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Malaysia's 2025 ASEAN Chairmanship: Economic Integration, Strategic Balancing, and Normative Leadership

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ABSTRACT

Malaysia's ASEAN Chairmanship in 2025 arrives at a pivotal moment for the region, as ASEAN seeks to consolidate the achievements of the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 and prepare the foundations for ASEAN Vision 2045. Against the backdrop of intensifying global competition and shifting regional dynamics, Malaysia's leadership will be critical in ensuring ASEAN's relevance and resilience. This paper assesses Malaysia's chairmanship through three interrelated dimensions. First, it examines Malaysia's role in operationalizing the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 and laying the groundwork for ASEAN Vision 2045, with particular attention to strengthening economic integration, advancing digital connectivity, and fostering sustainable development. Second, the study analyses Malaysia's diplomatic balancing between major powers, particularly China, the United States, and India, and its efforts to reinforce ASEAN centrality amidst competing Indo-Pacific frameworks. Third, it evaluates Malaysia's normative leadership in promoting inclusivity, governance, and human security under the banner of its domestic "Madani" policy, assessing how this values-driven approach may shape ASEAN's collective identity and external credibility. Methodologically, the paper draws on documentary analysis, ASEAN communiqués, and secondary scholarship to assess Malaysia's chairmanship through the lenses of regionalism, middle-power diplomacy, and norm diffusion. The findings suggest that while Malaysia is well-positioned to advance ASEAN's economic and institutional cohesion, its success will depend on reconciling national priorities with regional consensus, addressing intra-ASEAN divergences, and enhancing ASEAN's collective agency in the wider Asia-Pacific. Ultimately, Malaysia's 2025 Chairmanship represents both an opportunity and a test of ASEAN's ability to act cohesively in an increasingly complex multipolar order.

1. Introduction

Malaysia's chairmanship of ASEAN in 2025 comes at a moment of pivotal transition for the region. ASEAN is nearing the culmination of many objectives under the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 while simultaneously preparing to project its trajectory toward Vision 2045. This juncture

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unfolds in a broader international environment marked by intensifying strategic competition among major powers, including the United States, China, and India, the proliferation of Indo-Pacific frameworks, and growing pressure on multilateral institutions. To remain relevant and cohesive, ASEAN must demonstrate not just its institutional resilience, but also, its capacity to articulate strategic direction. Malaysia, as chair, faces the complex task of aligning ASEAN's ongoing commitments with emergent challenges while projecting a values-driven leadership rooted in its domestic *Madani* policy.

The literature on ASEAN regionalism underscores the unevenness of integration. While the economic pillar has seen substantial traction, progress in the political-security and socio-cultural dimensions has lagged, hindered by weak enforcement, non-interference norms, and consensus decision-making practices [1]. Acharya [1] emphasizes that ASEAN exhibits a form of "soft institutionalism" in which informal norms often prevail over binding ones, limiting the bloc's capacity for decisive collective action. At the same time, scholarship on ASEAN's strategic environment suggests that the organization's centrality is increasingly challenged by external architectures and competing regional orders. This has prompted debates about whether ASEAN's centrality is substantively effective or largely rhetorical [2,3].

In the domain of state-level diplomacy, the middle-power literature offers useful insights into how countries like Malaysia navigate the demands of balancing, hedging, or bridging among major powers. Bruce Gilley's [4] recent article "Will Malaysia Become an Active Middle Power?" argues that Malaysia has begun to adopt certain middle-power behaviours, such as advocating for small states and engaging in regional governance, but retains hesitation concerning full proactive leadership [4]. Gilley locates Malaysia's foreign policy identity between ambition and restraint, constrained by domestic politics and ingrained diplomatic traditions. Complementing this, Teo [5] reviews the typologies of middle-power behaviour, whether based on capabilities, identity, or behaviour, and argues for a more differentiated framework in Asia Pacific settings.

In parallel, normative and identity-cantered studies of ASEAN emphasize how shared values, norms, and identity construction shape regional governance. Drawing on constructivist institutionalism, Acharya frames ASEAN as a socially embedded security community whose coherence depends not only on formal institutions but also on shared norms, socialization, and identity diffusion [1]. The notion of norm diffusion is key here, as national-level policy narratives such as Malaysia's *Madani* agenda may reinforce or disrupt ASEAN's normative foundations [1]. Recent scholarship further highlights the growing salience of inclusivity, human security, and sustainability as normative themes in ASEAN's evolving identity [6,7].

