



**TECHNIUM**  
**SOCIAL SCIENCES JOURNAL**

**Vol. 7, 2020**

**A new decade  
for social changes**

[www.techniumscience.com](http://www.techniumscience.com)

ISSN 2668-7798



9 772668 779000

## **Brexit: As a Lesson and Challenge for ASEAN Integration or Vice Versa**

**Abdullah Fathan Taufik<sup>1</sup>, Jonni Mahroza<sup>2</sup>, Surryanto D. W.<sup>3</sup>**

Defense Diplomacy Department, Faculty of Defense Strategy, Indonesia Defense University

[fathan.taufik@gmail.com](mailto:fathan.taufik@gmail.com)<sup>1</sup>, [jmahroza.jm@gmail.com](mailto:jmahroza.jm@gmail.com)<sup>2</sup>, [surryantodw@yahoo.com](mailto:surryantodw@yahoo.com)<sup>3</sup>

**Abstract** Over the last few decades, ASEAN is considered as a copycat of the system of the European Union (EU). ASEAN is considered weaker, lacks strong support from its members, has less substantive achievements, and is nothing more than competition between ASEAN member countries, where the EU has gone further in its implementation. This assessment has recently been canceled. The EU is currently faced with a list of daunting challenges - the ongoing debt crisis in Greece, increasing criticism by right-wing political groups over the European Union's fundamental agreement on freedom of movement within the EU. The refugee crisis and the growing movement of secession from member states - Britain and Spain are the most prominent examples. Of course, the EU now faces its most significant and most existent challenge, political vortex and divisions with the launch of a referendum in Britain, which resulted in 'Brexit.' This paper tries to analyze how Brexit phenomenon is suspected to occur in ASEAN due to the principle of regionalism, clashes with the sovereignty of each member country. The method used is descriptive analysis with a literature review. Based on research, Brexit in the EU has a context and substance of regionalism that is different from the conditions that exist in ASEAN. Nevertheless, Brexit is an early warning for ASEAN, which has heterogeneous regionalism. Furthermore, ASEAN is pushing for centrality and strengthening ASEAN integration in responding to the turmoil and political change taking place in the Southeast Asian region.

**Keywords.** Brexit, ASEAN, Integration, Sovereignty

### **1. Introduction**

The European Union (EU) is a regional cooperation organization that is at the forefront compared to other regional organizations. This progress is shown in the union of the EU with political integration and economic integration. In the study of regionalism, the phenomenon of EU regional cooperation is referred to as the spillover phenomenon. The cooperation carried out increasingly widespread, ranging from trade cooperation on commodities of general goods to 'spillover' into economic zone cooperation using its currency. In new integration, the EU is at the level of the Economic Union. Because the EU has formed a single currency for its members. The success of the EU in creating the Euro currency has greatly influenced

regionalism in other regions, where the Euro is the main competitor of the US Dollar in global markets (Nanda & Permata, 2017).

In its development, the EU set rules regarding workers among its member countries, thus triggering immigration in EU countries that have been economically strong, one of them being Britain. Includes a single market policy so that the flow of capital, goods, services, and workers can move in EU member countries. The EU is a role model for other regional organizations. Nevertheless, in the last decade, this assessment has changed. The EU is currently facing several daunting challenges - the ongoing debt crisis in Greece, increasing criticism by right-wing political groups over the EU's fundamental agreement on freedom of movement within the EU. The refugee crisis and the growing movement of secession from member states - Britain and Spain are the most prominent examples. Of course, the EU now faces its most significant and most existent challenge, political vortex, and divisions with the launch of a referendum in Britain, which resulted in 'Brexit.'

Right on January 31, 2020, the UK has officially 'taken away' from the EU. Britain's long road to exit from the EU finally materialized as a continuation after the referendum of the British people on June 23, 2016. The EU Parliament gave its approval for the exit of Britain, aka Brexit, after 47 years of joining the EU. 621 MPs approved Britain's separation from the EU, of which 49 members said they did not agree, and 13 others voted to abstain. The Brexit process took more than three and a half years since the Brexit referendum, which showed a winning margin of 52 versus 48 votes for "Brexiters." With the status quo transition only lasting until the end of the year, new talks covering everything from trade to security will soon begin with Britain's status as a non-EU member.

