УДК 622.24
ББК 33.131

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OIL AND GAS DRILLING IN RUSSIAN ARCTIC: CULTURAL VALUES, ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH*

В последние годы наблюдается рост глобального экономического и политического интереса к арктическому региону. Арктика – это территория, где происходит массовое бурение нефтяных и газовых скважин, но одновременно с этим наблюдается тенденция к защите и охране экосистем региона. Разработка нефтегазовых месторождений на Крайнем Севере России обеспечивает коренным народам финансовую «подушку безопасности» и является инструментом социальной трансформации. Ответственная разработка и добыча арктических минеральных ресурсов может способствовать благополучию как мировой, так и региональной экономики. Учитывая возможные риски, следует уделять пристальное внимание защите окружающей среды Арктики, которая поддерживает жизнь народов Севера. Показаны основные шельфовые проекты ключевых нефтегазовых компании РФ, проанализированы применяемые природоохранные меры, изучены основные инструменты диалога с народами Севера. Комплексно показано взаимодействие и взаимозависимость таких планетарных факторов, как глобальные климатические изменения, геополитическое развитие, технико-технологический прогресс, глобальное межкультурное развитие и социально-экономическое состояние коренных народов северного полярного региона.

Ключевые слова:
Арктика, коренные малочисленные народы, корпоративная социальная ответственность, охрана окружающей среды, промышленные предприятия, сотрудничество.

Dementyeva E.M. Oil and gas drilling in Russian Arctic: cultural values, environment and economic growth // Общество. Среда. Развитие. – 2018, № 4. – С. 112–119.

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The Arctic region has gone global, and the geo-strategic importance of the region is growing.The Arctic has a high geopolitical stability based on institutional, international cooperation and supported by the Arctic states, Arctic indigenous peoples, non-governmental organizations and subnational governments. This is the area, where both environmental protection, and mass-scale oil and gas drilling are of major importance.

The Arctic shelf is the richest region of the world in the volumes of oil and gas resources. Oil and gas-related operation in the Arctic is regulated by national and international laws. Codified in 1982 the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) grants the coastal state sovereign rights to extract natural resources in their territory and continental waters1 and they are also responsible to monitor that resource extraction is conducted according to the «no harm principle» [20]. To affirm their commitment to protect the Arctic environment such states have agreed on several reports on environmental protection and the legally-binding Agreement on Cooperation on Marine Oil Pollution Preparedness and Response in the Arctic, which was negotiated under the auspices of the Arctic Council and adopted in 2013 [8].

Five countries have direct access to the Arctic shelf: the US, Canada, Norway, Russia and Denmark (Greenland), but only three of them currently produce oil and gas in the Arctic region. Arctic resources are not evenly spaced along the Arctic Ocean coastline.

Most oil and gas resources belong to Russia: 41% of all undiscovered technically recoverable resources of oil and 70% of gas. Active work on the development of the Arctic shelf in the USSR began in the early 1980s. The share of the Arctic shelf in the overall Russian resources is significant, Arctic seas

* Статья написана на основании доклада, сделанного на английском языке на международной Модели Арктического Совета в г. Рованиеми, Финляндия с 29.10 по 2.11 2018 г.

account for about 90% of overall Russia shelf hydrocarbons, including 70 percent on the shelf of the Barents and Kara seas. According to experts, by 2030 Russia will produce 55% of all hydrocarbons produced in the Arctic. For Russia, with its resource-based economy, the Arctic shelf is one of the most promising areas for replacement of hydrocarbon reserves [11].

It is important to note that only Russian companies with the state share in the company capital of more than 50% and five-year experience of work on the Russian shelf can be granted licenses authorizing subsoil exploration and production on the continental shelf of Russia, including the Arctic offshore. [2]. The state-controlled giants Gazprom and Rosneft satisfy these requirements.

Today the Arctic shelf possesses enormous untapped hydrocarbon resources while there are relatively few projects that are at the stage of commercial development. The development of such fields demands sophisticated technologies and colossal investments.

