslije uspostave banovina od 1929. Neumski koridor je ponovno uspostavljen od 1945. određivanjem granica Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine kao federalnih država unutar Demokratske

Geostrategic relations among the great powers of the 17th and 18th centuries in this part of Europe resulted in establishing the borders of the Republic of Dubrovnik with the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic in the way that, by ceding its territory to the Ottoman Empire in the Neum and Sutorina Corridors, Dubrovnik Republic insured itself from the direct border with the rival Venetian Republic. Those corridors survived until the 20th century (Fig. 1, Fig. 2), when they were annulled after the First World War within the framework of political build-up inside the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and after the establishment of *banovinas* (banates or duchies) in 1929. Neum Corridor was re-established in 1945 when the boundary between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H)

Federativne Jugoslavije,¹ kasnije Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije i Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije, dok je Sutorinski pripao suvremenoj Crnoj Gori. Time je suvremeni hrvatski teritorij na kopnu razdvojen, što u okolnostima tada jedinstvene države nije uzrokovalo veće probleme.

No poslije raspada SFR Jugoslavije postojanje tzv. Neumskog koridora s teritorijalnom razdvojenošću suvremenoga kopnenog teritorija Hrvatske te nužnošću prelaska dviju državnih granica u kopnenom povezivanju dubrovačkog prostora s ostalim dijelovima zemlje i obrnuto, otvorilo je nove probleme povezivanja. Bitno usporavanje u odvijanju prometa, nužnost i obveza nošenja i pokazivanja isprava, odnosno ulaska na prostor druge države, što se na putu za prostor Dubrovnika i obrnuto, unatoč drukčijoj volji ne može izbjeći, osnovni su razlozi traženja

¹ Granica između Bosne i Hercegovine i Republike Hrvatske u prostoru Neum – Klek utvrđena je odlukama AVNOJ-a, posebice povjerenstva III. zasjedanja AVNOJ-a u Beogradu 1945. koje je djelovalo do 1946., a potvrđena je od Badinterova povjerenstva 25. lipnja 1991. Istovjetna je s granicom BiH utvrđenom prema stanju u trenutku sloma Austro-Ugarske Monarhije, odnosno utvrđenom na Berlinskom kongresu 1878., a ona pak s katastarskim granicama iz 1837. graničnih mjerničkih općina prema Neumu s dalmatinske strane (k. o. Klek s vrhom Kleka, i k. o. Duba Stonska s Velikim i Malim Školjem). Praktički su nerelevantni svi zahvati prema granici koji su uvjetovali spor bivše Općine Dubrovnik protiv SR Bosne i Hercegovine početkom osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća vezano za izgradnju odvodnje Neum – Mljetski kanal te donošenju akata Specijalnog rezervata u moru "Malostonski zaljev" iz 1983. Isto tako ni parafirano razgraničenje koje je potpisao predsjednik dr. Franjo Tuđman, zbog očitog pokušaja uzurpiranja hrvatskog teritorija (vrh Kleka, Veli i Mali Školj) nije ratificirano. Navedeno se u znanstvenim, pravnim i drugim krugovima smatra podmetnutim Predsjedniku u vrijeme njegove teške bolesti. Jednako nisu prihvatljive po nalogu obavljene intervencije na crti granice u izdanjima Hrvatskoga hidrografskog instituta u Splitu poslije 1999. Naime "morska granica RH s BiH iscrtna je po koordinatama sukladno izravnom zahtjevu Ureda predsjednika dr. sc. Franje Tuđmana i kao takva predana natrag Uredu predsjednika" (Priopćenje HHI, Slobodna Dalmacija, 11. kolovoza 2012.). U vezi s tim je i rad svih povjerenstava, od onoga 1974. pa do 1999., u namjeri izmjene još u vrijeme Austro-Ugarske Monarhije i Osmanskog Carstva utvrđene granice, nerelevantan, odnosno, prema zakonskim odredbama, nikad dovršen (usp. VEKARIĆ ET AL., 1999.).

as federal states in the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia,¹ after the Federal National Republic of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was defined, whereas Sutorina became part of the modern Montenegro. In this way the contemporary Croatian territory on mainland was separated, which did not cause major problems in the circumstances of the unitary state.

However, after the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the existence of the so-called Neum Corridor with territorial separation of the present continental territory of Croatia, and the necessity to cross two state borders in mainland connecting the Dubrovnik area with other parts of the country and vice versa, opened new connection problems. A significant slowdown in road traffic, the necessity and obligation to carry and show documents when entering the territory of the other country – which cannot be avoided on the

¹ The border between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia in the area of Neum-Klek was established by the decisions of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), especially by commission of 3rd AVNOJ conference in Belgrade, which operated until 1946, and was confirmed by the Badinter Commission on 25th of June 1991. It is equal to the frontier with B&H which was set upon the basis of the situation at the moment of collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It was established by the Berlin Congress in 1878, according to the cadastral boundaries set up in 1837, between the surveyed boundary municipalities towards Neum on the Dalmatian side (c.m. of Klek with the peak Klek, and c. m. of Duba Stonska with Veliki Školj and Mali Školj /Big Islet and Small Islet/). Basically, all the interventions relating to the border are irrelevant: the interventions which caused the dispute of the former Municipality of Dubrovnik against SR of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the early eighties of the 20th century in relation to the construction of the drainage Neum – Mljet Channel, and bringing the legal acts of the Special Sea Reserve "Little Ston Bay" in 1983. Similarly, even the initialled demarcation signed by the President dr. Franjo Tuđman has not been initialled because of the obvious attempt of usurping the Croatian territory (peak Klek, Veliki and Mali Školj). In scientific, legal and other circles, the above stated is considered to be imputed to the President during his serious illness. Likewise, the interventions performed by order on the borders, as seen in the editions of the Croatian Hydrographic Institute in Split after 1999, are not acceptable. In fact, "the sea border between the RC and the B&H is lined by coordinates in accordance with the direct request of the Office of the President dr. sc. Franjo Tuđman, and as such returned to the Office of the President" (Press release of HHI, Slobodna Dalmacija, 11 08 2012). The work of all commissions in connection with that, from the one in 1974 until 1999, with the intention to change the defined borders back in time of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, is irrelevant – in other words, never completed according to legal provisions, (cf. VEKARIĆ ET AL., 1999.).

povoljnijih mogućnosti kopnene veze unutar Hrvatske s Dubrovnikom, posebice poslije ulaska Hrvatske u Europsku uniju.

Rad se sastoji od pet osnovnih cjelina. Nakon Uvoda, uz pregled dosadašnjih istraživanja, je kratko obrazloženo metodologije, hipoteza i ciljeva, a slijedi dio o geostrateškom značenju Dubrovnika.

Dosadašnja istraživanja, metodologija, hipoteze i ciljevi

O problemima prometnog povezivanja Dubrovnika u novije vrijeme znatno se više piše i govori u sredstvima javnog izvješćivanja nego u znanosti ili struci. Opći radovi o prometnom povezivanju pojedinih središta Jadranske Hrvatske, tek dodirno razmatraju Dubrovnik i njegov širi prostor. Tek u novije vrijeme pojavilo se nekoliko studija na tu temu (RIBANOVIĆ I DR., 2002.; ŠAVOR I DR., 2002., 2009.; RADIĆ I DR., 2009., PROMETNA STUDIJA GRADA DUBROVNIKA, 2011.). Starije studije uglavnom su samo dodirno uključivale i prometnu povezanost Dubrovnika (BAUER, 1984a, b; TONKOVIĆ, 1985.; BAUER I DR., 1986.). U geografskoj literaturi, uz starije regionalno-geografske radove na razini SR Hrvatske i SFR Jugoslavije, pojavljuju se i radovi u kojima je suvremenom značenju Dubrovnika s motrišta litoralizacije te geografskog i geostrateškog značenja posvećena odgovarajuća pozornost (MAGAŠ, LONČARIĆ, 2006.; ĐUKIĆ, JERKOVIĆ, 2008.; JOVIĆ MAZALIN, FARIČIĆ, 2013., MAGAŠ, 2013.). Neumski i Sutorinski koridori također su opširnije znanstveno razmatrani u novijim radovima (VEKARIĆ, 1999.; TUNO I DR., 2011.; OBAD I DR., 2013.), kao i političko-geografska gledišta o razgraničenju u području Boke kotorske (PAVIĆ, 2010.).

Ovaj rad metodološki je osmišljen tako da analizira do sada istaknuta razmatranja, projekcije i stavove o problematici suvremenoga kopnenog povezivanja Dubrovnika sa širim prostorom, posebice ostalim dijelovima Republike Hrvatske. Pozornost se pridaje i stručnim, znanstvenim, ali i javnim, posebice političkim i strateškim gledištima, što pomaže sintetskom sagledavanju razmjerno nesustavne građe i informacija, posebice o mostovnom rješavanju preko Pelješca, ali i o drugim zamislama rješavanja toga problema. Posebno se koristi i metoda analize dostupnih

way to the Dubrovnik area and back, in spite of the willingness to do so – are the basic reasons to look for more favourable opportunities to connect the Croatian mainland with Dubrovnik, especially after the Croatia's accession to the European Union.

The paper consists of five basic units. After the introduction along with the review of the past research, there is a short explanation of the methodology, the hypotheses and the aims of the study, followed by the part dealing with the geostrategic importance of Dubrovnik.

Past research, methodology, hypotheses and aims

The problems pertaining to Dubrovnik traffic connections have recently been discussed in public media more often than in science and profession. The papers taking a general approach to traffic connections of particular centres in Adriatic Croatia barely touch on the problem of Dubrovnik and its wider area. Only recently, a few studies focused on that topic (RIBANOVIĆ ET AL., 2002; ŠAVOR I DR., 2002, 2009; RADIĆ ET AL., 2009; TRAFFIC STUDY OF THE CITY OF DUBROVNIK, 2011). Older studies mainly only touched on the problem of Dubrovnik traffic connections (BAUER, 1984a, 1984b; TONKOVIĆ, 1985, BAUER ET AL., 1986). In geographic literature, along with the older regional-geographic works in SR Croatia and SFR Yugoslavia, there are also studies in which the contemporary importance of Dubrovnik, from the perspective of littoralisation, geographic and geostrategic meaning, is given adequate attention (MAGAŠ, LONČARIĆ, 2006; ĐUKIĆ, JERKOVIĆ, 2008; JOVIĆ MAZALIN, FARIČIĆ, 2013; MAGAŠ, 2013). Neum and Sutorina Corridors have also been analysed to a larger extent in more recent works (VEKARIĆ ET AL., 1999; TUNO ET AL., 2011; OBAD ET AL., 2013), as well as political and geographical attitudes about boundary demarcation in the Boka Kotorska (Bay of Kotor) area (PAVIĆ, 2010).

This paper is methodologically conceived as an analysis of the past outstanding studies, projections and attitudes about the problems of modern mainland connections of Dubrovnik with wider area, especially with other parts of the Republic of Croatia (RC). Attention is paid to professional and scientific, as well as public, especially political, and strategic points of view, which helps the synthetic observation of relatively unsystematic material and information, in particular about the bridge solution over the peninsula Pelješac, but also about

planova za izgradnju kopnene veze, u mjeri koja je dostatna za objašnjavanje razmatrane problematike.

Svrha rada je uputiti na opravdanost nastojanja u pronalaženju takvoga prometnog rješenja kopnenim pravcima koji će sustavno i na razmjerno dulje vrijeme riješiti danas najistaknutiji problem Dubrovnika i njegova užeg gravitacijskog prostora. I mostovno rješenje, ali i koncepcije tunelskog rješenja, postavljaju se kao hipoteze takvoga trajnog, učinkovitog i kvalitetnog rješenja.

Geostrateško značenje Dubrovnika i Dubrovačko-neretvanske županije

Krajnji južni dio Jadranske Hrvatske, prostor Južne Dalmacije, ujedno i krajnji južni dio Hrvatske, danas je objedinjen u granicama Dubrovačko-neretvanske županije (122 528 stanovnika 2011.) s Dubrovnikom kao najznačajnijim gradskim središtem (28 434 stanovnika 2011.). Dakle, suvremeni dubrovački gravitacijski prostor objedinjuje tradicionalni prostor, nekad u granicama Dubrovačke Republike (priobalje, otoci), kao i Donje Poneretavlje, s istaknutom neretvanskim donjoneretvanskom konurbacijom Metković – Opuzen – Ploče. Prometna povezanost te konurbacije s Dubrovnikom, županijskim središtem, mora biti protočna i neometana. Dubrovnik, kao istaknuto funkcionalno žarište, gravitacijska jezgra udaljena od Splita više od 200 km, ujedno je i značajno svjetski prepoznatljivo turističko odredište, što mu daje posebno međunarodno i nacionalno značenje. Posebno je dubrovačka gradska regija, s približno 50 000 stanovnika koja obuhvaća prostor od Trstenog preko Rijeke Dubrovačke s Mokošicom na SZ do zračne luke u Čilipima od iznimne gospodarske i geostrateške važnosti za Hrvatsku, a odvojenošću od glavnine kopnenog prostora teritorijem Bosne i Hercegovine kod Neuma ta se važnost pojačava.

Višestoljetni prosperitet Dubrovnika dugo je bio isključivo posljedica optimalnog vrednovanja tranzitnih prometnih funkcija jer je potpuno odvojen od važnijih zona ratarskog vrednovanja. Tranzitne prometne funkcije koje su bile osnova održanja i razvoja Dubrovnika kao važnoga međunarodnog središta u tom prostoru su i pomorske i kontinentalne. Vrednovanje pomorske tranzitne uloge isključivo je posljedica

other ideas in relation to that issue. The method of analysing the available plans for construction of mainland connections is used to the extent which is sufficient to explain the discussed problem.

The purpose of the paper is to justify the attempts to find such a traffic solution by land which will systematically and for a relatively longer period of time solve the presently most outstanding problem of Dubrovnik and its narrower gravitational area. A bridge-solution, but also the concepts of a tunnel solution are conceived as hypotheses of such a permanent, efficient and quality solution.

Geostrategic significance of Dubrovnik and Dubrovnik-Neretva County

The extreme southern part of Adriatic Croatia, the South Dalmatian area, and the extreme Southern part of Croatia, nowadays are integrated within the Dubrovnik-Neretva County borders (122,528 inhabitants in 2011) with Dubrovnik as its most significant city centre (28,434 inhabitants in 2011). Consequently, the modern gravitational area of Dubrovnik unites the traditional space, which once used to be within the Dubrovnik Republic borders (coastal area, islands), as well as the Lower Neretva Basin, with the respectable lower Neretva conurbation Metković – Opuzen – Ploče. Traffic connections between this conurbation and Dubrovnik as the county centre, have to be free-flowing and unobstructed. As a prominent functional focal point, and a gravitational core that is more than 200 km far from Split, Dubrovnik is at the same time an outstanding world recognized tourist destination – which gives it a special international and national importance. In particular, the urban region of Dubrovnik is of exceptional economic and geostrategic importance for Croatia: with about 50,000 inhabitants, it covers the space from Trsteno, over Rijeka Dubrovačka with Mokošica on the north-west, to the airport in Čilipi on the south-east, and by being separated from the major part of the mainland area with the territory of B&H at Neum, this importance has been even heightened.

Centuries-old prosperity of Dubrovnik has long been exclusively the consequence of optimal evaluation of transit traffic functions as it has been completely separated from more important zones of agricultural evaluation. The transit traffic functions, which were the basis for survival and the development of Dubrovnik as an important

tisućljetnog iskustva u pomorskoj djelatnosti, a vrednovanje kontinentalne, s praksom održavanja stabilnih karavanskih putova, sve do ukidanja željezničke veze, bilo je odraz sprege umještne organizacije i korištenja iskustava okolnih transhumantno-stočarskih krajeva.

Jedinstveni homogeni proces društveno-gospodarskog razvoja omogućio je Dubrovniku dugotrajnu političku samostalnost i očuvanje tradicije do današnjih dana. Ukinućem Republike i pripajanjem dalmatinskom prostoru početkom 19. stoljeća Dubrovnik je postao okružno središte južnodalmatinskog prostora. Ograničenost upravne funkcije na usku zonu primorja i otoka uvjetovala je i dalje zadržavanje pomorske djelatnosti kao osnovne sve do današnjih dana (Atlantska plovidba, s oko četvrtinu tonaže druga po važnosti u Republici Hrvatskoj, poslije zadarske Tankerske plovidbe) (MAGAŠ, 2013.).