While ASEAN has played a role in various negotiation and cooperation efforts in the Southeast Asia region and Asia Pacific, support stability during the transition and crisis that occurred due to changes in the structure of the superpower countries in the world. The development of the '3 Pillars of ASEAN' in building political, economic and social integration is evidence for ASEAN in its efforts to become a regional integration unit. In 2015 ASEAN achieved almost the same level of integration through the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). The dynamics of problems in ASEAN often occur and are difficult to disentangle and be resolved at the regional level. Severe human rights violations that occur in Myanmar on Rohingya ethnicity, violations of maritime boundaries between member countries, dispute over the South China Sea (LCS) Until drug trafficking and human trafficking. As well as various other non-traditional problems, cannot be resolved entirely in ASEAN.

The concept of upholding the implementation of the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration and integration must confront the concept of the sovereignty and the principle of non-intervention ASEAN countries. This contradiction is added to the regionalism differences that exist between the EU, which tends to be homogeneous and ASEAN, which tends to be heterogeneous. With the added strength of the escalation of Chinese rivalry with the United States (US) in the Southeast Asian region through the Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI) concept, it is confronted with the Indo-Pacific concept from the US camp with the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD). Nevertheless, ASEAN must be able to learn from the Brexit phenomenon that the same thing might happen in ASEAN. Often this regional integration reaps debate in the regional organization, which is at odds with the national sovereignty interests of its member countries. To answer this problem, in this paper, the method used is comparative analysis with comparative analysis approaches. The theory used in this paper is the theory of regionalism and sovereignty. In this paper, we will analyze how ASEAN regionalism is faced with the sovereignty of its member countries. This paper contributes to a more in-depth study of the Brexit phenomenon as lessons and challenges for ASEAN. Although ASEAN has a different

model in its application to the EU. The most manifest fundamental principle is that ASEAN uses a consensus system and the principle of non-intervention. However, it cannot be denied that the EU is the inspiration for the success of regional cooperation for ASEAN.

## **2. Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1. Regional Integration: A Changing Concept**

In the science of international relations, regionalism is understood as a term for mentioning a sense of identity and shared goals accompanied by the formation and application of institutions that have a particular identity and driving collective action in a region of the world. Regionalism is one of the international trade systems in addition to multilateralism and unilateralism. Regionalism was initially closely related to economic elements and factors related to trade. Economic integration at the regional level seems to be a new global trend (Bolaños, 2016).

In the last two decades, several regional blocks have been formed in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America, including the South African Development Community (SADC) in 1992, Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA) in 1994, ASEAN along with China, Japan, and Korea (ASEAN + 3) in 1997, Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) in 1998, Eurozone in 1999, East African Community (EAC) in 2000, Union of South American Nations (Unasur) in 2008, and the Pacific Alliance in 2011. The most prominent strategy in this regional integration is the European integration strategy, precisely the political and economic nuances of each project. The original aim of the EU and the Eurozone was to realize economic integration - it had become the most advanced economic unit, according to theory (Balassa, 1961).

Theodore H. Cohn explained that there are five stages in the development of regional integration. They were starting at the level of Free Trade Areas, Customs Union, Common Market, Economic Union, and finally, the Political Union (Cohn, 2012). Regional integration theory is not excluded from the dynamic character of economics: despite being one of the most studied topics in economics, the definition of regional integration is still controversial. Fundamental differences not only persist between the leading schools of thought but also between writers of the same school of thought (Suarez, 2009).

Because of the generalizations made by the World Trade Organization (WTO). Since 1980, the term regionalism has gradually replaced the term regional integration. Referring to all forms of institutional arrangements aimed at liberalizing and or facilitating trade at non-multilateral levels. Meanwhile, Figuière and Guilhot (2006) define regional economic integration as a combination of regionalism and regionalization. That is, an area is said to be regionally integrated if it reports the concentration of trade flows and institutional coordination, which permanently establishes general rules, between the countries concerned (Figuière & Guilhot, 2006).