The Arctic shelf is a large reserve of the Russian oil and gas industry, without its development it is impossible to solve the goals of The «Energy strategy of Russia until 2020». Oil and gas drilling in the Arctic can be per-

Table 1

Key development projects of Gazprom:	**Offshore projects of Rosneft:**
Prirazlomnoye field. The world's first offshore ice-resistant fixed platform (OIRFP) for oil production on the Arctic shelf launched operations in 2013. A range of advanced technologies ensure industrial safety and the implementation of the «zero discharge» principle with no industrial or consumer pollution of the environment. The Company has got and is implementing a biodiversity conservation program.	Rosneft holds licenses for 19 licensed sites on the continental shelf of the West Arctic seas: – 7 sites in the Barents Sea; – 8 sites in the Pechora Sea; – 4 sites in the Kara Sea.
East Messoyakha fieldis the Russia's northernmost continental field. Integrated engineering and logistics solutions were used to develop the field located in the Arctic Circle to minimize the negative impact on the Arctic ecosystem. The Company built special deer crossings when routing pipelines in areas of deer migration. Installation of modern equipment allowed reduction of water consumption by 25%. «Fishbone» technology used in the field's development allowed the building of wells with multiple horizontal branches leading to remote oil-rich areas without penetrating the layers containing gas or water.	In 2014, the northernmost Arctic well Universitetskaya-1 was drilled on the licensed site of East Prinovozemelsky-1 in the Kara Sea. Based on the drilling results at Universitetskaya-1 well, the Pobeda oil and gas field was discovered. In 2014, the Pobeda oil and gas field was discovered (the Kara Sea).
This field is also called «Arctic Gateway» Novoportovskoye field. This is the world's only Arctic oil loading terminal. The Gates of the Arctic is a unique marine terminal designed to operate at low temperatures and to handle year-round shipments of crude oil.»Zero discharge» technology prevents pollutants from entering the waters of the Ob Bay.	Rosneft continues its comprehensive Arctic research program. The Company's Arctic Research and Design Center for Offshore Development, established in 2011, conducts research and provides expertise in the environmental and industrial safety of offshore projects. ARC's work includes performance of hydro-meteorological and sea-ice observations, building databases, drawing up design specifications for offshore facilities and developing innovative solutions for monitoring the Arctic environment, including glaciers and drifting icebergs.

formed in the sustainable and responsible way. Russian oil and gas companies underline the importance of climate change mitigation in their strategies.

On the Arctic shelf, only Gazprom Neft produces hydrocarbons for the Prirazlomnoye field in the Pechora Sea. The table 1 presents information on the sustainability of offshore oil and gas drilling in the icy Arctic waters, as well as on environmental protection.

Today's multi-dimensional dynamics has made Arctic geopolitics' global; reminding us that climate change is global. The Arctic region is an excellent example here, since the region is warming twice as fast as the rest of the planet [9]. The global warming, geopolitical factors and technological progress have an impact on the diversification of the global energy mix. The debates around climate change are about if it is something that can be controlled by geo-engineering or other technological means. This implies transition of energy production from fossil fuels to renewable energy sources. It should be noted that it meets the Sustainable Development Goals [7].

Thus, energy security is not only security of finance, infrastructure, it is also security of culture and the environment. The Companies emphasize their capability and competence to manage alternative energy and fossil fuel resources in a responsible manner. In 2017, Gazpromneft-Yamal launched the pilot testing of the YURTA combined wind-and-solar power plant designed to supply power to a group of line-to-line consumers. The Russian-made equipment for the power plant is designed to operate at temperatures as low as -60°C. The vertical-shape wind generators make it possible to generate electricity regardless of which way air is blowing. In future, the company will be able to supply power to facilities that are located dozens of kilometers away from main networks. Moreover, wind-solar power plants are absolutely safe for the Arctic environment.

The table 2 presents some of the environmental safety measures for the Arctic ecosystem and biodiversity, as well as for human safety in the Arctic region:

So, from the perspective of cost-effectiveness, extraction of the Arctic resources can be considered good practice for international and local business. However, it provokes a risk of environmental catastrophe. Potential catastrophe means the loss of valuable natural and cultural heritage.