Taken together, these strands reveal three research gaps. First, while much has been written on ASEAN Vision 2025 and Vision 2045 as strategic frameworks, fewer studies investigate how an individual chairmanship can function as a bridging mechanism between them. Second, although ASEAN's external environment and great power competition are well-studied, Malaysian diplomatic balancing in the 2025 context has been underexplored. Third, although normative studies explore ASEAN identity and values, there is limited empirical work on how a national values-driven policy such as *Madani* may influence ASEAN's regional norms, institutional practices, and external legitimacy.

In light of these gaps, this paper assesses Malaysia's 2025 chairmanship along three interrelated dimensions: operationalizing ASEAN's community and institutional goals, navigating great power diplomacy while reinforcing ASEAN centrality, and projecting normative leadership through the *Madani* vision. By doing so, the paper contributes to debates on ASEAN's resilience, Malaysia's middle-power trajectory, and the evolving role of normative leadership in regional architecture.

2. Methodology

2.1 Research Design

This study adopts a qualitative research design with documentary analysis as its primary method. This choice is justified for three reasons. First, the research questions focus on interpretive understanding of Malaysia's leadership in ASEAN, which requires examining institutional texts, diplomatic practices, and normative discourses rather than generating numerical measurements. Second, the prospective nature of Malaysia's 2025 chairmanship means that empirical outcomes are not yet available; instead, forward-looking analysis must rely on ASEAN's institutional frameworks and official narratives. Third, documentary analysis provides contextual depth, allowing the study to situate Malaysia's chairmanship within ASEAN's broader developmental trajectory, the dynamics of great-power competition, and the diffusion of norms across Southeast Asia.

2.2 Data Source

The study draws upon two categories of data. The first includes primary sources, particularly official ASEAN documents such as the *ASEAN Community Vision 2025*, the *ASEAN Vision 2045 Comprehensive Report*, ASEAN Summit chair statements, ministerial communiqués, and records published by the ASEAN Secretariat [8,9]. These texts articulate ASEAN's institutional objectives, strategies, and evolving identity. The second category consists of secondary sources from scholarly literature and policy research. Core contributions include Acharya's work on ASEAN as a security community [1], Jones and Jenne's analysis of ASEAN centrality under great-power rivalry [2], Gilley's study of Malaysia's potential middle-power trajectory [4], and Teo's [5] conceptual framework on middle-power behavior. These works enrich the empirical analysis by providing theoretical grounding and comparative insight.

2.3 Method of Analysis

The study employs a theory-informed content analysis. Relevant ASEAN documents are systematically coded according to themes related to regionalism, middle-power diplomacy, and norm diffusion. The analysis identifies recurring concepts, silences, and variations across texts. To enhance validity, findings from documentary analysis are triangulated with interpretations from the secondary literature. This combination ensures both empirical grounding and theoretical coherence, enabling the study to assess whether Malaysia's chairmanship is more likely to reflect continuity in ASEAN practices or a departure toward proactive and values-driven leadership.

3. Result

The findings suggest that Malaysia's chairmanship represents both opportunity and constraint. Institutionally, Malaysia can drive digital and sustainability agendas but must address persistent inequalities within ASEAN. Diplomatically, it can reinforce centrality by mediating among competing Indo-Pacific strategies, though effectiveness depends on intra-ASEAN consensus. Normatively, Malaysia may project *Madani* as a soft-power narrative, but ASEAN's diversity limits the depth of norm diffusion.

4.1 Institutional and Economic Implementation

Malaysia's chairmanship coincides with the final stage of the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 and the preparatory phase for the ASEAN Community Vision 2045. The ASEAN Community Vision 2025, adopted in 2015, provided a blueprint to guide the region toward a more united, secure, peaceful, inclusive, and prosperous future. It envisioned an integrated regional economy, a politically stable and secure environment, and a resilient, people-centered society with an enhanced quality of life for all citizens. The vision aimed to foster regional stability, promote human rights, ensure good governance, and advance sustainable development to benefit all ASEAN peoples [10]. In May 2025, ASEAN endorsed the Community Vision 2045 under Malaysia's chairmanship, adopting a long-term strategy to build a 'resilient, innovative, dynamic, and people-centred ASEAN Community' [11]. The effectiveness of Malaysia's leadership will therefore be measured by how well it concluded the final phase of Vision 2025 while launching and anchoring the implementation of Vision 2045.