Originally described as an international expression of a market economy, regional integration represented the transfer of national economic mechanisms on a broader scale. The first theoretical approach equates regional integration with the creation of a free trade area or customs union. There is some debate about the neoclassical notion of market integration. In particular, the difference by Viner (1950) between "trade creation" and "trade deflection" prompted discussion that led to the essence of modern international trade theory (Viner, 1950). Apart from a thorough analysis of regional integration, the definition remains controversial. Indeed, regional integration is a very complex idea because of its multidimensional and dynamic nature. On the one hand, the study of regional integration issues brings together several interrelated branches of knowledge: economics, politics, sociology, governance, and international relations.

## **2.2. State Sovereignty**

Sovereignty or sovereignty can be interpreted legally in state power in a particular region. In this paper, Morgenthau defines sovereignty in 3 synonyms of the notion of concept, namely independence, Equality, and Unanimity. Independence is defined as the highest authority for individual states in regulating and running the country. Equality, this country has an equal position with other countries because there is no authority over the country itself. Principle of unanimity is a unified and equal entity regardless of the size, population, and strength of the country. Looking at these three nominees, we see that sovereignty is the possession of a single authority in a unified and one country territory and is equal between one country and another (Morgenthau, 1948).

In his writings, Morgenthau explains the definition of sovereignty. The sovereignty of a country is not free and even. Some limits can suppress a country's sovereignty as the highest and sole authority over that country. The existence of international law and legal rules restrict the movement of the state to the existing system of rules and laws. Unequal state, there are always conditions where other power determines the behavior of a weaker country. State sovereignty in the context of relations between countries can be divided into special conditions, especially in relations with international organizations or relations between countries. This contradicts the idea of sovereignty as the highest and sole authority. The division of sovereignty becomes an ideological manifestation to see the direction of the state in the international order.

In the realist and liberalist view, sovereignty is an absolute condition and brings an international anarchist system. Nevertheless, the liberalist view refers more to an anarchist system that can be regulated through cooperation and the development of global shared order. Liberals see that state behavior can be regulated through international law and rules. This indicates that liberals have the view that sovereignty can be partially granted to the system. However, when confronted with essential realist thinking, the system is never equal, and the power determines the behavior and ability of the state to influence the system. Power becomes one of the critical points in safeguarding the sovereignty of the country from interference from other systems or countries.

## **3. Defining English Dynamics and EU: Integration to Brexit**

### **3.1. Brexit Chronological Polemic**

At least it took up to 3.5 years for Britain to break away from the EU. The long process of Britain Exit (Brexit) began on June 23, 2016, in which Britain held a referendum to decide to leave the EU or stay with the bloc. 52% voted out and 48% chose to stay together. Not long ago, on June 24, 2016, Prime Minister David Cameron resigned from his position because he supported Britain to remain in the EU. Then on July 23, 2016, there was a change of position in which David Cameron's position was replaced by Theresa May, while David Davis was appointed as Brexit Minister who was specifically tasked with taking care of the Brexit issue. On July 27, 2016, Michael Barnier, who is a former Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, was appointed as the Chief Negotiator of Brexit. Following up on the plan, on July 17 2017 discussions were held with the EU in the city of Brussels. Right on December 8, 2017, Theresa May submitted a condition to the EU about the plan to leave England. In early February 2017, the British Parliament through a vote decided to start the official process of exiting the EU.

198 votes gave Prime Minister Theresa May approval to start negotiations, while 144 others voted. In addition to the political and legal process within the UK, also carried out various negotiations with the EU. In the first phase of negotiations. On March 19, 2018, finally between Britain and the EU agreed and released a draft Brexit agreement. Theresa May submitted the

'Soft Brexit' plan on July 6, 2018, which explained that Britain remained in close contact and was still registered in the EU single market. However, this plan did not entirely go smoothly for the British government itself. There was an internal polemic that eventually forced David Davis to resign in protest. The next day Secretary of State Boris Johnson and 16 other ministers followed David's lead.