Although indigenous peoples in different regions differ significantly in their culture, history and socio-economic conditions, and yet they have much in common: they share common perceptions existing worldwide, relating to cultural and social practices and discourses driven by their harmonious relationship with natural environment – the presence of environmental consciousness [12]. Some indigenous people move and live in big cities, and their lifestyle is similar to urban people, but a lot of indigenous people live in small communities, conduct traditional management.

Most of the oil and gas fields are located in the Western part of the Arctic. Indigenous peoples inhabit the territories close to existing oil and gas field in Russia. The following table shows data on Russia's indigenous people in the Western part of the Arctic:

The irrational use of resources, the use of their reindeer pastures, their lands, existing and potential pollutions of land and water by industrial activities cause strong indignation among indigenous peoples. Industrialists often don't know and don't take into account the features of a nomadic lifestyle.

Indigenous communities having traditional land management, have acute conflicts with industrial companies. Expropriation of land for purposes other than the traditional use of natural resources is perceived negatively by indigenous inhabitants of the North. Especially acute is the violation of pastures. Today, the threat to pastures is not only the anthropogenic impact associated with the activities of oil and gas companies, but also climate change. In these matters, it is important to take into account certain viewpoints of indigenous peoples, to integrate scientific and traditional knowledge, with a view to a real partnership in the «generation» of knowledge, and for the joint management of the Northern regions.

GAZPROM [10]	ROSNEFT [13]
The Company has designed samples of improved work-wear for offshore projects including the use of special fire-resistance materials protecting a person against heat and flame. The work wear is appropriate for work in difficult offshore conditions and industrial safety requirements.	Rosneft understands the climate challenges and supports initiatives aiming at enforcement of government regulation mechanisms for management of greenhouse gas emissions and ratification procedure for the Paris Agreement under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change [17]
The Company carries out environmental monitoring of its impact on the Arctic ecosystems in the area of its operations. Gazprom Neft is implementing a perpetual corporate program designed to preserve biodiversity based on a list of flora and fauna that serve as indicators of the stable condition of the marine ecosystems in Russia's Arctic zone. The program was developed by the Company jointly with leading research institutes, Russian Arctic National Park, and the Marine Mammal Council taking into account recommendations from the UN Development Program, the Global Environment Facility, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment, and the World Wildlife Fund in Russia.	In 2014, Rosneft launched a «Program for Conservation of Marine Biological Diversity» at its licensed sites in Russia's Arctic region. The key objective of the Program, which is in force through 2019, is to ensure safe and responsible operations in the Arctic and minimize the adverse impact on the environment from the Company's activities. The Program consists of the following key components: environmental protection action to increase the safety of exploration activities, research and development and methodological support, environmental monitoring of species serving as indicators of Arctic ecosystem health and their habitats.
The Company regularly monitors water protection zones as well as surface water, groundwater, and wastewater and assesses the bottom sediment conditions of surface water bodies in the areas of their operation. Scientists from the Polar Research Institute of Marine Fisheries and Oceanography are carrying out comprehensive studies of the water environment as well as key hydrological and hydro-chemical indicators of the state of the water near the Prirazlomnaya offshore platform.	The Company carries out research on polar bear and walrus populations, develops observation guidelines to assess impacts on marine mammals from marine geological surveys, compiles a list of species serving as indicators of marine ecosystem health across the Company's licensed sites in the seas of the Arctic Ocean, publishes a brochure on the conservation of biological diversity in the Arctic.
«ARCTIC 2017»	
Gazprom Neft Shelf and Rosneft took part in the «Arctic 2017» – complex exercise-and-drill organized by the RF Ministry of Natural Resources, the Ministry of Emergency Situations etc. The exercise-and-drill aimed at the improvement of preparation for the clean-up of a theoretical oil spill near the Prirazlomnaya platform. During the exercises, the participants went over the scenario for an oil spill caused by a tanker collision with the support vessel and ensured protection of the coastal strip from an oil spill in icy conditions. The results of the exercises demonstrated the company readiness to cope with oil spills at sea and in the coastal area.	

Social dialogue between business and indigenous peoples of the north in modern conditions is a process of active interaction. Legal protection of indigenous peoples requires not only laws, but also new tools and mechanisms.