Razvojem slobodnog brodarstva, Dubrovnik je početkom 19. stoljeća prvi put dosegnuo 10 000 stanovnika. Postupan rast bio je uglavnom posljedica odgovarajućih središnjih funkcija, djelatnosti lučkog prometa u ovisnosti o kasnije izgrađenoj uskotračnoj željeznici (1898.), ostataka tradicionalnog obrta i u najvećoj mjeri razvijenoga slobodnog brodarstva. Za razvoj industrijskih lučkih kapaciteta uskotračna željeznička pruga Metković – Zelenika (Boka) s odvojkom iz Uskoplja za Dubrovnik bila je od najvećeg značenja. Naime ojačale su usluge luke u Gružu koja se preko bosanskih pruga vezala na širi sustav u kopnenom zaobalju. Udaljenost od ostalih razvojnih središta Hrvatske, ukinuće uskotračne pruge (1976.) i usmjerenje na turizam i slobodno brodarstvo uvjetovali su pad lučkoga teretnog prometa i zadržavanje malih industrijskih zona u Komolcu i Gružu. Uglavnom danas ugašeni industrijski kapaciteti imali su ograničenu važnost.

Razvoj turističke privrede u Dubrovniku započeo je u ranoj fazi pojave suvremenog turizma u Jadranskoj Hrvatskoj. Uvjeti razvoja turističke privrede bili su i jesu izvanredno povoljni u smislu privlačnosti prostora za stacionarni turizam te još veći za tranzitni turizam. Ipak, razvoj turističkog gospodarstva Dubrovnika, u usporedbi s vodećim svjetskim turističkim odredištima, obilježavala je određena sporost u razvoju receptivnih turističkih sadržaja. Ta sporost, ponajviše posljedica prometne izoliranosti Dubrovnika, donekle je ublažena tek u razdoblju poslije izgradnje Jadranske turističke ceste (JTC) i suvremene zračne luke (1962.).

international centre in this area, are both maritime and continental. The evaluation of the maritime transit role has been entirely the result of a millenary experience in the maritime activity, whereas the evaluation of the continental transit role, with its practice of maintaining stable caravan routes until the railway line was removed, was the reflection of successful organisation in combination with the use of experience of surrounding transhumant-livestock-raising areas.

A unique homogenous process of social and economic development made it possible for Dubrovnik to have a long-lasting political independence and to preserve tradition until today. By abolition of The Republic and by joining the Dalmatian area at the beginning of the 19th century Dubrovnik became the district centre for the South-Dalmatian area. The restriction of its administrative function within the narrow zone of maritime coastlands and islands was the reason for its maritime activity to be maintained as the basic activity until today (Atlantska Plovidba, s. c., with about a quarter of a tonnage, second in importance in the Republic of Croatia, after the Zadar Tankerska Plovidba, s. c.) (MAGAŠ, 2013).

By the development of free shipping at the beginning of the 19th century, Dubrovnik reached about 10,000 inhabitants for the first time. Gradual growth was mainly the result of appropriate central functions, the activities of the port traffic which depended on the narrow-gauge railway built later on (1898), the remains of traditional craft, and to the fullest extent on the developed free shipping. For the development of industrial and port capacities, the narrow-gauge railway Metković – Zelenika (Boka Kotorska) with the branch from Uskoplje to Dubrovnik, was of the greatest importance. That is to say, the services of the port in Gruž, which was connected with the wider system in the hinterland by the Bosnian railways, have grown stronger. The distances from other developing Croatian centres, the removal of the narrow-gauge railway (1976), and the orientation towards tourism and free shipping, caused a decrease in the port cargo traffic and the retention of the small industrial zones in Komolac and Gruž. Basically, the industrial capacities which have been extinguished in the meanwhile, had only a limited significance.

The development of tourist industry in Dubrovnik started at an early stage of the modern tourism outset in Adriatic Croatia. The conditions for development of tourist economy have been exceptionally favourable as regards attractiveness

Potaknut njima, rast turističke privrede donekle je bio ubrzan. Premda je raspolagala kapacitetima i ponudom svih kategorija, uključivši i najviše, i vrlo reprezentativne, ipak se ostvarivao, u odnosu na tradiciju, mogućnosti i veličinu urbane regije Dubrovnika koja osim slobodnog pomorstva nema neke druge istaknutije djelatnosti, razmjerno mali promet.

Izgradnjom turističkog kompleksa Babin Kuk (1976.) stanje je u tom smislu bitno poboljšano. Tako je suvremeni razvoj potenciran razvojem turizma, što je omogućilo zadržavanje stanovnika i širenje gradskih četvrti do pred kraj 20. stoljeća, ali je taj proces zaustavljen stradanjima grada i okolice u strahovitim razaranjima u vrijeme srpsko-crnogorske agresije 1991. – 1995. Kasnija obnova rezultirala je novim procesima razvoja pomorskog turizma (posjeti *cruisera*), elitnog i kongresnog turizma, obnovom i snaženjem zračnog prometa, očuvanjem brodarstva Atlantske plovidbe, osnivanjem međunarodnih studija i Sveučilišta u Dubrovniku (2004.), ali i urbanim egzodusom iz gradske jezgre (godine 1961. jezgra je imala 5489 stanovnika, a 2006. samo 1241, s trendom daljnjeg opadanja, ĐUKIĆ, JERKOVIĆ, 2008: 209) koja se usmjerava na usluge turistima itd.

Teritorijalno ograničena državnom granicom prema Bosni i Hercegovini i Crnoj Gori, nodalno-funkcionalna uloga Dubrovnika pojačana je unutar samostalne Hrvatske spomenutim upravnim uključenjem Donjeg Poneretavlja u Dubrovačko-neretvansku županiju, u svrhu ustaljenja i jačanja njegovih centralno-mjesnih funkcija. Tako ustrojem u neovisnoj Hrvatskoj, središnje funkcije Dubrovnika u prostoru danas sve više, uz teritorij bivše Republike i u delti Neretve, dolaze do izražaja i na Korčuli. Prometna prohodnost bitno je poboljšana i premošćivanjem Rijeke Dubrovačke (Most "Dr. Franje Tuđmana", 2002.), a nužno je i skoro povezivanje Dubrovnika i okolice na Jadransku autocestu, čime će se vremenska udaljenost prema Splitu, Zadru, Zagrebu, Rijeci itd. bitno smanjiti. Ujedno, premoštenjem Kanala Malog Stona, mostom kopno – Pelješac premda je riječ o financijski zahtjevnom ulaganju, ili, što je manje izgledno, eventualno za Hrvatsku prihvatljivim rješenjem slobodnog prolaza kroz Neumski koridor, izbjeglo bi se dvostruko prelaženje granice s Bosnom i Hercegovinom, i osiguralo nesmetano povezivanje dubrovačkog prostora na sustav autocesta u zemlji.

of the area for stationary tourism, and even more for transit tourism. However, the development of tourist economy in Dubrovnik, in comparison with the world leading tourist destinations, was marked with certain slowness in the development of receptive tourist facilities. This slowness, which was largely the result of the traffic isolation of Dubrovnik, was reduced to a certain degree after the construction of the Adriatic tourist road (JTC) and the modern airport (1962).

Encouraged by these two stimuli, the growth of the tourist economy was somewhat speeded up. Although it had the capacities and offer of all categories at its disposition including the highest and the very representative ones, the traffic was relatively low in relation to tradition, the possibilities and the size of the urban region of Dubrovnik which had no other more significant activity apart from the free shipping.

With the construction of the tourist complex Babin Kuk in 1976, the situation in this respect was significantly improved. In this way, the modern development was intensified by the development of tourism, which provided an opportunity for the retention of the inhabitants, as well as the spreading of the city blocks towards the end of the 20th century. However, this process was blocked when the town and its surroundings suffered terrible devastations during the Serbian-Montenegrin aggression in 1991-1995. Later renovation resulted in a new process of maritime tourist development (visits of *cruisers*), elite and congress tourism, renovation and strengthening of the air traffic, preservation of the shipping industry *Atlantska plovidba*, as well as in the foundation of international studies and the University of Dubrovnik (2004). However, Dubrovnik has witnessed an urban exodus from the city core, which is oriented to tourist services (in 1961 the core had the population of 5,489, and in 2006 only 1,241, with a tendency to further decrease; ĐUKIĆ, JERKOVIĆ, 2008: 209).

Limited in terms of territory by the state border towards B&H and Montenegro, the nodal and functional role of Dubrovnik has been reinforced within the independent Croatia by the mentioned administrative inclusion of the Lower Neretva Basin in the Dubrovnik-Neretva County, for the purpose of stabilisation and strengthening of its central and local functions. In this way, by constitution of the independent Croatia, the central functions of Dubrovnik in the region are being revealed more and more on the island of Korčula

Geostrateški pravci kopnenog povezivanja Dubrovnika, Pelješca i Korčule

Autocestovni uzdužni (dužjadranski) – jadransko-jonski pravac

Opće značajke i razmatrana rješenja

Jadransko-jonski pravac (dužjadranski, uzdužni, longitudinalni) u prostoru Hrvatske istovjetan je istočnojadranskom odnosno hrvatskom priobalnom (primorskom, jadranskom) pravcu povezivanja koji se u povijesno-geografskom razvoju vezano za kopneno povezivanje počeo ostvarivati izgradnjom cesta još u vrijeme rimske uprave (*Targeste – Iader – Salona – Narona – Epidaurus* itd.).



Slika 3. Jadransko-jonski pravac (sa spojem Žuta Lokva – Zagreb) razmatran na CEMT/ECMT Summitu u Ljubljani 2004. (prema: *Pan-European Road Corridors*, <http://www.mppi.hr/default>)
Figure 3 Adriatic-Ionian direction (with link Žuta Lokva – Zagreb) analysed at the CEMT/ECMT Summit in Ljubljana 2004 (by: *Pan-European Road Corridors*, <http://www.mppi.hr/default>)

too, besides the territory of the former Republic and the Neretva delta. The traffic mobility has also been significantly improved by bridging over the Rijeka Dubrovačka (Bridge "Dr. Franjo Tuđman", 2002). Furthermore, it is necessary to connect Dubrovnik and its surroundings with the Adriatic highway as soon as possible, in order to significantly reduce the time distances with Split, Zadar, Zagreb, Rijeka etc. At the same time, by bridging over the Mali Ston (Little Ston) Channel with the bridge mainland – Pelješac, double crossing of the border with B&H would be avoided and undisturbed connecting of the Dubrovnik area with the system of highways in the country would be possible – even though it is a financially demanding investment. On the other hand, it is less likely that for Croatia possibly acceptable solution of free passage through the Neum Corridor will be implemented.

Geostrategic directions of mainland connecting Dubrovnik, Pelješac and Korčula

Highway longitudinal (longitudinal Adriatic) – Adriatic-Ionian direction

General characteristics and considered solutions

Adriatic-Ionian direction (longitudinal Adriatic, longitudinal) in the Croatian area is identical to the East Adriatic, that is, the Croatian coastal (maritime, Adriatic) direction of connections which – within the framework of historical-geographical development related to the mainland connecting – started to function by construction of roads back in the period of Roman rule (*Targeste – Iader – Salona – Narona – Epidaurus* etc.).

Road construction in the Adriatic Croatia under modern conditions through the 19th century, the so-called *Marmont road* was built with links to the roads in Lika and Gorski Kotar, and connections with the Pannonian Croatia and wider space of Pannonian and Danube-region, as well as Western and Central Europe, with extensions towards south-east in Boka Kotorska, Montenegro and Albania.

Modernisation of the roads in the 20th century (1958-1964) enabled the construction of asphalted Adriatic tourist road from Slovenian Littoral, better to say, from Trieste, along the Adriatic Croatia to Boka Kotorska and the coast of Montenegro, and all the way to Albania and Greece.

U suvremenim uvjetima izgradnje cesta u Jadranskoj Hrvatskoj kroz 19. stoljeće izgrađena je tzv. Marmontova cesta s vezama na ličke ceste i ceste Gorskog kotara s poveznicama prema Panonskoj Hrvatskoj, te širem prostoru Panonske i Podunavske, kao i Zapadne i Srednje Europe, s nastavcima prema jugoistoku u Boku kotorsku, Crnu Goru i Albaniju.

Osvremenjivanje cesta u 20. stoljeću (1958. – 1964.) omogućilo je izgradnju asfaltirane Jadranske turističke ceste od Slovenskog primorja, odnosno Trsta, kroz Jadransku Hrvatsku do Boke kotorske i Crnogorskog primorja te dalje u Albaniju i Grčku).

Početak 21. stoljeća ubrzano se izgrađuju dionice dužjadranske autoceste Trst – Rijeka – Zadar – Split – Dubrovnik, koja je, kao dio Jadransko-jonskog pravca (Sl. 3.) europskog koridora² do konca 2013. izgrađena na trasi Žuta Lokva – Ploče u blizini kojih se na nju vezuju transverzalni autocestovni pravci, priključci na Vb (Žuta Lokva – Bosiljevo) i Vc autocestovni pravac (Ploče – Mostar – Sarajevo – Osijek – Pečuh – Budimpešta).

² Predložena na Konferenciji europskih ministara prometa (CEMT) u Ljubljani 2004. od ministara Hrvatske, Bosne i Hercegovine i Crne Gore (tada Srbija-Crna Gora), poslije potpisivanja njihove zajedničke izjave o kooperaciji na programima za Jadransko-jonski prometni koridor i autocestu. EVENING NEWS 21. travnja 2004. Zaključci i preporuke Trećega europskog prometnog kongresa o temi "Prometno povezivanje europskoga sjevera i juga" Opatija, 22. – 23. travnja 2004. Zaključak 6.: "Mrežu sveeuropskih koridora određenu na konferencijama o transportu potrebno je proširiti. Na zadnjoj konferenciji u Helsinkiju određeno je deset sveeuropskih intermodalnih prometnih koridora i četiri sveeuropska prometna područja. Jedno od područja je jadransko-jonsko koje je prihvaćeno. Predlaže se u jadransko-jonskom području verifikacija jadransko-jonskoga prometnoga koridora (oznaka XI ili neka druga). Jadransko-jonski prometni koridor ide od Italije (Trst) preko Slovenije, Hrvatske (Rijeka, Split i Dubrovnik), Bosne i Hercegovine, Crne Gore, Albanije do Grčke i Kalamate i ima esencijalno razvojno značenje za buđenje i oživljavanje turističkih i razvojnih resursa ovih sedam zemalja Jadransko-jonske inicijative te vrlo važnu ulogu u političkoj i gospodarskoj stabilizaciji ovih prostora. Prioritetnim pozicioniranjem jadransko-jonskoga koridora (JJK) – kao pomorskog, cestovnog, dijelom željezničkog i zračnog – u mreži paneuropskih prometnih koridora trebaju se stvoriti nužni preduvjeti za pripremu i postupno ostvarenje niza cestovnih poboljšanja od Trsta do Igoumenitsa i Kalamate u dužini od oko 1600 km – pa do konačnog cilja i izgradnje Jadransko-jonske autoceste (JJA) kao velikoga prostorno-prometnog, građevinsko-tehničkog te financijsko-komercijalnog

In the early days of the 21st century the sections of the Adriatic Highway Trieste – Rijeka – Zadar – Split – Dubrovnik are being constructed hastily: as part of the Adriatic-Ionian direction (Fig. 3) of the European corridor², by the end of 2013 they have been built on the route Žuta Lokva – Ploče in whose vicinity the transverse highway directions are connected, links to Vb (Žuta Lokva – Bosiljevo) and Vc highway direction (Ploče – Mostar – Sarajevo – Osijek – Pécs – Budapest).

With regard to connecting Ploče with Dubrovnik, in this zone of securing the interests of optimal linkage for the Dubrovnik area, the route of the Adriatic-Ionian Highway south of Ploče has been coordinated with Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro. By its positioning, the premises for direct connections between the southern part of Dubrovnik-Neretva County and Dubrovnik will be provided. As regards economic and geo-strategic interests of Croatia to provide simpler and faster links between Dubrovnik, Pelješac and Korčula, and the traffic system of the country, the continuation of the highway route towards Osijek, and then, through Konavle to the Montenegro border, is evidently most acceptable (Fig. 4a, e).