Finally, Britain and the EU reached the Brexit agreement in Brussels on November 29, 2018. 27 leaders of the country signed the agreement. Nevertheless, on January 15, 2019, the British Parliament rejected the results of the Brussels agreement the previous year. This forced Theresa May to return to Brussels to seek alternative agreements related to the attachment of the Irish Backstop on January 30, 2019. To be continued until March 20, 2019, Theresa May asked the EU to postpone Brexit until June 30, 2019. These conditions eventually pushed the EU to provide two the deadline options were limited on March 21 2019, i.e., May 22, if an agreement is agreed or April 12 if it fails to be agreed. The aftermath of the rejection made by the British Parliament finally forced Theresa May to resign.

On July 23, 2019, Boris Johnson won the contestation and was appointed Prime Minister of Britain the day after that. Boris Johnson made a political maneuver by issuing an official request to ignore the Irish Backstop on August 19, 2019. However, this was rejected by the EU. By October 3, 2019, Britain sent a new Brexit plan to the EU, including eliminating the Irish Backstop problem. The draft British resignation was then officially passed and became law in January 2020. With the progress in handling this Brexit process, then the British Parliament officially approved the Brexit 'divorce' agreement from the EU. So January 31, 2020, is the last date for Britain to be incorporated into the EU, and on February 1, 2020, Britain officially leaves the EU. The Brexit transition period is valid for 11 months or until December 2020.

### **3.2. Britain's critical attitude towards the EU**

The first factor that caused Britain to withdraw from EU membership was Britain's critical attitude towards the adoption of EU rules in the integration of the European region. For its member countries by explaining the criticism of the state-centric view of regional integration that the state remains the central axis in shaping and managing government strategies and cooperation with other parties (Bell & Hindmoor, 2009). Sovereignty is created to maintain security, peace, and prosperous life for a country. The view from the state-centric, which explains that the state or national government, as the chief decision-maker, gives up some authority to the supranational institutions to achieve the main policy objectives (Marks, 1996). In the context of the European Union which determines decisions or rules through a process of negotiation among executive member countries received criticism from the view of the state-centric who argues that do not want policy-making determined by state executives in detail. However, only the determination of the direction of policy that remains controlled by each country. Britain in the history of the integration of the European region has had a critical relationship with the existence of the European Union. Namely Britain in the process of early integration of the European region has rejected the invitation proposed by the six founding countries to join the EEC as stipulated in the 1957 Rome treaty.

State sovereignty emphasizes that the state has the highest and independent authority to regulate the people in its territory, even though the state legally grants authority to international institutions (Hathway, 2014). Explanation related to the priority of countries that have sovereignty to regulate, supervise and control domestic conditions can be explained through three British attitudes towards rules made by the European Union. In the process of regional integration as a form of British independence to safeguard the sovereignty of his country, namely the integration of the European region that guarantees the UK did not follow freedom

of movement of people utilizing eliminating the examination of the country's internal borders in the Schengen Area policy on the grounds. Conveyed by Secretary of State Robin Cook of the Labor political party led by Tony Blair namely Britain is an archipelago, so it is appropriate to keep the entry from the state border following immigration policies that have been owned (Jankowiak & Lamparski, 2016).

The second reason is that the Amsterdam agreement became the legal basis for Britain to protect the border independently. The British decided to exercise their rights in maintaining the security of both sea and airports because they believed they were an effective way to regulate immigrants and fight crime between nations. The second stance is that Britain made two rejection of the Maastricht Agreement which was formalized in 1992 containing three main objectives, namely (1) the establishment of a single European market using a single currency; (2) the establishment of the European Central Bank (ECB); and (3) the unification of the legislative and internal policies of member countries. The first refusal relates to the position of the government of John Major of the Conservative party trying to continue the policies of the previous Prime Minister regarding the rejection of European financial integration through European Monetary Union (EMU) policies contained in the Maastricht Treaty. The second objection is that Britain also did not sign the social chapter of the Maastricht agreement listed in the additional section. The chapter contains general rules related to labor relations and social welfare in EU member states.

The issue of "Brexit" has resulted in Labor female British MPs from the Labor Party, Jo Cox, being shot dead by those who oppose her who call for Britain to remain in the EU. He is considered a traitor to British freedom and freedom. This case caused Westminster to grieve, so the referendum campaign was suspended. Nearly half the members of the Conservative Party in parliament support "Brexit," becoming part of Euroskeptic.