Malaysia's 2025 ASEAN Chairmanship carries the theme "Inclusivity and Sustainability," a vision that closely aligns with the pillars of the ASEAN Community Vision 2045. According to the official website of Malaysia's ASEAN Chairmanship, the theme "reflects our aspiration for truly shared progress, ensuring that no one is left behind." [12]. It affirms ASEAN's commitment to strengthening peace, stability, and prosperity within an inclusive, sustainable, and future-oriented framework. As interdependent and mutually reinforcing values, inclusivity and sustainability cut across ASEAN's three pillars of cooperation: political-security, economic, and socio-cultural. By advancing this theme, Malaysia seeks to consolidate the gains of the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 while laying the foundation for Vision 2045, positioning ASEAN for transformation into a more resilient, innovative, and people-centred regional community.

In order to fulfil the chosen theme, Malaysia had already underscored the central importance of the economic dimension as early as October 2024. At the ASEAN Summit in Vientiane, Laos, Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim presented Malaysia's vision for its forthcoming ASEAN chairmanship [13]. He stressed that the country's priorities would include strengthening regional trade and investment linkages, accelerating digital transformation, enhancing the economic resilience of member states, and driving the restructuring and recalibration of their economies by leveraging each other's comparative strengths [13].

Sustainability is closely intertwined with ASEAN's economic agenda, and the persistently low level of intra-ASEAN trade has emerged as a central concern for Malaysia. Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim has noted that despite Southeast Asia's impressive growth, intra-regional trade has remained stagnant for decades. In response, Malaysia's 2025 ASEAN Chairmanship strategy places priority on strengthening regional value chains and deepening economic integration. A key element of this approach is the forthcoming upgrade of the ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement (ATIGA) in 2025, which is designed to reduce non-tariff barriers and standardize trade rules across the bloc, thereby facilitating more resilient and seamless supply-chain linkages within Southeast Asia.¹⁴ Beyond trade facilitation, Malaysia has stressed the importance of regulatory cooperation and the reinforcement of economic fundamentals, advocating for harmonized regulations, streamlined procedures, and capacity-building measures to recalibrate and restructure regional economies in line with members' comparative strengths [15]. Digital transformation is also positioned as a critical driver of inclusive growth, with Malaysia highlighting technological adoption and digitalization to bridge development gaps and enhance ASEAN's competitiveness, while simultaneously expanding the bloc's external partnerships [16]. In this context, Malaysia has proposed initiatives such as an ASEAN-GCC + China Summit in 2025 to diversify trade linkages and broaden economic engagement [13]. Underpinning these strategies is the overarching goal of strengthening ASEAN's economic resilience, with the Prime

Minister setting an ambition for ASEAN to become the world's fourth-largest economy by 2030. Tackling the long-standing challenge of low intra-ASEAN trade relative to regional growth will therefore be a defining priority of Malaysia's chairmanship [17]. Ultimately, by embedding these economic initiatives within a framework of inclusivity and sustainability, Malaysia seeks to ensure that ASEAN's integration delivers both resilience and equitable growth across all member states.

This alignment between ASEAN's long-term visions and Malaysia's chairmanship agenda can be more clearly illustrated through a comparative framework. Table 1 below highlights how Malaysia's 2025 priorities intersect with the core dimensions of the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 and the ASEAN Community Vision 2045, demonstrating its role in bridging achievements with future aspirations.