² Proposed at the Conference of the European Ministers of Traffic (CEMT) in Ljubljana in 2004 by ministers of Croatia, B&H and Montenegro (then Serbia-Montenegro), after signing their common statement about cooperation on the programmes for the Adriatic-Ionian traffic corridor and the Highway. EVENING NEWS 21. 4. 2004. Conclusions and recommendations of the Third European Traffic Congress regarding the topic "Traffic Connection of European North and South", Opatija, 22-23 April, 2004, Conclusion 6:

"It is necessary to expand the Pan-European net corridor determined at conferences about transport. At the last conference in Helsinki ten Pan-European intermodal traffic corridors and four Pan-European traffic regions were defined. The Adriatic-Ionian region is one of the accepted. In the Adriatic-Ionian region the verification of the Adriatic-Ionian traffic corridor is proposed (sign XI or some other). Adriatic-Ionian traffic corridor spreads from Italy (Trieste) across Slovenia, Croatia (Rijeka, Split and Dubrovnik), Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania until Greece and Kalamata, and it has essential developmental significance for awakening and surviving of tourist and developmental resources of all seven countries in the Adriatic-Ionian initiative, and a very important role in political and economic stabilisation of these regions. By priority positioning the Adriatic-Ionian corridor (JJK) – as maritime, road, partly railway and air – in the Pan-European net of traffic corridors indispensable prerequisites should be made for an important strategic interest for Croatia preparation and gradual implementation of a series of road improvements from Trieste to Igoumenitsa and Kalamata about 1.600 km in length – to the final aim and building of the Adriatic-Ionian Highway (AIH) as a large spatial and traffic project, as well as a building and technical, and a financial-



Slika 4. Varijante autocestovnog povezivanja Dubrovnika a) brzom cestom/autocestom preko Pelješca, b) s prolaskom kroz Neum, c) s ponovnim prelaskom u BiH kod mjesta Doli, d) nastavkom prema BiH kod Osojnika i e) isključivo kroz teritorij Hrvatske od Opuzena do tromeđe Hrvatske, BiH i Crne Gore

Izvori: Prostorni plan Dubrovačko-neretvanske županije, 2003.; Strategija prometnog razvitka Republike Hrvatske, 1999.; <http://blog.dnevnik.hr/print/id/1623281701/dubrovacki-prometni-koridor.html> 25. 9. 2007.)

Figure 4 The variants of a highway connecting Dubrovnik: a) by fast road/highway over Pelješac, b) passing through Neum, c) with repeated crossing to B&H at the place Doli, d) by continuation towards B&H at Osojnik and e) solely through the territory of Croatia from Opuzento the three-border point between Croatia, B&H and Montenegro

Sources: Regional Plan of Dubrovnik-Neretva County, 2003; Strategy of Traffic Development in the Republic of Croatia, 1999; <http://blog.dnevnik.hr/print/id/1623281701/dubrovacki-prometni-koridor.html> 25.09.2007

Vezano za povezivanje Ploča s Dubrovnikom, u području ostvarenja interesa optimalnog povezivanja dubrovačkog prostora, trasa Jadransko-jonske autoceste južno od Ploča usklađuje se s Bosnom i Hercegovinom i Crnom Gorom, te će se njezinim određivanjem stvoriti i pretpostavke izravnog povezivanja južnog dijela Dubrovačko-neretvanske županije i Dubrovnika na nju. Vezano za gospodarske i geostrateške interese Hrvatske da osigura što jednostavnije i brže povezivanje Dubrovnika, Pelješca i Korčule na prometni sustav zemlje, nastavak trase autoceste prema Osojniku, a izvjesno i dalje kroz Konavle do granice Crne Gore očigledno je najprihvatljiviji (Sl. 4a, e)

projekta. S obzirom na to da kroz Hrvatsku prolazi oko 36% središnjeg dijela trase, a kroz članicu EU Grčku oko 29% dužine, logično je da te dvije zemlje kroz koje prolazi oko dvije trećine dužine Jadransko-jonske autoceste budu, uz Sloveniju, nositelji svih konceptijskih aktivnosti u okviru već zacrtanih smjerova djelovanja te stoga trebaju, uz suradnju s ostalim državama Jadransko-jonske inicijative, uvesti ovaj projekt u paneuropske prometne koridore, razraditi koncepciju Jadransko-jonske autoceste i uloge postojećih i budućih usporednih cesta, predložiti zajednički ustrojbeni oblik djelovanja, pripremiti potrebne analize, studije i projekte, osmisliti financijske modele i osigurati postupnu realizaciju."

Clearly, from the environmental point of view, one of the favourable solutions could be that the highway does not pass too close to the seaside, but through the hinterland – when after Ploče, that is, south-east of Opuzen, it would reach the border with B&H (Fig. 4b).

However, historical-geographical experiences, modern geo-strategic relationships, especially after the breakup of Yugoslavia and Croatian accession to the European Union, indicate that it is more likely that a safer route for Croatia would be the one built in the proximity of the littoral. In other words, the negotiations with B&H about the

commercial project. As about 30% of the central part of the route passes through Croatia, and through the member of EU Greece about 29% in length, it is logical that these two countries, through which about two thirds of the length of the Adriatic-Ionian highway passes, are – together with Slovenia – the holders of all conceptual activities within the framework of already defined courses of action. Therefore, they should, in cooperation with all countries of the Adriatic-Ionian initiative, include this project in the Pan-European traffic corridors, elaborate the concept of the Adriatic-Ionian highway and the role of existing and future secondary roads, suggest common organisational form of activity, prepare necessary analyses, studies and projects, work out financial models and provide for a gradual implementation."

Zasigurno da bi, ekološki gledano, jedno od povoljnih rješenja moglo biti da autocesta ne prolazi preblizu uz morsku obalu, već zaobaljem, kada poslije Ploča odnosno jugoistočno od Opuzena, dođe do granice s Bosnom i Hercegovinom (Sl. 4b).

No povijesno-geografska iskustva, suvremeni geostrateški odnosi, posebice poslije raspada Jugoslavije i ulaska Hrvatske u Europsku uniju, upućuju na izglednost za Hrvatsku sigurnije trase u neposrednom priobalju. Budući da pregovori s Bosnom i Hercegovinom o trasi u tom dijelu teku presporo, te se u idućih 10 do 20 godina ne vidi brzo rješenje izgradnje dijela AIC prema Crnoj Gori, a time i povezivanja Dubrovnika, Hrvatska je izgradnjom ulaznog sklopa prema Pločama i trasiranjem u zoni Opuzena ostvarila mogućnost izravnog povezivanja Dubrovnika prolaskom kroz teritorij Bosne i Hercegovine kod Neuma (oko 8 km), trasiranjem autoceste dalje do Osojnika, eventualno i do granice Crne Gore (alternativa je i do tromeđe RH, BiH, CG) u blizini Dubrovnika kroz hrvatski teritorij. Kod Osojnika, ili pak u Konavlima, autocesta bi ponovno izašla iz Hrvatske (podvarijanta ovoga rješenja je nešto bliže odnosno drugo prelaženje u BiH u pravcu jugoistoka s dubrovačkog prostora, već kod čvora Doli, Sl. 4b, c).

Hrvatskoj bi dakle, u potencijalnim okolnostima bespriječnih odnosa s Bosnom i Hercegovinom, s obzirom na potrebe promptnog rješenja povezivanja Dubrovnika, odgovaralo da autocesta u zaobalju Neuma ponovno uđe u hrvatski prostor barem do Osojnika (gdje bi bila spojnica za Dubrovnik, Zračnu luku u Čilipima i Konavle) ili čak do Konavala te nastavi u smjeru Crne Gore i Albanije čime se ostvaruje važan potencijalni europski pravac. Budući da te odnose opterećuje povijesno-geostrateško naslijeđe potencirano suvremenim lošim geopolitičkim stanjem u Bosni i Hercegovini, te latentna prijateljstva Hrvatskoj bilo kakvim zahtjevima (zbog luke Ploče, prava na more i sl. na granici ucjene), očito je da takvo rješenje za dulji niz godina ne dolazi u obzir.

Stoga, u oba slučaja, i kada bi autocesta prelazila u Bosnu i Hercegovinu već u zaobalju Ploča, i kada bi prelazila u Bosnu i Hercegovinu jugoistočno od Opuzena, suvremeno brzo povezivanje Dubrovnika hrvatskim teritorijem, praktički je neizbježno. Naime nužan je učinkovit i kvalitetan alternativni, dodatni (ponajbolje četvorotračni) prometni spoj mostom (postoje

route in that part are progressing too slowly, and a fast solution of building a part of AIC towards Montenegro in the next 10-20 years cannot be seen, as well as the connecting of Dubrovnik. So, by building the entry system towards Ploče and tracing in the Opuzen zone, Croatia has reached the possibility of directly linking Dubrovnik by crossing the territory of B&H at Neum (about 8 km) – if tracing the highway to Osojnik, perhaps to the Montenegro border either (there is also an alternative to the three-border point RC, B&H, Montenegro) near Dubrovnik through the Croatian territory. At Osojnik, or even Konavle, the highway would again come out of Croatia (a sub-variant of this solution is another crossing to B&H, slightly earlier, towards the south-east direction from the Dubrovnik area, already at Doli hub Fig. 4b, c). Therefore, under the potential circumstances of a flawless relationship with B&H as regards the need for prompt solution to connecting Dubrovnik, it would be convenient for Croatia if the motorway at the Neum hinterland entered the Croatian area again, at least up to Osojnik (where the link to Dubrovnik, Airport in Čilipi, and Konavle, is envisaged to be), or even to Konavle, and to continue toward Montenegro and Albania. In this way, an important potential European route would be created. Since the afore mentioned relationships are burdened with historical and geo-strategic heritage intensified by the current unsatisfactory geo-political situation in B&H, and a latent threat to Croatia by any kind of claim (about the port of Ploče, the rights at the sea etc., even close to the blackmail), it is obvious that such a solution is not an option for a longer period of time.

Therefore, in both cases, even if the highway crossed B&H in the Ploče hinterland, and if it crossed B&H south-east of Opuzen, the modern fast linkage of Dubrovnik with the Croatian territory is practically inevitable. This is to say that an efficient and high-quality, additional (the very best four-lane) bridge traffic connection to Pelješac and further to Dubrovnik, is indispensable (there are ideas about a tunnel connection as a better option; however, a French study at the end of 2013 showed that a bridge connection is more efficient). First of all, it is crucial in order to avoid stoppage or traffic interruption to Dubrovnik at the borders (this way it would be possible to avoid the present situation for the citizens who move inside the territory of the country and are forced to cross the state border two times when using the direction from the southern part of Dubrovnik-Neretva County – towards other parts of Croatia and vice

razmišljanja da bi tunelsko povezivanje bilo bolje; francuska studija potkraj 2013. pokazala je da je mostovno povezivanje učinkovitije) na Pelješac te dalje za Dubrovnik. Ponajprije je to bitno zbog izbjegavanja zaustavljanja ili prekida prometa za Dubrovnik na granicama (time se anulira sadašnja okolnost da su građani kod kretanja unutar teritorija države dvaput primorani prelaziti državnu granicu pri korištenju pravca južni dio Dubrovačko-neretvanske županije – ostali dio Hrvatske i obratno) kao i zbog potrebe suvremenog, bržeg (uštede oko 1 h) i kraćeg (oko 50 km) povezivanja poluotoka Pelješca i otoka Korčule, a time i Mljeta.³ Uz to, ako bi pregovori s Bosnom i Hercegovinom bili na dulje vrijeme bez izgleda za brzo rješenje, ta cesta omogućuje dugoročan i kvalitetan nadomjestak autocestovne trase, bilo da prolazi kod Neuma, ili dublje u zaobalju, s odgovarajućim izlaskom iz prostora Hrvatske u zaobalju Dubrovnika. To ujedno znači i nesmetanu mogućnost nastavka izgradnje Jadransko-jonske autoceste prema Crnoj Gori i dalje na jugoistok. Stoga su se nekoliko godina usklađivala stajališta vlasti, državne uprave, sa zahtjevima uže regije i struke, uz uvažavanje i stavova iz Bosne i Hercegovine, o najboljem rješenju.

(Auto)cestovni most preko Pelješčkog kanala

a) Viseći most

Već je 2007. prihvaćeno suvremeno (geo) prometno rješenje mostovnom vezom, uz brojna odobrenja javnosti, dopunu u odnosu na visinu mosta zbog zahtjeva Bosne i Hercegovine (2009.) i podršku vlade (2007. – 2011.). S obzirom na to da

³ Zamisao o povezivanju donedavno najmnogoljudnijeg hrvatskog otoka Korčule s kopnom preko Pelješca stara je više od 40 godina. Već od davnina odvijao se promet između Korčule i Pelješca, a mostovi su već izgrađeni za hrvatske otoke Murter, Vir, Pag, Krk, između Cresa i Lošinja, Pašmana i Ugljana i niz manjih (Tribunj, Trogir, Nin, Lošinj itd.). Udaljenost Korčule i Pelješca kod Vignja je tek 1200 m. U Regionalnom prostornom planu Južni Jadran (Dubrovnik, 1968.), bila je predviđena gradnja mosta koja bi na tom mjestu povezivala Pelješac i Korčulu, ali je kasnije ta zamisao zaboravljena sve do donošenja Prostornog plana Dubrovačko-neretvanske županije 2002. godine. Županijski prostorni plan predviđa spajanje dviju obala mostom ili podmorskim tunelom. Zbog već uznapredovale gospodarske krize kao i dijametralno suprotstavljenih stavova Vlade RH od 2011. zaustavljeni su ne samo radovi na Pelješkom mostu, nego je odgođen i projekt Korčulanskog mosta.

versa), as well as because of the necessity to build a modern, faster (saving about 1 h) and shorter (about 50 km) connection with the Pelješac peninsula and the island of Korčula, as well as the island of Mljet.³ Furthermore, should the negotiations with B&H last longer, with no possibility for a fast solution, this road would make possible a long-lasting and high-quality replacement of a highway route, irrespective of whether it passes by Neum, or deeper in the hinterland, assuming its adequate leaving the Croatian territory in the Dubrovnik hinterland. At the same time, it also implies undisturbed opportunity for further building of the Adriatic-Ionian Highway towards Montenegro and further towards the South-East.

Therefore, attitudes of the Government and the State administration have been coordinated for several years about the best possible solution, with the requirements of closer region and profession, taking into the consideration attitudes of B&H as well.

Motorway bridge across the Pelješac Channel

a) Suspension bridge

As early as in 2007, a modern (geo)traffic bridge-linking solution was accepted, along with the numerous public approvals, an amendment as regards the bridge height due to B&H claims (2009), and the Government support (2007-2011). Since the highway connecting Dubrovnik with other parts of the country is an important strategic interest for Croatia, in case there were any questions or problems (and unfortunately there are, or could be expected, writer's remark) in the

³ The idea of connecting the island of Korčula, until recently the most populated Croatian island, with the land across Pelješac is more than 40 years old. From ancient times the traffic was running between Korčula and Pelješac, and the bridges have already been built for the Croatian islands of Murter, Vir, Pag, Krk, between the islands of Cres and Lošinj, Pašman and Ugljan, and smaller ones (Tribunj, Trogir, Nin, Lošinj etc.). The distance between the island of Korčula and Pelješac at Viganj is only 1200 m. In the Regional Spatial Plan South Adriatic (Dubrovnik, 1968), the construction of a bridge that would connect Pelješac and Korčula at that place was planned, but the idea was later forgotten until the Spatial Plan of Dubrovnik-Neretva County has been made in 2002. In the Spatial Plan of the County, a link between the two coasts by a bridge or by an undersea tunnel has been planned. Due to the already advanced economic crisis, as well as diametrically opposing opinions of the Government of the Republic of Croatia since 2011, not only the work on the Pelješac Bridge has been interrupted but the project of the Korčula Bridge has been postponed too.

je važan strateški interes Hrvatske autocestovno povezivanje Dubrovnika s ostalim dijelovima države, ako bi bilo ikakvih pitanja ili problema (nažalost, ima ih ili se mogu očekivati, op. p.) u prostoru kod Neuma, brza cesta i obilaznica preko Pelješca srednjoročno su, ali prema potrebi i dugoročno rješenje. Jadransko-jonski europski pravac sve je izgledniji, iznimno važan i za Hrvatsku i za susjedne zemlje i podudara se s postojećom autocestom sa spojnicom do Zagreba. Budući da će Hrvatska zasigurno znatno prije od Bosne i Hercegovine izgraditi dijelove budućeg pravca JJAC i uklapajući se u međunarodne prometne i gospodarske tokove, svakako je njezin interes podrška Bosne i Hercegovine u brzem uključivanju u međunarodne prometne i gospodarske tokove. To vrijedi i za još bolje i poticajnije korištenje luke Ploče u gospodarstvu Bosne i Hercegovine, uz suradnju i dogovor sa svim poslovnim i gospodarskim subjektima susjedne države, uz poštovanje hrvatske jurisdikcije i suvereniteta na njezinu teritoriju. S tog gledišta neumjereni zahtjevi, vezani za hrvatski suvereni prostor, nisu ostvarivi, primjerice teritorijalno more Bosne i Hercegovine do otvorenog mora (ROGOŠIĆ, 2008.).