"Brexit" has shown the British people who are divided views, between those who see the opportunity and those who are very worried about the impact. Confusion and anxiety have adversely affected national economic conditions. With rows of supporters and groups of cons almost as strong, the prospect of Britain as a result of "Brexit" has been at stake. Staying with the EU is considered to make Britain not change much unless there are EU reforms, which can make the EU more advanced and feel the benefits for all its member countries. Leaving the EU offers many changes, but Britain will be judged selfish for forgetting its European identity.

### **3.3. UK-EU trade and economy**

EU integration, from the start, requires enormous sacrifices, especially in economic spending that must be spent by its members. Also, with Britain, the burden must not only be borne by the political elite but also its population. One of Britain's most significant sacrifices is a reduction in national sovereignty, which must be transacted with European interests as a whole. National sovereignty was eroded by the construction of a new supranational entity, which involved small member states, which were laden with national economic burdens, foreign debt, even near bankruptcy, such as Greece, and high unemployment rates. This makes it difficult for Britain to accelerate with its vast economic potential (Nainggolan, 2016).

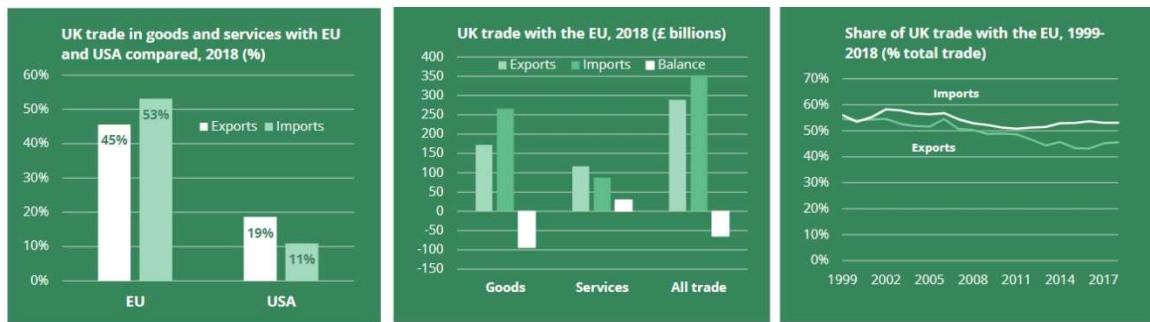


Figure 1. UK trade with the European Union: a summary  
Source: House of Commons Library - Statistics on UK-EU Trade 2019

As can be seen in figure 1, the EU is the UK's largest trading partner. In 2018 the EU accounted for 45% of UK exports and 53% of imports. Looking at individual countries, the USA is the UK's largest trading partner, accounting for just under a fifth of UK exports and only over 10% of imports in 2018. In 2018, the UK recorded an overall trade deficit with the EU of -£66 billion. A surplus of £28 billion on trade in services was outweighed by a deficit of -£94 billion on trade in goods. The UK recorded an overall trade surplus with non-EU countries - a surplus in trade in services outweighed a deficit in trade in goods. The share of UK exports accounted for by the EU has generally fallen over time. In 2006, UK exports to the EU accounted for 55% of all exports; this had fallen to 43% in 2016. The share of all UK imports accounted for by the EU fell from a high of 58% in 2002 to a low of 51% in 2010 (Ward, 2019).

UK trade with EU and non-EU countries 2018					
Goods and services					
	Exports		Imports		Balance
	£ billion	%	£ billion	%	
<b>EU</b>	291.0	45.3%	357.4	52.6%	-66.4
<b>Non-EU</b>	351.2	54.7%	322.6	47.4%	28.7
<b>Total</b>	642.2	100.0%	680.0	100.0%	-37.7