Table 1

Comparative table: ASEAN Vision 2025, Vision 2045, and Malaysia's 2025 priorities

Dimension	ASEAN COMMUNITY VISION 2025	ASEAN COMMUNITY VISION 2045	MALAYSIA'S 2025 CHAIRMANSHIP PRIORITIES
Economic	Integrated regional economy	Prosperous and integrated ASEAN economy	Advance economic integration and digital economy
Political-Security	Politically stable and secure environment	Stable and rules-based political-security community	Reinforce ASEAN centrality and regional stability
Socio-Cultural	Resilient, people-centered society	Inclusive and innovative socio-cultural community	Promote inclusivity through MSME empowerment and BIMP-EAGA engagement
Connectivity & Sustainability	Enhanced quality of life, good governance, sustainable development	Seamless connectivity, sustainability, and resilience	Champion sustainability, climate finance, and institutional reform

3.2 Diplomatic Balancing and ASEAN Centrality

Malaysia's 2025 chairmanship moves beyond rhetorical neutrality to active diplomatic balancing, deploying ASEAN mechanisms to assert the bloc's central role in a contested regional order. This approach is not only about power politics but is closely linked to Malaysia's chosen theme of "Inclusivity and Sustainability," which underpins how external relations are framed and how internal unity is maintained.

First, Malaysia has taken visible steps in crisis diplomacy, particularly with Myanmar. By appointing Othman Hashim as its Special Envoy and using the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Retreat in Langkawi (January 2025) as a platform for renewed ASEAN engagement, Malaysia demonstrates that it intends to manage the crisis within ASEAN rather than externalise it.¹⁸ This approach reflects inclusivity by keeping all ASEAN members engaged in dialogue, even those facing internal turmoil, and sustainability by showing ASEAN can handle long-term regional challenges on its own terms.

Second, Malaysia is positioning itself as a bridge-builder among differently aligned ASEAN members. The Diplomat highlights Malaysia's "bridging divides" diplomacy, where it works to prevent polarization between states leaning toward the United States, China, or India.¹⁸ By keeping ASEAN-led tracks such as the East Asia Summit at the center of engagement, Malaysia ensures that

no single power dominates, thus protecting inclusivity among members while sustaining ASEAN's role as a neutral platform for cooperation.

Third, in its external diplomacy with China, Malaysia has tied bilateral engagement to ASEAN's broader vision. In his "Bridging Futures" speech, Prime Minister Anwar emphasized that Malaysia–China relations must reinforce ASEAN centrality and regional autonomy.¹⁹ This framing reflects sustainability: Malaysia accepts Chinese economic cooperation but anchors it within ASEAN's long-term development frameworks such as connectivity and green infrastructure, ensuring benefits are widely shared.

Fourth, campaign strategies in its chairmanship year reflect proactive agenda control. The ISEAS 2025 Trends report highlights Malaysia's proposal for an ASEAN–GCC–China Summit and its leadership on deliverables such as the Digital Economy Framework Agreement (DEFA) and the ATIGA/ACFTA upgrades.²⁰ These moves operationalize inclusivity by broadening ASEAN's partnerships beyond the usual great-power binaries and sustainability by embedding new economic growth drivers in ASEAN-led processes.

Finally, Malaysia is managing external perceptions of neutrality and agency. BenarNews noted that observers are watching whether Malaysia can avoid tilting toward one power while keeping ASEAN relevant.²¹ By combining assertive agenda-setting with balanced communication, Malaysia demonstrates that ASEAN centrality is more than rhetoric. It is a practical diplomatic practice that ensures the region remains inclusive of diverse partners and sustainable in the face of long-term geopolitical pressures.

Table 2 illustrates how Malaysia has operationalised diplomatic balancing during its 2025 chairmanship, reinforcing ASEAN centrality through crisis management, great-power engagement, external outreach, and neutrality in regional diplomacy.

Table 2

Malaysia's diplomatic balancing and ASEAN centrality in 2025

Domain	MALAYSIA'S ACTIONS (2024–2025)	DIPLOMATIC BALANCING AND ASEAN CENTRALITY
Crisis management: Myanmar	Appointment of Special Envoy and prioritisation of Myanmar at the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Retreat	Keeps the crisis within ASEAN mechanisms and avoids externalisation, reinforcing ASEAN's relevance.
Great-power forums	Promotion of ASEAN-led platforms such as the East Asia Summit and an inclusive AOIP narrative	Maintains ASEAN as the primary convenor and balances major power engagement without alignment.
China relationship	Framing of Malaysia–China cooperation as complementary to ASEAN's autonomy and goals	Prevents bilateral ties from bypassing ASEAN, embedding them within regional frameworks.
External outreach initiative	Proposal for an ASEAN–GCC–China Summit and leadership on DEFA and ATIGA/ACFTA upgrades	Uses agenda-setting to expand external partnerships while keeping ASEAN central in negotiations.