Ipak, takvo rješenje naišlo je i na oštre kritike, ponajprije političkih, političko-geografskih, geopolitičkih i geostrateških činitelja nesklonih takvom kopnom rješavanju problema prometne povezanosti Dubrovnika (VLAHUŠIĆ, 2007.), uz snažnu podršku većeg dijela sredstava javnog priopćavanja, pa sve do odbacivanja od vlade na vlasti od kraja 2011. Naime Hrvatska vlada je 17. svibnja 2012. donijela odluku o raskidu ugovora iz 2007. za gradnju mosta "Pelješac" s konzorcijem Konstruktor, Viadukt, Hidroelektra – niskogradnja. Izvođači su se odrekli naknade za izgublenu dobit, ali su im priznati stvarni troškovi (do tada je utrošeno oko 230 milijuna kuna). Tako se poslije ulaska Hrvatske, nakon što je prethodna vlada morala priznati da novca za most nema te je proglasila usporavanje radova (rok izgradnje produljen je do 2017.) ne odustajući od njegove gradnje, nova vlada (tzv. *Kukuriku* koalicija), "jasno je rekla da je taj most ne zanima" (VEČERNJI LIST, 18. svibnja 2012.).

Sljedeće, 2012., Vlada je proklamirala izgradnju trajektnih pristaništa, srednjoročno povezivanje dubrovačkog područja s ostalom Hrvatskom koridorom kroz Neum, nabavu četiriju novih trajekata "Jadrolinije", od kojih bi barem jedan plovio na toj novoj pruzi... (VEČERNJI LIST, 6. lipnja 2012.). Ipak, na pritisak

area around Neum, a fast road and a belt highway over Pelješac may be a medium-term but also, if needed, a long-term solution. The Adriatic-Ionian European direction is more and more likely to be built; it is particularly important not only for Croatia but also for the neighbouring countries, and it corresponds to the existing motorway with its link to Zagreb. Since Croatia will certainly build parts of the future direction of the Adriatic-Ionian Highway (AIH) considerably before B&H, and being integrated in the international traffic and economic flows, its interest is by all means to support B&H in faster becoming part of international traffic and economic flows. This also refers to a better and more stimulating use of the port of Ploče by the B&H economy, along with the cooperation and agreement with all business and economic subjects of the neighbouring country, which would also involve a respect for Croatian jurisdiction and sovereignty on its territory. From that point of view, immoderate claims related to the Croatian sovereign space are not feasible, for example territorial waters of B&H to the high seas (ROGOŠIĆ, 2008).

However, such a solution encountered harsh criticism by primarily political, politically-geographical, geopolitical and geostrategic factors opposed to such mainland solving the problem of the Dubrovnik traffic connection (VLAHUŠIĆ, 2007), with a strong support of the major part of the media, up to the rejection by the Government in power since the end of 2011. In other words, Croatian Government took the decision on 17th of May, 2012 about the breach of contract from 2007 for building The Bridge "Pelješac" with consortium *Konstruktor, Viadukt, Hidroelektra-niskogradnja*. Contractors withdrew their compensations for the lost profit, but costs were recognized (till then about 230 million kunas have been spent). As a result, after the Croatian accession to the EU, and after the previous Government had to confess that there was no enough money for the bridge, so it declared slowing down of works (deadline for building was extended until 2017) but not giving up its construction, the new Government (of the so-called *Kukuriku* coalition), "clearly stated that they were not interested in that bridge" (VEČERNJI LIST, 18th of May, 2012).

The following year, 2012, the Government proclaimed building ferry docks, as a medium-term linkage of Dubrovnik territory with the majority of Croatia, by the corridor through Neum, the purchase of four new "Jadrolinija" ferries, out of which at least one would navigate on that

javnosti, posebice dubrovačke, ali i šire, ponovno je počela razmatrati mogućnosti za most (rujan 2012.), uz usluge francuske konzultantske tvrtke *Safage* na izradi posebne studije (s 200 tisuća eura financirala ju je Europska komisija 2013.). Osnovano je i posebno povjerenstvo u kojem je i član Bosna i Hercegovina, koji brani interese Bosne i Hercegovine. Tako se, zapravo, projekt našao ponovno na početku!?

Posljedica takvog nesklada u odnosu na potrebe autocestovnog povezivanja Dubrovnika je zaustavljanje započete izgradnje jer u okolnostima suprotstavljenih stavova u zemlji nije bilo moguće pronaći zajmodavca za znatna sredstva. Istodobno, u dijelom podijeljenoj javnosti, snažno opredjeljenje za mostovno rješenje rezultiralo je osnivanjem pojedinih udruga, primjerice *Udruga Pelješki most*,⁴ kao i širenjem aktivnosti demokratskim sredstvima na promicanju i poticanju njegove što skorije izgradnje.

Prethodno iznesen prijedlog prolaska autoceste nešto dublje kroz zaobalje Bosne i Hercegovine prema Crnoj Gori i Albaniji proizlazi iz stavova da bi takvo rješenje možda ekološki bilo donekle opravdanije. No prihvatljiva je jedino uz odlične odnose s Bosnom i Hercegovinom. Budući da su stoljetni složeni odnosi posljedica brojnih interesa, od onih obostrano benevolentnih i prihvatljivih do onih najradikalnijih o Bosni i Hercegovini kao islamskoj zemlji s izlazom na more i posebnim pravima na Jadranu, ili o Republici Srpskoj kao entitetu geostrateških velikosrpskih promišljanja, eventualno takvo rješenje u budućnosti još više iziskuje što raniju izgradnju brze (ponajbolje četvorotračne) ili autocestovne poveznice od Ploča do dubrovačke zračne luke u Čilipima preko Pelješca kroz Hrvatsku, te dalje do granice s Crnom Gorom.

Bez obzira kakvo rješenje će se postići u budućnosti, problem kopnenog povezivanja Dubrovnika, Pelješca i Korčule, kao ponajprije geostrateški i geoprometni problem, Hrvatska nije riješila samostalno pa je taj problem ostao

new line... (VEČERNJI LIST, 6th of June, 2012). However, thanks to the public pressure, especially from Dubrovnik and beyond, the Government again started to consider the option for a bridge (September, 2012), having accepted the services of the French consulting company *Safage* on a special study research (European Commission financed it in 2013 with 200 thousand euros). A special commission was formed, in which there was also a member from B&H, who is defending the interests of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this way, in fact, the project was again at the beginning!?

Such discrepancy with regard to the need for a highway connection with Dubrovnik, resulted in interruption of the started construction because in the circumstances of opposing attitudes in the country, it was impossible to find a creditor for respectable resources. At the same time, in a partly divided public, a strong commitment to the bridge solution resulted in foundation of different associations, for example, *Pelješac Bridge association*,⁴ as well as in spreading the activities through democratic means in order to promote and encourage the bridge construction as soon as possible.

Previously mentioned solution of the highway passing somewhat deeper through the B&H hinterland towards Montenegro and Albania, follows from the attitudes that such a solution would probably be ecologically more justifiable. However, it is acceptable only along with excellent relationships with B&H and its fast accession to the European Union. Since centuries-old complex relationships are the result of numerous interests, from those mutually benevolent and acceptable, to the ones most radical about B&H as an Islamic country with access to the sea and the special rights in the Adriatic Sea; or the Serbian Republic (*Republika Srpska*) in B&H as an entity of geostrategic Greater Serbian considerations, the possibility of such a solution in the future may require an earlier construction of fast (the very best four-lane), or highway link from Ploče to the Dubrovnik Airport in Čilipi, across Pelješac through Croatia, and further to the Montenegro border.

⁴ Nefitna "Udruga Pelješki most" osnovana je 2012. zbog zajedničkog interesa članova i mnogih drugih da se Pelješki most izgradi uz pomoć prikupljenih novčanih sredstava koja će omogućiti Republici Hrvatskoj završetak mosta kao izvanredno važnog strateškog projekta. Obratila se javnosti 5. rujna 2012. s napisom "Napravljen je veliki propust!" (<http://www.dubrovniknet.hr/novost.php?id=20075#.UEheLFTBVv4.facebook>).

⁴ Non-profit "Association Pelješac Bridge" was founded in 2012, due to the joint interests of members and many others to build the Pelješac Bridge by means of collected financial resources which will enable the Republic of Croatia to complete the bridge as an exceptionally important strategic project. It made an appeal to the public on the 5th of September, 2012 with the statement "Great negligence has been made" (<http://www.dubrovniknet.hr/novost.php?id=20075#.UEheLFTBVv4.facebook>).

otvoren i tek je poslije ulaska Republike Hrvatske u Europsku uniju jače potaknut na razini države odnosno Vlade RH. S obzirom na postavljanje dijela politike Bosne i Hercegovine kao i javnog mnijenja prema toj autocesti, zahtjeve u odnosu na luku Ploče i prava na moru, Hrvatska očito, u idućih 10 do 20 godina ne bi riješila problem povezivanja Dubrovnika (ili bi se našla u okolnostima političkog i strateškog cjenkanja), što u smislu razvoja i napretka svjetske turističke metropole i nacionalnih interesa nije dopustivo.⁵ Stoga rješenje izgradnjom brze ceste (ponajbolje s četiri traka) preko vlastitog teritorija, mostom kopno – Pelješac, čime se ujedno rješava i problem kvalitetnog povezivanja Pelješca i Korčule, ostaje optimalno, brzo i učinkovito, njime se ne anuliraju druge mogućnosti niti trase preko teritorija susjednih država, a stvara se solidna, dužobalna poveznica, koja na dulje vrijeme može nadomjestiti potrebnu autocestu. Ona nije samo alternativa za mogući zastoj izgradnje jadransko-jonske ceste prema JI, nego u potpunosti rješava problem prekida odnosno zaustavljanja prometa na dvije granice Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine, te znatno kvalitetnije rješava povezivanje Pelješca, Korčule i Mljeta na prometni sustav zemlje. To ujedno znači protočno funkcioniranje svih djelatnosti na cijelom teritoriju Hrvatske s Dubrovnikom i njegovim prostorom.

U vezi s tim Hrvatska je nastojala ubrzati izgradnju dionice autoceste Ravča – Vrgorac – Ploče i radove na definiranju i početku izgradnje mosta u razdoblju 2008. – 2011. Ujedno, izgradnja mosta kopno – Pelješac započeta je 2007. godine⁶ između Kleka (rt Međed kod naselja Duboka između Komarne i Kleka u općini Slivno) i Brijeste na poluotoku Pelješcu (zona rta Blace, općina Ston). Njime se trebala uspostaviti čvrsta veza između dijelova hrvatskog prostora (RADIĆ I DR., 2009.). To je bio najveći most trenutačno u gradnji u Europi. Zbog ulaska u opću gospodarsku recesiju te kasnijeg usporavanja i zaustavljanja u razdoblju 2011.

⁵ Magistralom kraj Slanoga u prosjeku na dan prolazi oko 5,8 tisuća vozila (2010.), a procjenjuje se da će do 2028. istom trasom prolaziti 14,0 tisuća vozila, a dubrovačkom zaobilaznicom čak 19,0 tisuća vozila (najprije u gradnju može dionica Osojnik – Doli; Dubrovnikteam, Vijesti, 14. ožujka 2010.).

⁶ Za izgradnju mosta kopno – Pelješac pristigle su još 2007. godine tri ponude. Na javni natječaj raspisan u lipnju prispjele su tri ponude – domaća *Konstruktor inženjeringa*, *Viadukta i Hidroelektrne*, te inozemne, prva građevinskih tvrtki *Dywidag* iz Njemačke, *Strabag* iz Austrije, *Cimola* iz Italije i *Eiffel* iz Francuske, i druga austrijske tvrtke

Regardless of what kind of solution is achieved in the future, unfortunately, the question of the Dubrovnik, Pelješac and Korčula linkage with the mainland, as a prime geo-strategic and geo-traffic problem, was not resolved by Croatia autonomously, so the question remained open, and only after the accession of the Republic of Croatia to the European Union on 1st of July, 2013, that question has been more intensified at the state level, namely by the Government of the RC. Considering the attitudes of the part of B&H politics, as well as the public opinion about the highway, the claims in relation to the port of Ploče and the rights at sea, it seems obvious that Croatia would not solve the problem of Dubrovnik linkage in the next 10-20 years (or it would find itself under circumstances of political and strategic haggling), which is impermissible in terms of the development and progress of the world tourist metropolis and national interests.⁵ Therefore, a solution by fast road construction (the very best four-lane) across own territory using the bridge mainland – Pelješac, by which the question of high-quality connection between Pelješac and Korčula is solved too, remains optimal, fast and efficient. By doing so, neither the other options, nor the routes across the territories of the neighbouring countries are annulled, and a solid link along the coast is formed, which for a longer period can meet the needs of the traffic. It is not only an alternative for a possible halt of the Adriatic-Ionian highway toward SE, but it completely solves the problem of interruption, that is, the stoppage of traffic at the two borders of Croatia and B&H. Moreover, it solves the linkage of Pelješac, Korčula and Mljet with the country traffic system in a considerably better way. It may also bring the flow of all activities on the entire Croatian territory including Dubrovnik and its area.

In this relation, Croatia has made efforts to speed up the construction of the highway section Ravča – Vrgorac – Ploče, and the works on defining and beginning the construction of the bridge in the period 2008-2011. At the same time, the building of the bridge mainland – Pelješac started in 2007⁶

⁵ About 5,8 thousand vehicles (2010) on average pass daily on the main road by Slano, and it is estimated that by 2028 about 14,0 thousand vehicles will have passed by the same route, and by the Dubrovnik belt motorway even 19,0 thousand vehicles (the construction can start with the section Osojnik – Doli; Dubrovnik team, Vijesti, 14th of March, 2010).

⁶ For construction of the bridge mainland – Pelješac 3 tenders arrived back in 2007. As a response to the invited public tenders in June three tenders arrived – a domestic by *Konstruktor inženjering*, *Viadukt* and *Hidroelektra*, and two foreign, the first one by construction companies

– 2013., dionica autoceste do Ploča dovršena je tek potkraj 2013. (umjesto sredinom 2012.), a izgradnja mosta je zaustavljena.

Već do 2008. bili su određeni osnovni prostorno-tehnički parametri mosta u području izgradnje (Sl. 5.).

Predviđena ukupna dužina tada započetog mosta bila je 2440 m, a slobodni profil za plovidbu ispod mosta širok 400 m i visok 55 m. Radilo se o ovješnom mostu s dva pilona i glavnim rasponom od 568 m (drugi po veličini u Europi, iza mosta *Normandija* u Francuskoj, bio bi u skupini deset najvećih takvih mostova u svijetu) s elementima trase brze ceste s četiri vozna traka i razdjelnim pojasom na gornjoj površini mosta širine 23 m (od toga dva kolnika s po 8 m širine). Most bi imao tri osnovna dijela, središnji između glavnih stupova (pilona), glavnog raspona 568 m, i dva bočna. Najveća širina plovidbenog dijela podno mosta bila bi širine 440 m, a podno njega bi mogla prolaziti plovila visine nad morem do 55 m, odnosno gaza i više od 25 m (Sl. 6.). Ovi parametri su bili dogovoreni i između stručnih radnih skupina Republike Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine u prosincu 2006. godine u Sarajevu te potpisani u usklađenoj bilješci (priopćenje Ministarstva).