Source: ONS, Pink Book

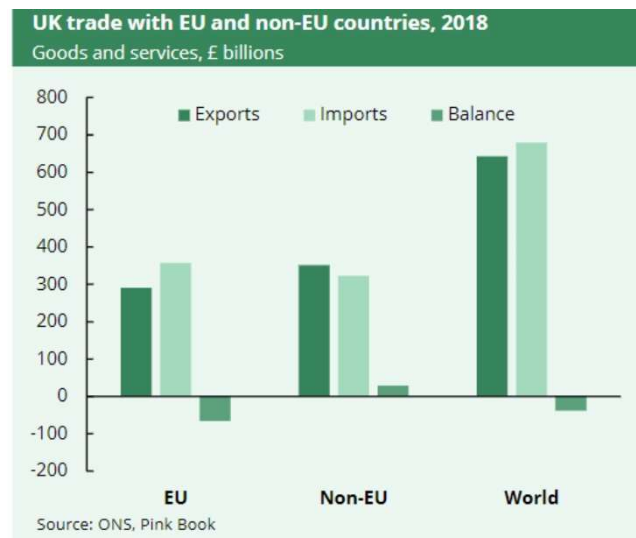


Figure 2. UK trade with EU and non-EU countries 2018  
Source: House of Commons Library - Statistics on UK-EU Trade 2019

In figure 2, in 2018, the UK exported £291 billion of goods and services to other EU member states. This was equivalent to 45% of all UK exports. Goods and services imports from the EU were worth £357 billion, 53% of all UK imports. The UK had a trade deficit of -£66 billion with the EU but a surplus of £29 billion with non-EU countries. The UK recorded a deficit in goods with both the EU and non-EU countries. But a trade surplus in services with both the EU and non-EU countries. The EU accounted for 50% of UK goods exports and 40% of services exports; 54% of imported goods and 48% of imported services were imported from the EU.

### 3.4. UK-EU immigration issues

EU policies that are too friendly in immigration encourage Britain's intention to leave the EU. This is evident among those who are very intolerant of foreigners, with various background differences, such as economic conditions, education, religion, and culture. Today there are 5.4 million immigrants, around 8.4% of the total UK population. Britain is the second-largest recipient of immigrants after Germany with 7.5 million immigrants or 9.3%. As many as 5.23 million immigrants are predicted to flood Britain until 2030.

The attitude of Brussels, which requires its members to share the burden of dealing with refugees flowing into mainland Europe has forced London to open its doors wide for refugees. They were already in a shelter camp on the French border and were ready to enter mainland England via the expressway and train. The violent behavior of immigrant refugees, coupled with the more significant costs and sacrifices that have to be incurred by the British Government, has made some of the political elite and people of Britain have to take drastic steps with a referendum on June 23, 2016.

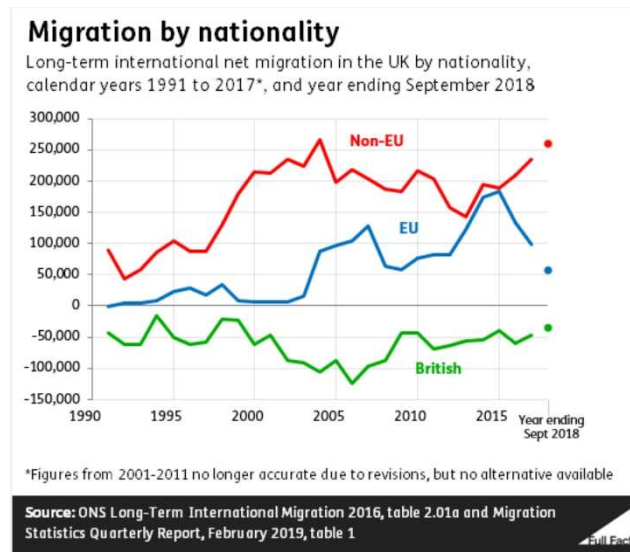


Figure 3. Migration by nationality

Source: ONS Long-Term International Migration 2016, table 2.01a and Migration Statistics Quarterly Report, February 2019, table 1

An estimated 202,000 citizens from other EU countries immigrated to the UK in the year to September 2018, and about 145,000 emigrated abroad. So EU 'net migration' was around 57,000—roughly the lowest level recorded since 2009. In the year before the referendum, net EU migration was estimated at 189,000, so there has been a large fall following the vote. Estimated non-EU net migration, meanwhile, is 261,000 a year—the highest level recorded since 2004. It has been almost consistently higher than EU migration for decades (Full Fact Team, 2019).