Corporate social responsibility is one of the mechanisms to protect the rights of indigenous people in the industrial development of the North. The necessary measures and programs should aim at creating conditions for the independent development of traditional industries and culture of the Arctic indigenous population.

Policies, standards and regulations adopted by companies can be an effective mechanism for a dialogue. Most of the companies that work in the regions of indigenous com-

Table 3

Saami – an indigenous ethnic group living in Northern Europe: large areas of Norway and Sweden, northern Finland, and Murmansk Region of Russia. According to the 2010 Census of Russia's population the Sami ethnic group numbers 1771 people [1]	Nenets – are indigenous people in Russia, inhabiting the Eurasian coast of the Arctic Ocean from the Kola to the Taymyr Peninsula. According to the 2010 Census of Russia their population amounts to 44640 [5]	Nganasans – are indigenous Samoyedic people inhabiting the Taymyr Peninsula in the north of Siberia. They are the northernmost people of Eurasia. Nganasans inhabit the East of the Taimyr municipal district of Krasnoyarsk Territory and the territory governed by Dudinka administration. According to the 2010 Census of Russia, their population numbers 862 people.
Traditionally, the Saami are engaged in coastal fishing, fur trapping and sheep herding. The most famous means of their existence is semi-nomadic reindeer herding. Currently, about 10% of the Saami are engaged in reindeer breeding, providing themselves with meat, fur and transport. For traditional, environmental, cultural and political reasons, reindeer breeding is legally reserved only for the Sami in some regions of the Nordic countries. [3]	The main occupations of the Nenets are reindeer herding, fishing, and hunting.	Traditional occupations: hunting wild deer, waterfowl, domestic reindeer herding, fur hunting, fishing in open waters, fur trade. Women in the village are engaged in currying deer hides and making national clothes and shoes [6]

munities have adopted special regulations and recommendations when working in the territories of traditional nature management. Company policies are developed on the basis of such documents, and they must be communicated to employees at the beginning of their work, as well as at public hearings or proceedings. This can be an important component of implementation of the principle of free and informed consent of indigenous peoples to activities that have effect on them. It is in the course of preliminary consultations that indigenous peoples can describe the zoning of the territories they develop, their requirements not to carry out industrial work on spawning grounds, calving places, valuable hunting areas. Temporary stoppages during important periods for the reindeer, hunters and fishermen can be considered an important example of partnership and respect for indigenous peoples.

In recent years, the policy of Russian industrial companies has changed markedly; they proclaim the desire to work at the level of international standards.

Within the UN, such standards are set out in the Global compact (1999) [19]. Rosneft is a party to the United Nations Global Compact. The Global Compact includes ten principles, two of which can be extended to indigenous peoples: «Business should support and respect the approach of protecting international human rights in their spheres of influence»; «Business shouldn't be involved in human rights violations; business should determine the position of companies in the field of human rights».

In 2007, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which sets out the General Rules for the national States in which they live. [18]. The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples sets out their rights to preserve and develop their own culture and the obligations of their respective States to develop and implement mechanisms to promote protection of indigenous rights. The most important and valuable in this international instrument is the proclamation of the «principle of free,

GAZPROM-NEFT SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT REPORT (2017)	ROSNEFT SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT REPORT (2017)
The Company engages in production activities in areas where indigenous peoples of Northern Russian live. Gazprom Neft takes special care to maintain a balance between implementation of its strategic plans and interests of indigenous people to preserve their cultural heritage and the environment In the course of field exploration and development the Company strictly observes the rights of IP and maintains a dialogue with them. Gazprom Neft provides financial support to families and agricultural communities of indigenous peoples, works for preservation of their national identity, establishes and maintains cultural ties between different communities and families, and draws public attention to preservation of traditional arts and crafts. To establish a unified approach to interaction with indigenous peoples, Gazprom Neft in 2017 approved the Corporate Policy for Interaction with Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East and a methodological document that describes the mechanisms and focuses on interaction with them	Support for indigenous peoples of the North is one of Rosneft's traditional charity focuses. Rosneft promotes economic development of indigenous peoples of the North, funding procurement of equipment for their traditional occupations and providing for housing construction and repair, social facilities and infrastructure. The company helped to establish The Foundation for Support of the Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East in 2017 under the auspices of the RAIPON. The foundation is funded by voluntary contributions and donations from sponsors, partners and the Russian constituent entities where indigenous peoples live. The collected funds are used to support the association's projects and key initiatives, including development of regional and international partnerships, variety of projects in the legal sphere, preservation of unique cultures and traditional lifestyles of northern peoples.

prior and informed consent in decisions affecting their interests». Unfortunately, the Russian Federation has not yet ratified this document.