Alpina Bau iz Salzburga. Odabran je domaći konzorcij. Rok završetka radova bio je 48 mjeseci (četiri godine, dakle 2011. godina, op. p.), a projektantska cijena radova iznosila je 1,9 milijarde kuna (kasnije se javljao i iznos od 320 milijuna eura). Projekt je izradio Zavod za konstrukcije Građevinskog fakulteta u Zagrebu. Financiranje gradnje bilo je predviđeno iz cijene goriva, odnosno od 60 lipa po litri koje vozači već plaćaju za gradnju i održavanje cesta (Hina, 29. kolovoza 2007.).

Hrvatske ceste (HC) su 2010. – 2011. kao investitor, kalkulirale i s raskidanjem ugovora o gradnji mosta s konzorcijem *Konstruktor – Hidroelektra – Viadukt* te provedbi novog natječaja i odabiru izvođača nakon što osigura financiranje pelješkog mosta, unatoč činjenici da je tadašnja Vlada uvrstila Most "Pelješac" među 30 prvorazrednih ulaganja u zemlji, jer su u četverogodišnjem planu imale osigurano tek 433 milijuna kuna (oko 59 milijuna eura), što je bilo nedostavno za zamah radova. Razmišljalo se da se zbog ušteda cesta koja vodi do Pelješkog mosta gradi s dvije umjesto četiri trake. Do sredstava se pokušavalo doći i uz pomoć fondova EU-a što je bilo neuspješno zbog upitne stvarne cijene njegove izgradnje, ali i zbog jakog političkog i medijskog pritiska protivnika i u zemlji i pred pojedinim tijelima EU-a. www.croportal.net/tag/viadukt?page=9Vecernji.hr, 20. listopada 2010.

between Klek (Cape Međed near the settlement Duboka between Komarna and Klek in the municipality of Slivno) and Brijesta on the Pelješac peninsula (the zone of the Cape Blace, municipality of Ston). By this bridge a solid connection should have been set up between the parts of the Croatian area (RADIĆ ET AL., 2009). For a moment that was the largest bridge in construction in Europe. However, due to the start of general economic recession, and a later slow down and stoppage in the period from 2011-2013, the highway section to Ploče was completed by the end of 2013 (instead by mid-2012), and the bridge constructing was stopped.

Already by 2008 the basic spatial-technical parameters of the bridge in the construction zone, had been defined (Fig. 5).

The total planned length of the just started bridge was 2,440 m, and the free profile for navigation below bridge was 400 m in width and 55 m in height. It was meant to be a cable-stayed bridge with two pylons and the main span of 568 m (the second in size in Europe, after the bridge *Normandia* in France, it would be in the group of ten such biggest bridges in the world) with elements of fast road tracks with four lanes and a distribution strip on the upper surface of the bridge 23 m in width (out

Dywidag from Germany, *Strabag* from Austria, *Cimola* from Italy and *Eiffel* from France, and the second one by the Austrian company *Alpina Bau* from Salzburg. The domestic consortium was chosen. The Completion date was set to 48 months (four years, consequently, 2011, writer's remark), and the project engineers' labour costs were 1.9 billion kunas (later the amount of 320 million euros appeared as well). The project was made by the Construction Department at the Faculty of Civil Engineering in Zagreb. The financing of construction was planned to be obtained from fuel prices, namely, 60 lipas per litre which the drivers already pay for building and road maintenance (Hina, 29th of August, 2007). In the period from 2010 to 2011, *Croatian roads* (HC) as investor also calculated breaching the contract on bridge construction with the consortium *Konstruktor – Hidroelektra – Viadukt*, and implementing a new tender and choice of contractor, after having secured the financing for the Pelješac Bridge, in spite of the fact that the Government at that time listed the bridge "Pelješac" among 30 prime investments in the country, since only 433 million kunas (about 59 million euros) were provided in the four-year plan, which was not enough for the volume of work. In order to save, there were ideas for the road leading to the Pelješac Bridge to be built with two instead of four-lanes. There were also attempts to obtain the means through the EU funds, but these were unsuccessful due to the disputable real price of its construction, and because of the media pressure influenced by the powerful political opponents, both in the country and among particular EU bodies. www.croportal.net/tag/viadukt?page=9Vecernji.hr, 20th of October, 2010.



Slika 5. Geografski položaj Pelješčkog mosta

Izvor: MAGAŠ, 2013., 387

Figure 5 Geographical position of the Pelješac Bridge

Source: MAGAŠ, 2013, 387

Gradilište mosta, kao i većinu gradilišta u Dinaridima obilježavaju složene geološke i geotektonske okolnosti. Najveća dubina mora na cijeloj predviđenoj duljini mosta je 27 – 28 m. Debljina naslaga tla iznad vapnenačke stijene u podlozi varira duž trase u rasponu 40 – 100 m, a riječ je o pretežno prašinstim glinama s mjestimično većim udjelom pjeskovitih ili šljunčanih frakcija. Do dubina oko 58 do 60 m od morskog dna slojeve čine tzv. "meke gline", lakognječive do teškognječive konzistencije, sive do sivomaslinaste boje. Obilježavaju ih uglavnom mali indeks konzistencije, velika poroznost (pretežno veća od 50%) i razmjerno male vrijednosti otpora prodiranju šiljka CPT-a, blago rastuće s dubinom. Te su gline nastale zasigurno u posljednjih 18 000 – 20 000 godina za transgresije Jadranskog mora, a podrijetlo im je pretežno iz naplavina rijeke Neretve i povoljnih biogenih uvjeta u regiji (v. RADIĆ I DR., 2009., 803). Seizmicitet u zoni je proračunat na $M_{max} = 6,5$, i $I_{max} = 9,2$ MCS, što je zahtjevno što se tiče izgradnje, gabarita, materijala, izvedbe i sl. Ujedno i referentne maksimalne brzine vjetrova mogu se očekivati više od 30 m/s, što također nije povoljno.

of which two road-surfaces 8 m in width on either side). The bridge would have had three basic parts, the central between the main pillars (pylons), main span 568 m, and two sidewise. The largest width of the navigational part below the bridge would have been 440 m in width, and below the bridge the boats of 55 m in height above the sea could be passing, namely, having draught of even more than 25 m (Fig. 6). These parameters were also agreed between the professional working groups of the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, in December, 2006, and signed in the coordinated note (from the Ministry communication).

The bridge construction-site, as many construction-sites in Dinaric Alps are marked with complex geological and geotectonical features. The maximum sea depth on the entire planned bridge length is 27-28 m. The thickness of soil deposits above the limestone rocks in the base varies along the route in a range of 40-100 m, and it is mainly the dusty clay with larger part of sandy or pebbly fractions in some places. To the depth of approximately 58-60 m from the sea bottom, the layers are made of so-called "soft clay", from easily kneading to heavily kneading clay consistency, from grey to olive-drab colour. They



Slika 6. Računalna predodžba mosta "Pelješac"

Izvor: RADIĆ I DR., 2009: 813

Figure 6 Computer image of the bridge "Pelješac"

Source: RADIĆ ET AL., 2009: 813

Unatoč političkim protivljenjima iz Bosne i Hercegovine, ali iz Hrvatske, Hrvatska je bila započela gradnju Pelješčkog mosta, te bi on, da su političke i financijske okolnosti bile povoljne, zacijelo 2014. godine bio pri kraju izgradnje. No gospodarska recesija i politička kampanja protivnika više nego tehnički zahtjevi izgradnje, pripremne radnje i sl., uvjetovali su usporenu dinamiku izgradnje, kašnjenje i prekid, premda je hrvatski konzorcij, (Konstruktor, Vijadukt, Hidroelektra) obavio znatne pripreme za početak izgradnje. Nabavljena je posebna oprema za izgradnju podvodnog dijela mosta i rezervirane su određene količine čelika za konstrukciju. Pripremni radovi u projektnim uredima bili su zgotovljeni pa je slijedila izrada pojedinih elemenata u radionicama, primjerice čeličnih stupova, promjera 3 m, dužine veće od 70 m, koji bi se zabijali u morsko dno. Pripremalo se zabijanje u dno sedam takvih stupova, koji bi se ispunili betonom i na koje bi se naslonio kapitel, na koji dolazi početni dio konstrukcije. Predviđen je najam jedne, od tek nekoliko platformi u svijetu koje služe za zabijanje stupova u morsko dno.

S obzirom na složenost geoloških, geografskih, strateških i geopolitičkih okolnosti potrebno je pomno, na znanstvenim osnovama razmotriti argumente za i protiv ostvarenja veze kopno – Pelješac:

Argumenti "za":

- uštede u vremenu povezivanja Dubrovnika, Pelješca, Korčule i dr.,
- uštede u novcu povezivanja Dubrovnika, Pelješca, Korčule i dr.,

are marked mainly by a small index of consistency, by high porosity (chiefly higher than 50%), and of relatively low resistance value of CPT pointed part penetration, and mildly increasing with depth. Those clays probably developed in the last 18000–20000 years during transgression of the Adriatic Sea, and predominantly derive from alluvia of the Neretva River and favourable biogenic regional conditions (see RADIĆ ET AL., 2009, 803). Seismicity in the zone has been calculated on $M_{\max} = 6.5$, and $I_{\max} = 9.2$ MCS, which is demanding as regards construction, dimensions, materials, execution etc. At the same time the referential maximum of wind speed can be expected to be more than 30 m/s, which is also not convenient.

In spite of political opposition coming from B&H, and from Croatia as well, Croatia started building the Pelješac Bridge, and it would have been almost finished in 2014, if political and financial circumstances had been favourable. However, the economic recession and the political campaign of the opponents, more than the technical construction requirements, preparatory works etc., caused the building dynamics to slow down, being delayed, and terminated, although the Croatian consortium (*Konstruktor, Viadukt, Hidroelektra*) carried out considerable preparatory work to start the construction. Special equipment was purchased for building the underwater part of the bridge, and specific quantities of steel for construction were already reserved. Preparatory works in project offices were completed, so the production of particular elements in workshops followed; for example the steel columns of 3 m in diameter and more than 70 m in length, which would be clenched to the sea bottom, were produced. The preparatory work involved clenching to the bottom of seven columns which would be filled with concrete and the capital would lean on them, while the first part of construction would stand on the capital. One of only several platforms in the world which serve for clenching columns to the sea bottom was planned to be hired.

Regarding the complexity of geological, geographical, strategic and geopolitical circumstances, it is necessary to carefully, and scientifically, reconsider the arguments *for* and *against* the construction of the mainland – Pelješac connection:

The arguments "for":

- savings in connecting time between Dubrovnik, Pelješac, Korčula etc.,
- savings in money in connecting Dubrovnik, Pelješac, Korčula etc.,

- slobodno kretanje ljudi, roba i stalna protočnost prometa prema Dubrovniku, Pelješcu, Korčuli i dr,
- očekivano povećanje prometa,
- očekivani razvoj turizma,
- izbjegavanje prijeko potrebnog prelaska dviju državnih granica u kopnenom prometu dubrovačkog prostora s ostalim dijelovima zemlje i obrnuto,
- izbjegavanje bitnog usporavanja u kretanju osoba i roba odnosno odvijanju prometa,
- izbjegavanje nužnog i obvezatnog nošenja i pokazivanja isprava za osobe i teret,
- izbjegavanje nužnog ulaska na prostor druge države, što se na putu za uži prostor Dubrovnika i obrnuto, unatoč drukčijoj volji ne može izbjeći,
- izbjegavanje podlijeganju zakonima, obvezama i običajima druge države pri prolasku kroz njezin teritorij,
- omogućen slobodniji i brži tranzit prema Crnoj Gori, Albaniji, Grčkoj i dr,
- Neum kao grad vezuje se cestama na obje granice na četvorotračnu brzu cestu, odnosno na autocestu kroz koridor (8 km),
- Neum se neće podijeliti na dva dijela, protiv čega se digla javnost Neuma (Večernji list, 12. svibnja 2012.),
- eventualno trajektno rješenje moralo bi biti besplatno, odnosno uključeno u cijenu ceste (ako je režim autocestovni), a učestalost trajekta takva da ne dolazi do zaustavljanja prometa,
- porast cijena zemljišta uz most i novu cestu pozitivno će djelovati na razvoj Pelješca, Korčule i dubrovačkog priobalja u cijelosti,
- izgradnjom ceste na hrvatskom teritoriju RH ne riskira povezivanje krajnjeg juga Hrvatske preko nestabilnog prostora u kojem se prožimaju razni, pa i protuhrvatski geostrateški interesi⁷,
- primjena *schengenskih* kriterija čuvanja granica Europske unije.

⁷ U vrijeme srpske agresije s jednim od ciljeva, izolacijom i zauzimanjem juga Hrvatske, Bosna i Hercegovina je tražila izuzetna komercijalna prava u luci Ploče. Ostavljanjem dubrovačkog prostora bez odgovarajuće kvalitetne povezanosti omogućilo bi se ostvarenje tog cilja koji nije postignut agresijom, u okolnostima mira na prikriveni način.

- free mobility of people, goods and permanent easy flowing traffic towards Dubrovnik, Pelješac, Korčula etc.,
- expected traffic expansion,
- expected development of tourism,
- avoiding the necessary crossing of the two state borders in mainland traffic between the Dubrovnik area and the other parts of the country,
- avoiding the substantial slowing down of the people and goods mobility, that is, of the traffic flow,
- avoiding the necessary and compulsory carrying and showing personal and cargo documents,
- avoiding the presently unavoidable entrance into the area of another state on the way to the narrower area of Dubrovnik and vice versa, in spite of the willingness to do so,
- avoiding the liability to the laws, duties and customs of another country, when passing through its territory,
- enabling a freer and faster transit towards Montenegro, Albania, Greece, etc.,
- Neum as a town is connected by roads at both borders to the four-lane fast road, i.e. to the highway,
- Neum will not be divided in two parts, which was the reason for the public protests in Neum (VEČERNJI LIST, 12th May, 2012),
- a possible ferry solution should be free, i.e. included in the road price (highway regime), and the ferry frequency should be of such a scope that traffic interruptions never happen,
- increase in land price around the bridge, and the new road would have a positive impact on the development of Pelješac, Korčula and Dubrovnik littoral in its entirety,
- by road construction on the Croatian territory, the RC does not risk connecting its extreme southern parts across an unstable area, in which different geostrategic interests, even the anti-Croatian ones, may be permeated⁷,
- the implementation of the *Schengen criteria* to the watching of EU borders.

⁷ During the Serbian aggression, with the aim, among others, to isolate and occupy the south of Croatia, B&H asked for exceptional commercial rights in the port of Ploče. Leaving the Dubrovnik area without an adequate connection of high quality, the realization of the aim, which was not achieved by Serbian aggression, would be possible in peacetime in a veiled manner.

U brojnim pamfletima, posebice u dnevnom tisku i računalnim medijima prevladavali su 2007. – 2012. sljedeći "argumenti" protiv:

- "netransparentni ili nepostojeći natječaji", "sumnjiva stručnost konstruktora mosta", "širina mosta kao sredstvo za umjetno povećanje dobiti izvođača", "mutni poslovi oko prodaje zemljišta", "most je velika praonica novca",
- blizina moru ekološki neopravdana, naselja u zaobalju bit će odsječena od obale,
- opravdanost mosta upitna,
- procesi (nepravilnosti i moguća korupcija) oko njegove realizacije,
- vezuje prostor od jedva 1,000 km² s ukupno manje od 100 000 stanovnika, uglavnom usmjeren na uslužne djelatnosti (turizam) i bez značajnije robne proizvodnje,
- područje je već dostupno kopnenom cestovnom vezom koja dijelom prolazi teritorijem susjedne Bosne i Hercegovine, kroz Neum, a postoji i trajektna veza iz luke Ploče,
- most će biti nerentabilan, tj. ako cijena prelaska bude stvarna, neće se moći zaustaviti pojava privatnih prijevoznika koji će ploviti i trajektima pod mostom i prevoziti vozila jeftinije,
- u prvi plan se ističe, dugoročno gledano, iracionalan, politički štetan i kontradiktoran politički motiv povezivanja kopnenom vezom preko vlastitog državnog teritorija,
- relativna nedostupnost regije "najezi" motoriziranih turista u uvjetima suvremenog turizma kojim prevladava zračni promet, zapravo bi trebala biti komparativna prednost,
- upravo "forsiranje" neumskog koridora u svim varijantama povezivanja prema Dubrovniku pridonijelo bi jačanju značenja Neuma za Hrvatsku, pa i osiguranju njegove trajne hrvatske samobitnosti,
- strateški značaj br. 1 za razvoj Bosne i Hercegovine je izgradnja luke Neum (AJANOVIĆ I DR., 2007.),
- izgradnjom mosta, kopno – Pelješac, Hrvatska bi onemogućila normalan razvoj pomorstva Bosne i Hercegovine (ALIKADIĆ I DR., 2006.; NOVALIĆ, 2013.).