In recent years annual net migration from the rest of the EU has been at historically high levels. In the two years up until September 2016 it was between an estimated 160,000 to 190,000. Back in 2012 it was nearer 70,000 a year. As the Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford points out, when the EU expanded in 2004, the UK was one of three countries which opened its borders straight away to workers from the new member states. The new estimates for the year to September 2018 suggest EU net migration has now returned to a level similar to that last seen in 2009.

"Brexit," specifically, will provoke increasing nationalist sentiments and the emergence and strengthening of populist and right-wing leaders in the EU with high ambitions of power and anti-immigrant zeal, thus threatening EU political instability. It is estimated that the UK will face a minimum of 7 years of uncertainty during negotiations regarding new relations with the EU (Gross & Douglas, 2016).

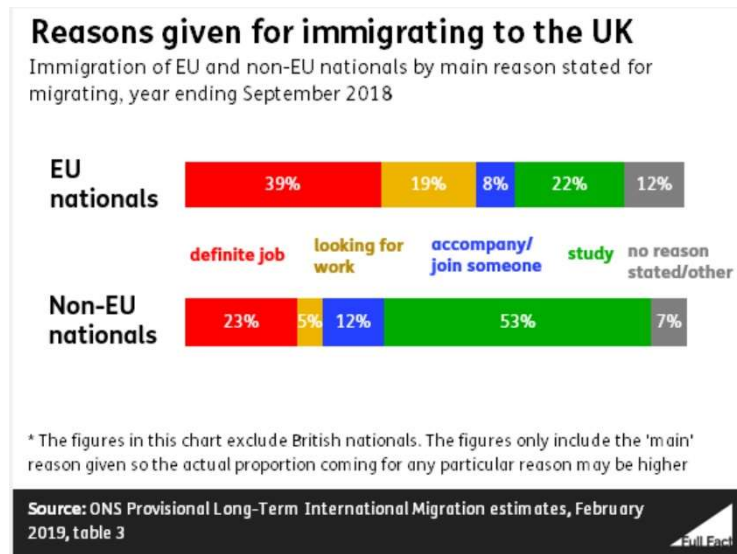


Figure 4. Reasons given for immigrating to the UK

Source: ONS Provisional Long-Term International Migration estimates, February 2019, table 3

Around 3.7 million people living in the UK in 2018 were citizens of another EU country. That is about 6% of the UK population, although these figures exclude people who live in communal establishments. Similarly, 6% of the UK population was born in another EU country. Around 2.3 million nationals of other EU countries are in work, as of October to December 2018. EU nationals of working age are more likely to be in work than UK nationals and non-EU citizens. About 83% of working-age EU citizens in the UK are in work, compared to around 76% of UK nationals and 66% of people from outside the EU.

With "Brexit," Britain will regain national sovereignty, and many jobs will be created. The British can deal directly with the economic powers of China, India, Russia, and others through the WTO, and can fully control the borders from the influx of immigrants. From a security perspective, Britain's role will not be lost to Germany and France. In contrast, Britons will no longer have EU social protection. The UK must allow the free movement of immigrants with free-market access, which can result in reduced tax payments.

### 3.5. The Role of ASEAN Centrality in the Indo-Pacific Region

In 1992, ASEAN succeeded in getting China to sign the South China Sea Declaration, together with a declaration on the actions of the parties in the South China Sea. Basically, the contents of the agreement call for a peaceful settlement of jurisdictional disputes without the use of violence, maritime security cooperation, maritime and environmental protection, action against transnational crime and the application of the principles of the Amity and Cooperation Agreement as the basis of the South China Sea Code of Ethics for Conflict (Siahaan & Risman, 2020). Especially in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific, this also confirms that ASEAN has become the main driving force responsible for maintaining peace, growth, security and stability (Darmayanti, 2018). ASEAN also has a number of mechanisms through which all members can engage in dialogue and consultation regarding their responsibility to maintain peace, stability and security in the region, particularly regarding joint political and security issues and make a significant contribution to building trust and preventive diplomacy.

