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First of all, I am delighted to be here, and I am very happy that the World Policy Conference lives and thrives.

In the modern world, there are basically two types of terrorism. One is the type just mentioned: terrorist attacks, which are vicious and which are growing in terms of danger, and they are happening all over the world, especially in the larger Middle East, but also now more and more in Europe, in Russia, and other places. The second type of terrorism is organised or massive terrorism, when terrorist organisations which engage in the first type of terrorism take over territories and countries, and then become a direct and structural threat to humanity and world peace at large.

We have had that type of terrorism before. Because of injustice and economic suffering, Germany once became a terrorist state. Before and since that, we have had racist and nationalist regimes in Europe, but Hitler's was something quite different; it was a classic terrorist regime. It did not use modern terrorist tactics, but it was a classic terrorist regime.

It is clear how we deal with the first type of terrorism, though it is very difficult; it is the work of the security services, police, media with maximum international coordination. How to deal with the second type of terrorism is a big issue, but before addressing that issue, this particular situation, we have to define this new kind of massive or state terrorism. This is a new kind which appeared about 30 years ago. First, we had the mujahedeen and Taliban and Al-Qaeda, then Al-Nusra and now Daesh, and it is highly likely that we will have something else unless we learn lessons from the past.

The reasons for the arrival of this new type of terrorism, as well as the first type of terrorism, are relatively clear: injustice and social inequality. In the Middle East it is also the growth of demographic problem, on a background of social economic and cultural problems, which block growth, climate change, leading to decreased food production, creating new masses of dissatisfied people. We should deal with these kinds of sources of terrorism, but they will always be with us, and we cannot do away with them totally.

However, this time, as with Al-Qaeda and the Taliban before that, we have huge terrorist organisations which actually take over territories. They are also the result of unjustified, totally incompetent and irresponsible intrusion by foreign powers. The Soviet Union, my former country, did contribute when it went into Afghanistan, but thank God we have done away with the idiocy of Communism and its gerontocracy. However, during the last several years, we have had a new series of ideological intrusions, which, as I have said, were unbelievably irresponsible and incomprehensible – Iraq, with the ending of the Ba'ath regime, Libya and support for the Arab Spring, which could have only brought disaster, but was widely supported and thrived for a while. We now have the same situation developing in Syria, of course.

My first recipe for dealing with this issue is to stop interventions, whatever ideological banner they come under – whether communism, democracy or any future isms.

They bring only disaster. Respect the local traditions and customs. The aim should not be change but only stability. Change and development can only come under circumstances of stability and peace. That is the lesson we should learn from the past.

Where do we go in terms of the future? Russia, my country, is doing what it believes it should do. We went to Syria for several reasons, but one of the main reasons was to destroy terrorist organisations and terrorist institutions at their core, before they come to our territory. It is also to prop up existing states and existing legitimate governments, and stop the irresponsible policies of regime change which have been undertaken by our partners. We have succeeded.

What should be the principles of our common future policy? First of all, the common goal should be stability. When fighting terrorist organisations of the Daesh or Al-Nusra type, which has not been believed to be exactly a terrorist organisation, you have to use unlimited force. The aim is to kill and to crush the will and any prospect of victory of those people who have taken up arms against the forces of civilisation. You are doomed to be defeated eventually if you play games with these forces.

Then put emphasis on the support of traditional forces and traditional values within the societies, work with the governments, and of course forget about geopolitical games when you are fighting this kind of terrorist threat. This is very hard for everybody, including Russians – we are very good at playing geopolitical games – but, in principle, we must understand that if we do not defeat Daesh now, there will be several Daeshes, which might be much worse, down the road, because the social, economic and political preconditions for new waves of terrorism are growing. The situation in the larger Middle East has been destabilised for quite some time, and it will be very hard to correct it, if this is possible at all. We then have Central Africa, which is heading towards a social disaster, again mostly because of climate, demography, etc., and it will be a fertile ground for terrorism.

We should support existing vulnerable states. I could name only three in this area, but there are many others, and our friends from this area know them better. I would say that there are three at the top of my list – Jordan, of course, Egypt, and Algeria. We need to support them, together with our friends from this area, but also from Europe, from the USA, and maybe from China and other places, as otherwise we will have a profound and qualitatively growing threat.

Just imagine what would have happened if Russia had not started to destroy all these forces in Syria. By now, Al-Nusra and Daesh would have been in control of the whole country; they would have been in Damascus and in control of the military machine of the government and of the coastline. Imagine what would have happened if, by the will of Allah or God, if General Al-Sisi had not organised a *coup d'état*. By this time, the whole of Egypt would have been in flames.