In numerous pamphlets, especially in daily press and electronic media in the period from 2007 to 2012 the following "argument" *against* dominated:

- "non transparent or nonexistent tenders", "doubtful competence of the bridge constructor", "bridge width as a means to artificially increase the contractor's profit", "shady deals about the land sale", "bridge as a big money laundry",
- the sea vicinity is ecologically unjustified, the settlements in the hinterland will be cut off from the coast,
- the justifiability of the bridge is disputable,
- the processes (irregularities and possible corruption) around its realisation,
- the connects the area would be reach hardly 1,000 km² with altogether less than 100,000 of population, mainly oriented to service activities (tourism) and without a significant commodity production,
- the area is already accessible by the mainland road link which runs along the territory of the neighbouring B&H, through Neum, and there is also a ferry link from the port of Ploče,
- the bridge will be unprofitable, i.e. if the price of crossing is real, it will be impossible to stop private carriers from sailing by ferries below the bridge and transporting vehicles for a cheaper price,
- in a long-run, an irrational, politically harmful and contradictory political motive of connection by mainland across the own state territory, comes to the foreground,
- relative inaccessibility of the region for the "invasion" of motorised tourists under the modern tourism conditions where the air traffic prevails should be, in fact, a comparative advantage,
- actually, "forcing" the Neum corridor in all variants of linkage in the direction of Dubrovnik would contribute to strengthening the importance of Neum for Croatia, and ensuring its permanent Croatian identity,
- the strategic significance no.1 for development of B&H is the construction of the port of Neum (AJANOVIĆ ET AL., 2007),
- by the construction of a bridge mainland – Pelješac, Croatia would render impossible a normal development of the Bosnia and Herzegovina maritime industry (ALIKADIĆ ET AL., 2006; NOVALIĆ, 2013).

Na izgradnju mosta, dakle, utjecala je, premda u javnosti neodređenoj mjeri, i nemogućnosti dosadašnje suradnje i ostvarenja uređenih komplementarnih gospodarskih i prometnih interesa Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine. Luka Ploče je očito najveći razlog oklijevanju i opiranju Bosne i Hercegovine, uz recesiju i istaknutu nemogućnost Bosne i Hercegovine da, zbog unutarnjih problema, funkcionira kao cjelovita država na svim razinama. Koliko se god argumentira o Neumu⁸, nedvojbeno je da su Ploče geostrateški jedini učinkovit i najprirodniji pristup Bosne i Hercegovine moru. Nadzor u upravljanju Lukom Ploče na osnovama Washingtonskog sporazuma, i poslije niza godina od odustajanja od njegovih odrednica, pojedini u BiH smatraju mogućim bez obzira na nesporazume među entitetima i kantonima (ROGOŠIĆ, 2008.).

Stoga se Hrvatska preliminarno opredijelila, a to prate i prostorno-planska dokumentacija RH i Prostorni plan Dubrovačko-neretvanske županije, da poslije povezivanja Ploča, trasa autoceste u blizini Opuzena dolazi do granice Bosne i Hercegovine te u dužini od 8 km prolazi kroz Neumski koridor. Nastavlja dalje hrvatskim teritorijem do čvora Doli i zatim čvora Osojnik, od kojeg je predviđena pristupna četvertračna cesta do Dubrovnika i dalje do njegove zračne luke s odgovarajućim nastavkom prema granici Crne Gore (Boka kotorska).⁹ Od Osojnika autocesta bi prošla do granice s Bosnom i Hercegovinom, i čvorišta Hum, blizu Trebinja, ili kao dio buduće trase Jadransko-jonske autoceste, ili bi se na nju spojila (ako bi Bosna i Hercegovina s autoceste Vc izgradila autocestu do Huma) u smjeru Crne Gore, Albanije i Grčke.

⁸ Geografska, ponajprije prirodno-geografska i ekogeografska obilježja prostora (veličina prostora, odnosno površina, posebice slobodnih, reljef, ekološka osjetljivost i sl.), odnosno općenito prostorni potencijali Neuma nisu takvi da bi omogućavali izgradnju velike međunarodne trgovačke luke, niti konkurentne i jednostavne željezničke veze i sl. Riječ je o utopističkim tezama očito u sklopu političkog pritiska na Hrvatsku. Dosadašnja izgrađenost, usmjerenost na turizam, pa i sociogeografski i strateški interesi Neuma i njegova prostora, upućuju na ostvarivanje prostoru prilagođenih i prihvatljivih gospodarskih djelatnosti, posebice u prekograničnoj suradnji s okolnim hrvatskim priobaljem.

⁹ Prije je spomenuta mogućnost da autocesta od Osojnika nastavi teritorijem Hrvatske kroz Konavle sve do granice s Crnom Gorom ili do tromeđe Republika Hrvatska, Bosna i Hercegovina, Crna Gora.

The impossibility of cooperation and the implementation of settled complementary economic and traffic interests between Croatia and B&H, therefore, also had an impact on the bridge construction, although to an unspecified extent. The port of Ploče has obviously been the strongest reason for hesitation and resistance of B&H, because of the internal issues, along with the recession and the evident impossibility of B&H to function as a complete state at all levels. No matter how many arguments about Neum⁸ have been put forward, it is beyond dispute that Ploče is geostrategically the only efficient and most natural access of B&H to the sea. The surveillance over the administration of the port of Ploče based on the Washington Agreement (1994), even many years after the withdrawal from its guidelines, some individuals in B&H consider possible, regardless of the misunderstandings among entities and cantons (ROGOŠIĆ, 2008).

Therefore, Croatia has preliminarily decided to connect Ploče to the highway route near Opuzen to the B&H border, and 8 km in length along the Neum corridor. This has been followed by the spatial-planning documentation of RC and Physical plan of the Dubrovnik-Neretva County. The highway would run further on, along the Croatian territory to the Doli junction, and then to the junction Osojnik, from which an accessible four-lane road to Dubrovnik is planned, and further to its airport with appropriate continuation toward the Montenegro border (Boka Kotorska).⁹ From Osojnik, the highway would run to the B&H border, and to the junction Hum, near Trebinje, either as a future route of the Adriatic-Ionian highway, or it would connect with it (in case B&H built the highway to Hum from the highway Vc) in the direction of Montenegro, Albania and Greece.

⁸ The geographical, primarily natural-geographical and ecogeographical spatial features (size of the area, i.e. surfaces, especially free ones, relief, ecological sensitivity etc.), that is, in general, spatial potentials of Neum are not such to provide for the building of a large international trading port, or a competitive and simple railway link etc. These are the utopian theses, obviously within the framework of political pressures on Croatia. The construction so far, the orientation to tourism, socio-geographical and strategic interests of Neum and its area, refer to the realisation of the area-friendly and acceptable economic activities, especially in the cooperation across the border with the surrounding Croatian coastal zones.

⁹ Earlier, a possibility was mentioned of building the highway from Osojnik, continuing across the territory of Croatia through Konavle up to the border with Montenegro or the three-border-point RC, B&H, Montenegro.

Hrvatske autoceste predviđele bile su i skori početak izgradnje dionice od Osojnika prema Dolima, što je jasna poruka da Hrvatska tom trasom uistinu gradi autocestu. Ujedno bi se izgradila i dionica autoceste od Ploča 2 do Opuzena, te dionica do Dola za što je potrebna suglasnost Bosne i Hercegovine za prolaz preko njezina teritorija. Dosadašnje reakcije pokazuju da ne postoji slaganje kao ni konsenzus bosansko-hercegovačkih državnih ustanova da se takav koncept prihvati, što vrijedi i za Pelješki most. Međutim, potkraj 2013. Vlada RH objavila je stav o prekidu izgradnje autocesta vlastitim sredstvima, pa je ostvarenje tih programa do daljnega, odnosno osiguranja drugih izvora sredstava na temelju projektnih rješenja, neizvjesno.

U slučaju da u razmjerno kratkom razdoblju Bosna i Hercegovina ne da suglasnost, ili da zbog *schengenskog* režima granice, autocesta ne bude smjela prolaziti preko države koja nije članica Europske unije, Hrvatska će rješenjem povezivanja preko Pelješca imati odgovarajuće prometno rješenje. Predviđena izgradnja brze (auto)ceste od čvora Opuzen, pelješkim mostom, preko Malostonskog kanala i dijelom Pelješca do čvora Doli rješava, bilo kratkoročno, bilo dugoročno problem današnjega neodgovarajućeg povezivanja Dubrovnika. Ta četverotračna brza cesta bez zaustavnog pojasa, s razdjelnim pojansom, ne samo da je hrvatska pričuvena varijanta, ako Bosna i Hercegovina doista uskrati suglasnost prolaza svojim teritorijem oko (ili pak južno od) Neuma, nego dugoročno rješava problem povezivanja užega cjelokupnog hrvatskog prostora, ali i dubrovačkog kraja s Pelješcem, Korčulom i Poneretavljem.

Bosna i Hercegovina u svojim prostornim planovima do sada nije predviđjela mogućnost prolaska autoceste pokraj Neuma. Naime od graničnog čvorišta koridora Vc transeuropske autoceste predviđena je izgradnja autoceste uz južni kraj zaštićenoga močvarnog terena Hutova blata, do čvorišta Neuma kao i nove dionice, od Čapljine i Počitelja, sjevernim obilaskom Hutova blata, preko Stolca i Neuma do Turkovića, te Popovim poljem do čvorišta Hum. Prema tim planovima, izgradnja autoceste u Hrvatskoj bi prestala na čvoru "Ploče 1", tj. na graničnom odvojkju koridora Vc. Hrvatska prema tom konceptu ne bi trebala graditi autocestu do Dubrovnika, baš kao što ne bi trebala graditi Pelješki most!?

Croatian Highways planned the forthcoming beginning of a section construction from Osojnik to Doli, which is an indication that Croatia is really building the highway on that route. At the same time, a section of the highway from Ploče 2 to Opuzen would be built, and a section to Doli – for which a consent from Bosnia and Herzegovina is needed to cross over its territory. Last reactions indicate that there is neither an agreement nor a consensus on the part of Bosnia-Herzegovinian state institutions in relation to the acceptance of such a concept, and the same refers to Pelješac bridge. However, by the end of 2013, the Government of the Republic of Croatia announced its standpoint on the termination of building the highways using its own means, so for the time being the realisation of the programmes, or providing the funds from other sources based on project solution, is uncertain.

In case that in a relatively short period B&H did not give the consent, or due to the *Schengen border regime* the highway were not permitted to run along the state that is not the member of the EU, Croatia would have an adequate traffic solution by resolving the connection via Pelješac. The planned construction of a fast highway from the Opuzen junction, over the Pelješac Bridge, Small Ston Channel and a part of Pelješac, to the Doli junction, may solve the problem of today's inadequate linkage of Dubrovnik either in the short term or in a long term. This four-lane fast road without a hard shoulder, is not only Croatia's reserve variant, in case B&H really refuses to give the consent of passing across its territory around (or south of) Neum, but in the long term it solves the problem of connecting the entire considered Croatian area, and also the narrower Dubrovnik area with Pelješac, Korčula and the Lower Neretva basin.

So far, B&H has not included the possibility of a highway crossing near Neum in its physical plans. In other words, from the border junction of the corridor Vc trans European highway, the highway construction is planned along the southern part of the protected swampy ground of the Hutovo Blato (Hutovo Mud) to the Neum junction, as well as to the new section, from Čapljina and Počitelj, by northern beltway of the Hutovo blato, via Stolac and Neum to Turković, and then through Popovo Polje (Popovo Field) to the Hum junction. According to these plans, the highway construction in Croatia would stop at the junction "Ploče 1", i.e. on the border of the diverging road of the corridor Vc. That is, according to this concept Croatia should not build the highway to Dubrovnik, just as it should not build the Pelješac bridge!?

Budući da Bosna i Hercegovina autocestu Čapljina – Stolac – Hum nije odredila kao prioritet (prioriteti su koridor Vc i pravac Banja Luka – Okučani), i ne zna se hoće li njezina izgradnja započeti u sljedećem desetljeću, premda je tretira kao trasu JJAC, Hrvatska takvo rješenje ne može čekati jer autocestovno povezivanje Dubrovnika želi riješiti sigurno i kvalitetno, čim prije. Stoga, budući da je zbog odbijanja suglasnosti Bosne i Hercegovine za prijelaz autoceste preko teritorija Bosne i Hercegovine takvo povezivanje na dulji rok neizvjesno i upitno, nužno je aktivirati pričuvnu varijantu preko Pelješca.

Ponovno se nameću činjenice istaknutoga političkog animoziteta pojedinih struktura prema hrvatskim planovima kao i težnje za upravnim nadzorom u Luci Ploče, premda hrvatski planovi ne ometaju razvojne planove Bosne i Hercegovine. Riječ je očito o potajnim geostrateškim razlozima blokiranja ili trajnog onemogućavanja hrvatskih infrastrukturnih planova.

Rasprave da Bosna i Hercegovina od Hrvatske ima pravo zahtijevati koridor od sto kilometara dužine sve do Visa, odnosno epikontinentalnog razgraničenja Hrvatske s Italijom, jer se međunarodno pravo izlaska Bosne i Hercegovine na more uopće ne dovodi u pitanje, ishitrene su. Služe zacijelo da bi se prikriji drugi geostrateški ciljevi, posebice korištenja Luke Ploče (s obzirom na to da slobodne površine i geomorfološka obilježja terena ne omogućuju u Neumu gradnju luke za veći putnički, a kamoli teretni promet, te nema uvjeta za izgradnju ni oveće turističke luke). Iz toga proizlazi i protivljenje izgradnji Pelješčkog mosta i autoceste prema Dubrovniku. Ulaskom u EU i NATO Hrvatska je u tom smislu bitno poboljšala svoju stratešku poziciju te problem povezivanja dubrovačkog prostora nije više samo problem Hrvatske nego i Europe, i to na dulji rok.

Zasigurno bi zahtjevi za teritorijalnim morem Bosne i Hercegovine od Neuma do otvorena mora postali nebitni, kada bi Bosna i Hercegovina ostvarila praktički neograničena prava gospodarenja Lukom Ploče, čime bi se zadiralo u suverenitet Hrvatske. Međutim, s obzirom na prirodni i tradicionalni izlaz Bosne i Hercegovine na Jadran u Pločama, već i do sada, godinama, najveći probitak od postojećega izvanrednog modela poslovne suradnje i načina korištenja i upravljanja Lukom Ploče, ima upravo gospodarstvo Bosne i Hercegovine.

Since the highway Čapljina – Stolac – Hum has not been defined as a priority in B&H (priorities are the corridor Vc and the direction Banja Luka – Okučani), and there is no information whether its construction would start in the next decade, although it is treated as route AIH, Croatia cannot wait for such a solution, because it is the priority to solve a safe and high quality highway connection with Dubrovnik as soon as possible. Therefore, since due to Bosnian and Herzegovinian refusal of consent for the highway crossing over the territory of B&H, such connection in the long term is uncertain and disputable, it is necessary to activate the reserve variant via Pelješac.

Again, the facts of evident political animosity of particular structures towards Croatian plans have arisen, along with the aspirations towards an administrative control in the port of Ploče – even though the Croatian plans do not disturb the developmental plans of B&H. Obviously, it is about secret geostrategic reasons of blocking, or permanent rendering impossible the Croatian infrastructural plans.

There have been ill-considered discussions about B&H being entitled to demand from Croatia the corridor of one hundred kilometres in length up to the island of Vis, that is, to the epicontinental Croatian boundary delimitation with Italy, since the international right of B&H access to the sea is not put in question at all. Such discussions apparently serve only to cover other geostrategic aims, especially those of using the port of Ploče (since free surfaces and geomorphological features of the ground do not provide for building a port in Neum for a larger passenger, let alone cargo traffic, and there are no conditions for building a larger tourist port). This is also the reason against building the Pelješac bridge and a highway towards Dubrovnik. By accession to the EU and NATO, Croatia has in that respect substantially improved its strategic position, and the question of connecting the Dubrovnik area is no more only a Croatian issue, but a European one as well, in the long term.