The ethnological expertise also may be an instrument of interaction. Unfortunately, Russia hasn't got any means to legally implement ethnological expertise recommendations. At the regional level, the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) adopted the Law «On Ethnological Expertise in Places of Traditional Residence and Traditional Economic Activities of Indigenous Communities of the North of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)», which guarantees the obligation to conduct such an assessment of indigenous people needs. [4]. In some regions, the practice of conducting ethnological examinations on the motion of local indigenous population has developed. Industrial companies do this even in the absence of legal requirements.

In order to create a fair system of interaction between indigenous peoples and industrial companies, it is necessary to have confidence in indigenous peoples. It is important to create a platform for negotiations where the state (legal system), industrial companies (corporate law) and indigenous peoples (customary law) would have the right to vote, create a system of principles and mechanisms that will ensure their interaction.

At the international level, it is the AC. The activity of the Northern indigenous peoples is also important. In addition to the eight member-states of the Arctic Council, the Arctic Council includes six international organizations representing interests of the indigenous peoples of the North. [16]. Indigenous peoples' organizations have been granted Permanent Participant Status in the Arctic Council: The Aleut International Association (AIA); The Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC); The Gwich'in Council International (GCI); The Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC); The Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON); The Saami Council (SC). The Permanent Participants have full consultation rights in connection with

the Council's negotiations and decisions and take an active part in the work of the Council. The Permanent Participants represent a unique feature of the Arctic Council, and they make valuable contribution to its activities in all areas. [15].

Oil and gas extractions in the Circumpolar North accord with growth-based economic system involving consumption as key for the progress of living standards. The Companies operating in the Arctic both onshore and offshore facilitate economic development of neighboring areas. Oil and gas development provides for economic growth and is a tool for social transformation. The priorities of Russian companies in the regions are.

a) Ensuring environmental safety and minimizing negative effect of the Company's operation on the environment;

b) Cooperation with the governments of the RF regions and with municipal administrations to ensure sustainable development of the territories and improvement of people's life quality;.

c) Creating a competitive environment on regional labor markets;

d) Creating stable and favorable financial, economic, and legal environment for operation of Companies;

e) Expanding cooperation with stakeholders;

f) Ensuring information transparency for all stakeholders.

Description of corporate social responsibility of Companies and results of their interaction with indigenous peoples of Northern Russia (as stated in reports of the companies) – see table 4.

To sum up, the best way to implement a policy of protection and support of indigenous peoples is to cooperate with businesses, to contact with authorities. Federal and regional social programs contain provisions about protection of indigenous people. Implementation of political decisions is not always successful or efficient in Russia. There is a need to monitor implementation such programs more carefully. The president of the Russian Association of Indigenous People of the North works as a Deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Federation. He is a Member of the State Duma Committee on nationalities, which ensures the implementation of the state national policy at the legislative level, including the problems of indigenous people of the Russian Federation. His initiative to establish a Federal Roster of information on indigenous people could also be an effective mechanism for ensuring the rights and guarantees of this category of citizens, including the area of environmental management. [14].

The arrival of the industrial companies on the territories of traditional natural resource use can't be stopped. The demands for oil as an export commodity are increasing. It is necessary to create and maintain a system to address the problems of environmental protection and the traditional lifestyle of the indigenous peoples of the North and balancing the economy: to form a culture of conduct and life-sustaining activity in the Arctic, supporting traditional economic activities and industries.

The resources are needed and the technology is in Russia to extract the resources responsibly. At the same time there is the need to look at alternative forms of energy, to collaborating with other stakeholders in the search for sustainable economic opportunities and renewable energy sources for northern Indigenous communities.

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