Neutrality & agency messaging	Balanced positioning in external relations and emphasis on ASEAN's independent agency	Enhances ASEAN's credibility and sustains its role as a neutral regional platform.
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3.3 Normative Leadership and the Madani Agenda

Malaysia's *Madani* policy, introduced in 2023, frames governance around six core values: sustainability (*keberdayaan*), prosperity (*kemakmuran*), innovation (*daya cipta*), respect (*hormat*), trust (*kepercayaan*), and compassion (*ihsan*).²² These principles provide a distinctive normative lens through which Malaysia seeks to exercise ASEAN leadership. They align closely with ASEAN's long-standing aspirations for a "people-centered" and "people-oriented" community. However, while ASEAN has repeatedly affirmed these ideals, implementation has often remained state-centric and elite-driven, limiting their transformative impact.²³

Malaysia's 2025 chairmanship provides an opportunity to embed these values into ASEAN's evolving institutional and policy frameworks. According to ISEAS (2025), Malaysia has positioned *Madani* as a "signature theme" of its chairmanship, framing inclusivity and sustainability as cross-cutting priorities for ASEAN Community Vision 2045 (ACV 2045).²⁰ Through preparatory discussions and official chairmanship messaging, Malaysia has pushed for the integration of social protection, digital inclusion, and sustainability indicators into ASEAN's post-2025 monitoring architecture.²⁰ This demonstrates an attempt to translate domestic governance values into regional policy instruments, strengthening ASEAN's normative underpinnings.

In addition to policy framing, Malaysia has projected *Madani* through public diplomacy and leadership style. As *The Edge Malaysia* (2025) notes, Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim's personal charisma and persuasive oratory have become significant assets in promoting Malaysia's values-based agenda.²⁴ His persona as a reformist statesman with a reputation for intellectual engagement and moral discourse has enhanced Malaysia's ability to articulate *Madani* as a regional ethos. Anwar's personal engagement in dialogues with other leaders and his ability to frame normative issues in accessible, universal terms have helped elevate *Madani* from a domestic slogan to a meaningful narrative within ASEAN.²⁴ This leadership style gives Malaysia added leverage in norm entrepreneurship, allowing it to shape regional conversations on inclusivity, governance, and human dignity more effectively than through institutional mechanisms alone.

Malaysia's leadership on *Madani* is already visible in several actions: the 2025 chairmanship theme of "Inclusivity and Sustainability" is explicitly grounded in *Madani* principles; Malaysia has advocated for the incorporation of dignity and equity measures in regional frameworks; and Anwar has repeatedly highlighted *Madani* in speeches to ASEAN and dialogue partners as the normative anchor of Malaysia's foreign policy. These initiatives aim to position Malaysia not just as a convener but as a values-shaper within ASEAN.

However, structural constraints remain. ASEAN's political diversity limits the potential for sweeping normative change. Institutions such as the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration (2012) and the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) continue to face criticism for their lack of enforcement and tolerance of illiberal interpretations.²⁵ Given these realities, Malaysia's success depends on coalition-building with like-minded members such as Indonesia and the Philippines, while managing sensitivities among more conservative states.

Incremental steps are therefore the most pragmatic path forward. These include mainstreaming inclusivity and sustainability indicators into ASEAN Vision 2045's monitoring system, enhancing cooperation on social protection, promoting human security within non-traditional security

frameworks, and fostering peer learning on governance. As Efremova (2021) highlights, ASEAN's normative evolution typically occurs through gradual socialisation rather than abrupt institutional overhaul.⁶ Malaysia's *Madani* agenda can thus contribute to ASEAN's normative development by reframing existing commitments and infusing them with a values-based leadership approach, supported by both policy mechanisms and Anwar's personal diplomacy. Table 3 summarises the six *Madani* values and illustrates how Malaysia has operationalised these principles through concrete actions and priorities during its ASEAN Chairmanship 2025.