Most probably, the claims for the territorial sea of B&H from Neum to the open sea would become irrelevant if B&H practically realised the unlimited rights of managing the port of Ploče, which would affect the Croatian sovereignty. However, as regards the natural and traditional access of B&H to the Adriatic in Ploče, already up to now the economy of B&H has had, clearly, the largest profit from the existing extraordinary model of business cooperation and the way of using and managing the port of Ploče.

Pozivanje na već spomenuti Washingtonski sporazum (1994.) zakašnjelo je. Njime je bila predviđena konfederacija Bosne i Hercegovine s Republikom Hrvatskom, ustroj triju entiteta, i u tom slučaju nesmetani pristup Bosne i Hercegovine moru preko Ploča, bez hrvatskog carinskog i policijskog nadzora s lučkom upravom u kojoj bi Bosna i Hercegovina imala dva ili tri predstavnika. Budući da Washingtonski sporazum nije oživotvoren, a sljedećim, Daytonskim (1995.) odbačena je konfederacija, ustrojena su dva entiteta Bosne i Hercegovine, suverenitet nad Lukom Ploče ostao je u potpunosti hrvatski, a status i korištenje luke ostali su u *statusu quo*.

Novi nagovještaji rješenja postojećeg stanja naziru se 2013. godine kroz aktivnosti Vlade RH i Komisije EU-a. Predstudija izvodljivosti s konca travnja 2013. koju je naručila Europska komisija kod konzultantske tvrtke (*Safage Technum Tractebel Engineering /STTE/ Consortium*, op. p.) prema svojem odabiru, pokazala je da je Pelješki most daleko najbolje rješenje povezivanja dubrovačkog prostora s ostalim dijelovima Hrvatske i Europske unije, ne samo "financijski, nego *schengenski* i politički te fitosanitarino".¹⁰ U obzir su uzete dvije varijante mosta s pristupnim cestama i cestom po Pelješcu, koje su dobile 14 bodova, a primjerice koridor kroz Bosnu i Hercegovinu je dobio minus 19 bodova. Predstavnici konzultantske kuće Safage (STTE Consortium), nakon dvije odgode, obznani su početkom prosinca 2013. zaključak, koji će se predstaviti Europskoj komisiji, da je Pelješki most najbolje rješenje za prometno povezivanje teritorija Republike Hrvatske.¹¹

Naime "u odnosu na koridor kroz Neum, tunel i trajektnu vezu, most je najmanje rizično rješenje i najpovoljnija opcija koja zadovoljava sve bitne kriterije prema kojima se tražilo rješenje za povezivanje Hrvatske, ali i Europske unije. Most je ocijenjen kao rješenje koje je najkvalitetnije i najmanje rizično u ispunjavaju kriterija povezanosti, dostupnosti i sigurnosti. Ostale opcije o kojima se u hrvatskoj javnosti špekuliralo kao brzim, jednostavnim, kvalitetnim i jeftinim, francuski su konzultanti odbacili kao nepouzdanе i nesvršishodne

Referring to the already mentioned Washington Agreement (1994) appears to be too late. By this agreement, a confederation of B&H with Croatia was planned as a constitution of three entities, and in that case an uninterrupted access of B&H to the sea via Ploče, without the Croatian customs and police control with port authorities in which B&H would have two or three representatives. Since Washington Agreement was not implemented, and with the next one, the Dayton (1995) agreement, a confederation was refused, two B&H entities were established and the sovereignty over the port of Ploče remained completely Croatian while the issue of status and the use of the port remained as *status quo*.

New indications of solving the existing situation could be seen in 2013 through the activities of the Government of RC and the EU Commission. A feasibility study by the end of April, 2013, which the European Commission ordered from the consulting company (*Safage Technum Tractebel Engineering /STTE/ Consortium*, author's remark.) by its choice, showed that the Pelješac bridge is by far the best solution to connect the Dubrovnik area with the other parts of Croatia and the EU, not only "financially, but also with regard to the *Schengen* and politically, as well as phytosanitarilly."¹⁰ Two variants were taken into consideration with access roads and a road to Pelješac, which gained 14 points whereas, for example, a corridor through B&H got 19 points minus. Representatives of the consulting company *Safage (STTE Consortium)*, after two postponements announced at the beginning of December 2013, the conclusion which will be presented to the European Commission, that the Pelješac bridge is the best solution for traffic connecting the territory of the Republic of Croatia.¹¹

That is, "in relation to the corridor through Neum, the tunnel and the ferry services, the bridge is the least risky solution and the most favourable option, which meets all essential criteria according to which the solution for connecting Croatia, was looked for, but for the EU as well. The bridge is estimated as the most prestigious and the least risky solution in meeting criteria for connection, accessibility and safety. Other options speculated by Croatian general public as fast, simple, prestigious and cheap, were rejected by French consultants as unreliable and inappropriate (car-ferry), or as too

¹⁰ banka.hr/HRT Objavljeno 14.56, 2. svibnja 2013.

¹¹ Hina, 10. prosinca 2013.; prethodno je javnost bila obaviještena preko HTV-a i Slobodne Dalmacije da Studija koja ima 408 stranica, mostovnom rješenju daje prednost (v. MASLE, JADRIJEVIĆ TOMAS, 2013.).

¹⁰ banka.hr/HRT reported at 14.56 on 02.05.2013.

¹¹ Hina, 10th December 2013; the public were previously informed via HTV and Slobodna Dalmacija that the Study, which consisted of 408 pages, gives priority to the bridge solution (see: MASLE, JADRIJEVIĆ TOMAS, 2013).

(trajekt) ili kao preskupa i nedokazana rješenja (potopljeni tuneli). Da most dobije prednost u odnosu na koridor kroz Neum, koji zagovara bosanskohercegovačka strana, vrlo bitnu ulogu odigrali su schengenski kriteriji sigurnosti" (BOHUTINSKI, 2013.).

Ujedno, Hrvatske ceste već su pripremile novi nacrt drukčijega Pelješkog mosta koji bi tek trebao odobriti EU. Takav most bi bio uži, s dva prometna traka, a zacijelo i niži (što kolidira s prije dogovorenim parametrima s Bosnom i Hercegovinom, op. p.). Za ostvarenje projekta trebalo bi oko 350 milijuna eura, što je 134 milijuna manje nego za stari projekt.¹²

Vrlo brzo reagiralo je Ministarstvo prometa i komunikacija Bosne i Hercegovine s tvrdnjom da su u usporedbi s neumskom zaobilaznicom sva druga rješenja, pa i Pelješki most, neracionalna.¹³

Do kraja 2013., kada konzultanti predaju završno izvješće, slijedila bi izrada studije izvodljivosti pri čemu će se Hrvatskoj ostaviti na izbor hoće li u toj studiji imati jedno ili više rješenja. Budući da je prema svim analiziranim podacima u studiji predizvodljivosti most dobio najviše ocjene, Hrvatska će se vjerojatno odlučiti za studiju izvodljivosti samo za izgradnju mosta. Taj postupak traje šest do devet mjeseci, nakon čega bi započeli pregovori s Europskom komisijom o modalitetima sufinanciranja.¹⁴

b) Pontonski most

Usporedno sa zamisli izgradnje visećeg mosta nekoliko je puta u javnosti bilo govora i o mogućoj izgradnji pontonskog mosta. Posebno je otezanje početka ponovne izgradnje, odnosno nastavka izgradnje započetog mosta, potaknulo takve ideje među kojima se najkonkretnija pojavila potkraj 2013. godine s prijedlogom izgradnje pontonskog mosta "Marko Polo".¹⁵ Tvrdi se da bi takvo rješenje bilo najučinkovitije, najbrže (izgradnja

¹² banka.hr/HRT Objavljeno 14.56, 2. svibnja 2013.; Prema studiji tvrtke *Safege*, most bi stajao 285 milijuna eura.

¹³ Okrugli stol nevladine, udruge "Krug 99" o problemu pomorske granice BiH, Izet Bajrambašić, pomoćnik ministra: Uvodna riječ, Nedjelja, 27. listopada 2013.

¹⁴ Hina, 10. prosinca 2012.

¹⁵ Po uzoru na pontonske mostove u Norveškoj i SAD-u arhitektica Maja Bručić zajedno je s američkim poduzetnikom Jamesom Priceom Chuckom predstavila projekt izgradnje plutajućeg pontonskog mosta "Marko Polo" (v. KARLOVIĆ SABOLIĆ, 2013.).

expensive and unproved solutions (sunken tunnels). A very important role had the Schengen safety criteria in getting advantage for the bridge, in relation to the corridor through Neum, advocated by the Bosnian-Herzegovinian side." (BOHUTINSKI, 2013).

At the same time, *Croatian Roads* have already prepared a new design of a different Pelješac Bridge, which should be approved by the EU. Such a bridge would be narrower, with two traffic lanes, and probably lower (which clashes with the parameters agreed on before with B&H, writer's remark). In order to realise the project, approximately 350 million euros are needed, which is 134 million less than the cost of the old project.¹²

The B&H Ministry of Traffic and Communication reacted very quickly, claiming that in comparison with the Neum belt highway, all other solutions, and even the Pelješac Bridge, are unreasonable.¹³

By the end of 2013, when the consultants will have given their final report, a feasibility study would follow, in which case Croatia can choose to have one or more solutions in this study. Since according to all the analysed data in the feasibility study, the bridge got the highest number of points, Croatia will probably decide on the feasibility study only for the bridge construction. This procedure lasts from six to nine months, and after that the negotiations with the European Commission about co-financing modalities would start.¹⁴

b) Pontoon bridge

Concurrently with the idea of building a suspension bridge, some remarks were also made in public about a possible pontoon bridge construction. Such ideas were prompted especially due to the delay of the bridge construction start, i. e. the continuation of its already started construction, and the most specific among these ideas appeared at the end of 2013 with a proposal to build a pontoon bridge "Marko Polo".¹⁵ Such a solution

¹² banka.hr/HRT reported at 14.56 on 02.05.2013. According to the studies of the company *Safege* the bridge would cost 285 million Euros.

¹³ A round table of the non-profit association "Krug 99" about the problem of B&H maritime border, Izet Bajrambašić, assistant minister: Foreword, Sunday, 27th October 2013.

¹⁴ Hina, 10th December 2012.

¹⁵ Following the examples of pontoon bridges in Norway and USA, the architect Maja Bručić, together with the American entrepreneur James Price Chuck, presented a project of building a floating pontoon bridge "Marko Polo" (see: KARLOVIĆ SABOLIĆ, 2013)

tek devet mjeseci), znatno prihvatljivije u cijeni (umjesto pola milijarde eura stajao bi 60 milijuna eura) i materijalu (uglavnom domaći, a ne uvozni materijali, čelik, nosači), ekološki najpogodnije, a njime bi se izbjegli rizici dubokog ukopavanja stupova nosača visećeg mosta na velike dubine zbog muljevita dna. Prema tom projektu, svakom spoju mosta s kopnom postoji odignuti prolaz kroz koji mogu neometano ploviti brodovi visoki 30 metara, a za velika plovila koja bi eventualno uplovljavala u Neum predviđen je poseban otvor u mostu, širine 100 m. Otvarao bi se po potrebi (šinska konstrukcija ceste u tom dijelu). Projekt bi se, prema mišljenju predlagača, mogao financirati novcem privatnih ulagača na temelju dobivene državne koncesije.

Tunelsko rješenje

Tunelsko rješenje, na pravcu Komarna – Pelješac, dužine 2.400 m, s dvije cijevi s po dvije trake, financijski je razmjerno prihvatljivo (cijena oko 80 milijuna eura, ali su troškovi rada, posebice električne energije i ventilacije i održavanja nešto veći, s troškovima sustava sigurnosnih mjera) (Sl. 7.). Njegovi dijelovi mogli bi se raditi u Hrvatskoj, u brodogradilištima. Podršku su osim pojedinih projekatnata dali i pojedini predstavnici strane Bosne i Hercegovine (v. ČOSIĆ, 2013.). Uz to, predsjednik Pomorskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine spominje i mogućnost izgradnje tunela ispod mora, dužine 9,5 km koji bi stajao dvaput manje nego Pelješki most (NOVALIĆ, 2013.).



Slika 7. Simulacija izgleda ulaska u tunel i skica trase tunela Komarna – Pelješac

Izvor: <http://www.avaz.ba/vijesti teme/tunel-ispod-mora-spaja-hrvatsku-spasava-neum> 11. 5. 2013

Figure 7 Simulation of the entrance to the tunnel and a sketch of the tunnel route Komarna – Pelješac

Source: <http://www.avaz.ba/vijesti teme/tunel-ispod-mora-spaja-hrvatsku-spasava-neum> 11.05.2013

was claimed to be the most efficient one, the fastest (construction would last for only 9 months), with a considerably more acceptable price (instead of half a billion Euros, it would cost 60 million Euros), and material (chiefly domestic, not imported materials, steel, girders), as well as ecologically most suitable. The construction of such a bridge would avoid the risks of deep digging for the column girders of the suspension bridge at great depths, because of the muddy bottom. According to this project, at each junction of the bridge with the mainland, there is a lifted passage through which ships 30 meters high can sail undisturbedly, whereas for larger ships that would possibly sail to Neum a special opening in the bridge, 100 m wide, has been planned. It would open when needed (rail road construction in that part). According to the project promoters' opinion, this project could be financed with the private investors' money based on obtained state concession.

Tunnel solution

A tunnel solution, in the direction Komarna – Pelješac, 2.400 m in length, with two tubes and two lanes, seems to be financially relatively acceptable (price is about 80 million Euros, but the price of labour, and especially the electric power, ventilation and maintenance are slightly larger, including the cost of security measures) (Fig. 7). The parts of the tunnel could be made in Croatia, in the shipyards. Apart from the support of particular project engineers, some representatives of B&H also gave a support to this project (see: ČOSIĆ, 2013). Moreover, the President of the Maritime Association of B&H has mentioned a possibility of building a tunnel under the sea, 9.5 km in length, which would cost twice less than the Pelješac Bridge (NOVALIĆ, 2013).

Ostali longitudinalni cestovni kopneni pravci

a) Jadranska turistička cesta

Kao i do sada, postojeća trasa Jadranske turističke ceste bit će važna prometna poveznica dubrovačkog prostora na cestovnu mrežu Hrvatske, ali i na onu susjedne Crne Gore i Bosne i Hercegovine. Cestovno povezivanje preko Pelješca omogućilo bi da se promet s ove ceste služi rješenjem kao i autocestovni promet.

Od novih cesta jedna od najvažnijih cesta za Dubrovnik i županiju je brza cesta od Zračne luke "Dubrovnik", do Luke "Gruž", i to kao nastavak na vezu s autocestom u području Osojnika.

Željeznički longitudinalni jadransko jonski pravac

Već su stariji prostorni planovi naznačili trasu brze suvremene dužobalne željezničke pruge uz hrvatski Jadran (Prostorni plan SR Hrvatske, 1989., Prostorni plan Zajednice općina Split, 1982.). Takvom prugom i dubrovačko područje učinkovito bi se povezalo na europski sustav željeznica na vrlo privlačnom pravcu Srednja i Zapadna Europa – Jadran – Grčka/Turska. U Strategiji prometnog razvitka RH iz 1999. godine (Narodne novine, 139/1999) razvoj željezničkog prometa predviđen je vrlo usporeno, a ostvarenje i tako zacrtanih ciljeva nije se odvijalo u skladu s predviđenim rokovima.

Tako je i ovaj željeznički pravac naznačen kao dio jadransko-jonskog koridora te u dugoročnim planovima razvoja željezničke mreže u Hrvatskoj poslije 2030. (DUNDOVIĆ I DR., 2013.). Predviđene su dionice do Ploča do 2038., a južnije su samo naznačene u razmatranju, što upućuje na nedostatak nastojanja da se učinkovitije i brže osmisli izgradnja dužjadranske željeznice uz pomoć Europske unije (KREČ I DR., 2012.). Stoga danas nije moguće govoriti o pojedinostima moguće trase te vrlo zahtjevne, ali i potencijalno iznimno značajne i svrhovite brze željezničke veze unutar zemalja Europske unije.

Other longitudinal road mainland routes

a) Adriatic tourist road

As it has been so far, the existing route of the Adriatic tourist road will be an important traffic link of the Dubrovnik area with the Croatian road network, but also with the ones of the neighbouring Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Road linkage across Pelješac would enable the traffic from this road to use such a solution as well as highway traffic.

Among the new roads one of the most important for Dubrovnik and the county is a fast road from the Airport "Dubrovnik", to the Port of "Gruž", and specifically as a continuation to the link with the highway in the Osojnik region.

Longitudinal Adriatic-Ionic railroad direction

The older physical plans have already indicated the route of a fast modern railroad line along the coast of the Croatian Adriatic (PHYSICAL PLAN OF SR OF CROATIA, 1989.; PHYSICAL PLAN OF COMMUNITY OF MUNICIPALITIES SPLIT, 1982.). By such a railroad the Dubrovnik area would be efficiently connected with the European railroad system to a very attractive direction Central and Western Europe – Adriatic – Greece/Turkey. In the Strategy of the RC Traffic Development from 1999 (OFFICIAL GAZETTE, 139/1999), the development of the railroad traffic was planned to be considerably slowed down, but the implementation of aims defined in this way also did not develop according to the schedule.

As a result, this railroad direction has been shown as part of the Adriatic-Ionian corridor, as well as in long-term plans of the railroad network development in Croatia after 2030. (DUNDOVIĆ ET AL., 2013). The sections up to Ploče have been planned by 2038, and those in more southern parts are only indicated to be under consideration, which points to the lack of effort to envisage more efficient and faster construction of the Adriatic railroad with the EU support (KREČ ET AL., 2012). Therefore, today it is not possible to speak about the details of a possible route of this very demanding, but also potentially exceptionally significant and purposeful fast railroad connection among the countries of the European Union.

Transverzalni pravci

Dubrovnik je prastaro jadransko i sredozemno pomorsko središte koje je, posebice od 14. do početka 19. stoljeća, kao samostalna republika ostvarivao osim pomorskih i znatne kopnene veze, od kojih su one transverzalne, duboko u kopno Jugoistočne Europe, odnosno Balkana bile od velike važnosti za njegov razvoj i prosperitet.

U vrijeme Osmanskog Carstva u zaobalju, glavnina prometa na pravcu Italija (Firenca, Pesaro, Ancona, Fano) – Balkan – Turska prema Carigradu i Bursi prolazila je kroz Dubrovnik. Kopneni trgovački (karavanski) putovi u unutrašnjost vodili su od Dubrovnika prema Bosnasarayu (Sarajevu), Biogradu (Beogradu), Novom Pazaru, Nišu, Skopju, Plovdivu, Drinopolju i dr.

Glavni suvremeni transverzalni pravci povezivanja zaobilaze Dubrovnik, služe se pravcem Panonski bazen – središnja Bosna – Hercegovina – Ploče, odnosno suvremenim europskim Vc prometnim koridorom. Na njemu su izgrađene cestovna i željeznička prometnica (najprije uskotračna, kasnije zamijenjena prugom normalnog kolosjeka), a u skoroj budućnosti izgradila bi se i autocesta. Kako je već rečeno, uskotračna poveznica dubrovačkog područja na tu prugu je ukinuta, a cestovni pravac prema unutrašnjosti vodi prema Podrinju preko Trebinja, prijevoja Čemerno, Bileće, Foče i dr., iz kojih se račvaju prema drugim dijelovima unutrašnjosti

Budući da su granice Dubrovačke Republike očuvale hrvatsku i rimokatoličku kulturno-civilizacijsku osnovu, okruženu nadirućim pravoslavnim i islamskim svijetom od 15. stoljeća do danas, diplomatski geostrateški odnosi bili su od najveće važnosti, a napadom i pljačkom Rusa, Crnogoraca i hercegovačkih pravoslavaca, te prihvaćanjem francuske uprave početkom 19. stoljeća, otvorene su nove okolnosti nesigurnosti u odnosima sa susjednim područjima Bosanskog Ejaleta, kasnije Bosne i Hercegovine pod Austro-Ugarskom okupacijom te njezinim pripojenim dijelom (1908.), kao i s Crnom Gorom. Dubrovnik se u obrani svoje hrvatske nacionalnosti i katoličke vjere držao i drži svojih starih granica i obnovljenih veza s Dalmacijom odnosno Hrvatskom. Izmjene granica u 20. stoljeću, posebice ukidanje Sutorinskog koridora, a kasnije i u vrijeme komunističke uprave, u miru, Dubrovnik je i uz pomoć ograničenih transverzalnih veza jačao svoj gospodarski prosperitet, premda se, vezano za

Transverse routes

Dubrovnik is an ancient, Adriatic, Croatian, and Mediterranean maritime centre that was an independent republic and, as such, especially from the 14th to the beginning of the 19th century has realized significant mainland connections besides the maritime ones. Out of those, the transversal links, deep into the south-east European mainland, i.e. the Balkans, were of great importance for its development and prosperity.

During the Ottoman Empire, in the hinterland major part of traffic in the direction Italy (Florence, Pesaro, Ancon, Fano) – the Balkans – Turkey towards Istanbul and Bursa passed through Dubrovnik. The mainland trade (caravan) routes in the interior led from Dubrovnik toward Bosnia Sarai (Sarajevo), Beograd (Belgrade), Novi Pazar, Niš, Skopje, Plovdiv, Edirne etc.

The main modern transverse connection directions bypass Dubrovnik, using the route of the Pannonian basin – Central Bosnia – Herzegovina – Ploče, i.e. recent European Vc traffic corridor. Both road and railway connections are built on it (first narrow-gauge, later replaced by the railroad of normal gauge), and in the near future a highway would be built, too. As already mentioned, a narrow-gauge link between the Dubrovnik area and this railroad has been cancelled, while the road route towards hinterland has led to the Drina basin via Trebinje, saddle Čemerno, Bileća, Foča etc., from which they branch off towards other parts of the hinterland.

Since the borders of Dubrovnik Republic preserved the Croatian and Roman-Catholic cultural and civilisational foundations, surrounded by the invading eastern Orthodox and Islamic world from the 15th century till today, diplomatic geostrategic relationships have been of the greatest importance. By attack and the robbery of the Russians, Montenegrins and eastern Herzegovinian Orthodox groups, as well as by the acceptance of the French administration at the beginning of the 19th century, new circumstances of insecurity opened in relation to the neighbouring regions of the Bosnia Eyalet, later Bosnia and Herzegovina under AU occupation, and its annexed part (1908), as with Montenegro. In defending its Croatian nationality and Roman Catholic Christianity, Dubrovnik resisted and has held its old borders and renewed connections with Dalmatia, that is, with Croatia. With the changes of borders in the 20th century, especially after the abolishment of the



Slika 8. Transverzalni pravci povezivanja Dubrovnika
Figure 8 Transverse routes of connections with Dubrovnik

granice i objekte JNA na poluotoku i rtu Oštra, pokušalo promijeniti geostrateške prilike na štetu Dubrovnika i Hrvatske (PAVIĆ, 2010.).

Iskustvo srpske agresije (1991. – 1995.), s barbarskim razaranjem i progonom te njome proklamirani geostrateški ciljevi, upućuju na činjenicu da je tadašnja (veliko)srpska politika imala namjeru uključiti dubrovačko područje u okvire tzv. "srpskih zemalja", zasigurno u okvirima zasebne Dubrovačke oblasti. Budući da do toga nije došlo, započela je teška odmazda, zaposjedanje prostora, razaranje i pljačka, čemu su se Dubrovčani, kao i cijela Hrvatska uz međunarodnu pomoć oduprli. Sasvim je očekivano da su poslije takvog geopolitičkog i ratnog pritiska, transverzalne veze potisnute u drugi plan. Ustroj Bosne i Hercegovine s dva entiteta s Republikom Srpskom u neposrednom prekograničnom zaobalju, daljnji je razlog opreza u prometnom otvaranju Dubrovnika prema unutrašnjosti. Proklamirano jačanje prometnog pravca Republike Srpske i Republike

Sutorina Corridor, and later during the communist administration in peaceful circumstances, Dubrovnik has managed to strengthen its economic prosperity with the help of limited transverse connections, even though as regards the borders and YNA (Yugoslav National Army) objects on the Peninsula and Cape of Oštra, there were attempts to change the geostrategic circumstances to the detriment of Dubrovnik and Croatia (PAVIĆ, 2010).

The experience of the Serbian aggression (1991-1995), with the barbarian devastation, persecution, and the proclaimed geostrategic aims, point out the fact that the (Greater) Serbian politics of that time intended to include the Dubrovnik area within the framework of the so-called "Serbian lands", probably within a separate Dubrovnik zone. Since it did not happen, the heavy retaliation started, with the occupation of the territory, the devastation and robbery, in which case the people of Dubrovnik, as well as the entire Croatia, together with the international help resisted. It was completely expected that after such geopolitical and war

Srbije na pravcu Trebinje – Bileća – Foča – Valjevo – Beograd, s namjerama otvaranja velike zračne luke kod Trebinja (Dubrava – Zubci; M. M. FENA, 2012.) upućuje na nastavak težnje stvaranja snažnoga srpskog punkta nadomak Dubrovniku. Premda gospodarske prilike zasigurno odgađaju taj projekt za izvjesno vrijeme, njegovo ostvarenje imalo bi neposredan utjecaj na susjedne prostore, posebice Dubrovnika i Boke kotorske, a prema povijesno-gestrateškom iskustvu, ne treba isključiti oprez s obzirom na učestalost teritorijalnih prisezanja prema teritoriju Republike Hrvatske oko Dubrovnika u prošlosti.

Zaključci

Suvremeni razvoj hrvatskoga jadranskog pročelja, odnosno europske regije NUTS 2 razine, Jadranske Hrvatske, vezan je za nove oblike kopnenog povezivanja, ponajprije cestovnog, a zatim i željezničkog. Jadransko-jonski prometni pravac u tom smislu ima najveće značenje, a povezivanje Dubrovnika i njegova područja prometnicama u hrvatskim međama prvorazredno geostrateško značenje očuvanja cjelovitosti hrvatskoga državnog prostora na krajnjem južnom dijelu zemlje.

S tim u vezi je, već u razdoblju do 2007., pripremljen predviđeni nastavak (auto)cestovnog povezivanja toga dijela države prometnim rješenjem na pravcu kopno – Pelješac preko Pelješčkog kanala pri čemu je mostovna veza dobila prednost. S obzirom na turbulentna i različita politička stajališta, dijametralno oprečna što se tiče potrebe takvog rješenja u odnosu na rješenje preko prostora susjedne Bosne i Hercegovine, te donekle i s obzirom na snažnu gospodarsku recesiju, Vlada Republike Hrvatske, izabrana potkraj 2011., odbacila je mostovno rješenje. S obzirom na zahtjeve schengenskog režima Europske unije, posebice poslije ulaska RH u EU, kao i snažan pritisak hrvatske stručne i druge javnosti, Vlada je ipak 2012. krenula s procesom ispitivanja najpovoljnijih mogućnosti povezivanja Dubrovnika, a time i Korčule, preko Pelješca. Razmatranje različitih mogućih rješenja (viši ili niži, tj. dvotračni ili četvorotračni most, tunel, pontonski most, trajekti i dr. u odnosu na prolaz kroz Bosnu i Hercegovinu, u blizini Neuma ili dalje u zaobalju), dovelo je početkom 2014., ponovno, sedam godina poslije započete prve izgradnje, do opredjeljenja za mostovno rješenje.

pressure, transverse connections were pushed to the background. The Constitution of B&H with two entities, with the Republic of Srpska in the direct cross-border hinterland, is another reason for caution in the traffic opening of Dubrovnik towards the hinterland. The proclaimed strengthening of the traffic route by the Republic of Srpska and the Republic of Serbia towards the direction Trebinje – Bileća – Foča – Valjevo – Belgrade, with the intention of opening a large airport near Trebinje (Dubrava-Zubci; FENA, M. M., 2012), indicates further aspirations of creating a powerful Serbian point near Dubrovnik. Although the economic situation is probably postponing this project for some time, its realisation would have a direct influence on the neighbouring regions, especially on Dubrovnik and Boka Kotorska. Furthermore, according to the historical-geostrategic experience, caution should not be excluded, taking into consideration the frequency of territorial aspirations towards the territory of the Republic of Croatia around Dubrovnik in the past.

Conclusions

The modern development of the Croatian Adriatic facade, that is, the European region NUTS 2 level, Adriatic Croatia is related to the new forms of mainland connection, first of all by road, and then by railway. The Adriatic-Ionian traffic direction in this respect has the greatest significance, and connecting Dubrovnik and its area with the roads within the Croatian borders has the prime geostrategic importance in preserving the entity of the Croatian state area at the farthest southern part of the country.

In connection with that, as early as in 2007, a planned continuation of the highway connecting this part of the country with the traffic solution in the direction mainland – Pelješac over the Pelješac Channel had been prepared, in which case the bridge connection got the right of way. In relation to the turbulent and different political opinions, diametrically contradictory as regards the need for such a solution in relation to the solution across the area of the neighbouring B&H, and to a certain extent depending on the hard economic recession, the Government of the RC elected by the end of 2011 rejected the bridge solution. However, as regards the claims of the Schengen Regime in the EU, especially after the Croatian accession to the EU, and following a pressure coming from the Croatian professional and other public, in 2012

Sudeći prema do sada obavljenim radnjama i oskudno objavljivanim rezultatima ekspertiza iz 2013., kao i na temelju prosudbe geostrateških odnosa u nadolazećem srednjoročnom i dugoročnom razdoblju, može se zaključiti da je kopneno povezivanje Dubrovnika na autocestovni sustav Hrvatske najpovoljnije predlaganom i elaboriranom mostovnom vezom preko poluotoka Pelješca, premda se ne može sasvim odbaciti i alternativa povezivanja tunelom. Ujedno treba svim mogućim mjerama poticati ostvarenje jadransko-jonskog prometnog pravca, osim pomorskim vezama i autocestovnom i željezničkom infrastrukturom. U tom smjeru nužni su dosljedni, dobro pripremljeni prijedlozi i projekti, i u zemlji i pred fondovima EU-a i drugim.

Potrebno je istaknuti da su višegodišnji zastoje, posebice 2010. – 2014., sporo dolaženje do rješenja i stvorena podijeljenost političkog i donekle javnog mnijenja u odnosu na stavove o povezivanju Dubrovnika, a time i Pelješca, Korčule i dr., nanijeli goleme štete ne samo dubrovačkom prostoru, nego i cijeloj Hrvatskoj, u gospodarskom, prometno-geografskom i u geostrateškom smislu. Takve bi zastoje i propuste ubuduće trebalo u potpunosti izbjeći u svrhu učinkovitog, decentraliziranog i optimalnog razvoja Republike Hrvatske, odnosno Dubrovnika i njegova šireg prostora.

the Government started a process of examining the most favourable options of connecting Dubrovnik, and Korčula too, across the peninsula Pelješac. Examination of different possible solutions (higher or lower, i.e. two-lane or four-lane bridge, tunnel, pontoon bridge, car-ferries etc. in relation to the passage through B&H in the vicinity of Neum, or farther in the hinterland), resulted again at the beginning of 2014, seven years after the first started construction, in the decision for the bridge solution.

Judging by the activities carried out so far, and by the scantily announced results of the expertise in 2013, as well as on the basis of the analysis of geostrategic relationships in the forthcoming medium-term and long-term period, it can be concluded that the mainland connection of Dubrovnik to the Croatian highway system by a bridge connection across the Pelješac peninsula is the most favourable proposed and elaborated solution, even though the alternative with a tunnel connection cannot be completely rejected. At the same time it is necessary to stimulate by all possible measures, the realisation of the Adriatic-Ionian traffic direction, apart from the maritime links, by the highway and railroad infrastructure. In this respect, consistent and well prepared proposals and projects are needed, both in the country and at the level of EU and other funds.

It is necessary to emphasize that the years-long interruption, especially in the period 2010-2014, slow coming to the solution and a created division of political and, to a certain degree, public opinion in relation to the attitudes towards the connection of Dubrovnik (and alongside Pelješac, Korčula, etc.) caused enormous damage not only to the Dubrovnik area, but also to the entire Croatia, in the economic, traffic, geographical and geostrategic respect. Such interruptions and failures should be avoided in the future, for the purpose of an efficient, decentralized and optimal development of the Republic of Croatia, including Dubrovnik and its wider area.

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