Table 3

The Six *Madani* Values and Malaysia's actions as ASEAN chair 2025

Madani Value	MEANING	MALAYSIA'S ACTIONS AS ASEAN CHAIR 2025
Sustainability (<i>Keberdayaan</i>)	Emphasizing environmental and social responsibility	Framed "Inclusivity and Sustainability" as the central theme of the chairmanship; promoted green growth, sustainable supply chains, and climate finance cooperation in ASEAN economic and development discussions.
Prosperity (<i>Kemakmuran</i>)	Advancing shared economic well-being	Prioritized upgrading the ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement (ATIGA), strengthening regional value chains, and advocating for equitable digital and economic development across subregions, including CLMV and BIMP-EAGA.
Innovation (<i>Daya cipta</i>)	Encouraging creativity, adaptability, and technology adoption	Championed the Digital Economy Framework Agreement (DEFA) and regional digital transformation; positioned innovation as a key driver for inclusive growth.
Respect (<i>Hormat</i>)	Promoting mutual respect, harmony, and shared values	Emphasized respectful dialogue and consensus-building in sensitive areas such as Myanmar while engaging diverse political systems through ASEAN-led platforms.
Trust (<i>Kepercayaan</i>)	Building institutional integrity, accountability, and mutual confidence	Advocated for stronger ASEAN institutional capacity and coordination, including reforms to enhance policy implementation and resource mobilisation under ASEAN Community Vision 2045.
Compassion (<i>Ihsan</i>)	Promoting empathy, social justice, and human dignity	Highlighted social protection, human security, and inclusive development in chairmanship statements; supported initiatives to reduce socio-economic divides and ensure no one is left behind.

4. Conclusions

Malaysia's ASEAN Chairmanship in 2025 comes at a pivotal juncture as the region transitions from the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 to the ASEAN Community Vision 2045. This moment requires not only strategic clarity but also leadership that can navigate economic, geopolitical, and normative challenges in a complex regional environment. Malaysia has responded to this context by articulating a chairmanship agenda that rests on three interrelated pillars: institutional and economic implementation, diplomatic balancing, and normative leadership.

First, Malaysia has anchored its leadership in institutional and economic priorities that bridge the existing Vision 2025 with the ambitions of Vision 2045. Through initiatives such as the upgrade of ATIGA, the advancement of DEFA, support for sub-regional development, and efforts to enhance ASEAN's institutional capacity, Malaysia has sought to deepen economic integration, strengthen digital transformation, and embed sustainability within ASEAN's long-term development frameworks. These actions signal a commitment to making ASEAN more cohesive, resilient, and future-ready.

Second, Malaysia's approach to diplomatic balancing reflects its longstanding foreign policy tradition of strategic equidistance. Rather than choosing sides in great-power rivalries, Malaysia has

used ASEAN-led mechanisms as the primary platform to manage external engagement. Its actions in handling the Myanmar crisis, promoting inclusive Indo-Pacific narratives, framing its relationship with China within ASEAN frameworks, and setting agendas for external outreach reflect a pragmatic and active form of leadership that reinforces ASEAN centrality. Diplomatic balancing has allowed Malaysia to maintain neutrality while exercising convening power, strengthening ASEAN's position amid competing regional strategies.

Third, Malaysia has brought a distinctive normative dimension to its chairmanship through the *Madani* agenda. By aligning domestic governance values such as sustainability, prosperity, innovation, respect, trust, and compassion with ASEAN's regional vision, Malaysia has projected itself as a norm entrepreneur. Through its theme of "Inclusivity and Sustainability," the integration of social protection and sustainability indicators into ACV 2045 discussions, and Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim's personal diplomacy, Malaysia has introduced a values-based leadership style that complements its institutional and strategic initiatives. While ASEAN's diversity imposes limits on rapid normative change, Malaysia's incremental coalition-building and framing strategies could have lasting effects on ASEAN's collective identity and policy orientation.

Taken together, these three pillars demonstrate that Malaysia's 2025 chairmanship is both strategically adaptive and normatively ambitious. Its success will ultimately depend on sustaining institutional momentum, effectively mediating geopolitical tensions, and embedding its values agenda in ways that resonate across ASEAN's diverse membership. If these efforts continue, Malaysia's chairmanship may leave a legacy not only of policy deliverables but also of renewed regional cohesion and purpose as ASEAN looks toward 2045.

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