ASEAN became the media as well as one of the meetings and dialogues that could be used in multilateral security cooperation by encouraging and prioritizing ASEAN Centrality. ASEAN also plays an important role in maintaining peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region. The ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific is an affirmation of ASEAN's position in its role to maintain peace, security, stability and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region, which includes the Asia Pacific and Indian Ocean. This Outlook emphasizes an open and inclusive approach to dialogue and cooperation in areas that are ASEAN priorities, namely maritime, economics, connectivity, and achievement of SDGs (ASEAN, 2019).

#### **4. Analysis**

##### **4.1. Lesson and Challenge for ASEAN Integration**

Whereas in the Asian region, ASEAN as regional cooperation of Southeast Asian countries was initially formed to stem the influence of communism in the Cold War (Chia, 1997: 276). Although inspired by the EU cooperation model, ASEAN does not use the cooperative approach that is owned by the European Union. This is due to the member countries which are concerned about the issue of sovereignty when using a European Union collaborative approach that is highly institutionalized, has a high interdependence among its member countries, and has strong regulations. The ASEAN regional cooperation was named as 'the ASEAN road,' a regional collaboration which prioritized non-interference between member countries and weak institutional devices (Leifer, 1989: 8-9).

According to Norman Palmer's analysis of regionalism in Asia-Pacific, ASEAN is a regionalism that is categorized as a 'new wave' of regionalism. In contrast to 'old' regionalism, which leads to integration and federalism, new regionalism tends to prioritize interdependence among its member states (Palmujoki, 1997: 270). After the Maastricht Treaty was signed, integration within the European Union strengthened both vertically and horizontally. Mark the strengthening of interdependence between European Union countries, because institutions are increasingly integrated. Interdependence is the basis of ASEAN cooperation (Palmujoki, 1997: 270).

The European Union has become a regional cooperation model for other regions, including ASEAN. The establishment of this EU cooperation has encouraged ASEAN to move forward and develop the cooperation into various aspects. One of them is the development of broader economic integration, like the European Union, ASEAN also implemented the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) a year ago. The AEC allows not only the free movement of goods but also humans within the sovereign territory of the countries which are members of ASEAN. Not only that, before ASEAN also had a chance to establish a single currency for these countries. This aims to make it easier for countries to conduct trade activities that can reduce trade barriers. However, the financial problems that occurred in Greece caused a domino effect on the finances of countries incorporated in the European Union due to the existence of a single currency that was applied. This event then becomes a signpost for ASEAN to review the discourse regarding the formation of a single currency in ASEAN countries.

These few events imply that what happened in the European Union has always been a concern for other regional cooperation, especially ASEAN. The Brexit phenomenon has become a concern not only for regional organizations but also for people throughout the world. This event is undoubtedly an anomaly, where the expansion of the European Union is still happening, but the UK has instead decided to renounce its membership from the European Union. Indirectly, this phenomenon will not significantly affect ASEAN, but this is a reminder to ASEAN that the country will do a variety of ways and can sacrifice something to achieve national interests and the vulnerability of regional cooperation because of this.

When Britain decided to join the European Union, it had to sacrifice its sovereignty to be willing to share with other member countries. However, at the same time, Britain benefited from the aspect of the trade, where it was subjected to cheap taxes in carrying out export activities to other EU countries. Post-Brexit, there are positive and negative effects felt by Britain, namely Britain, regains its sovereignty as a whole, but the UK must renegotiate in terms of trade. ASEAN must note such conditions that ASEAN countries must indeed have an idea and common goal, which is a glue between one another within ASEAN. Especially with the uneven economic growth and political and social stability in the ASEAN region can be a factor that can cause cracks in this regional cooperation. Bearing in mind that ASEAN has a mechanism that is not as strong as the European Union, making ASEAN more vulnerable to problems and the management of problems is only through deliberation, which will undoubtedly take a long time in trying to deal with problems that arise.

ASEAN to spread ideas about ASEAN to all circles in the ASEAN Community, the aim is for the community to feel that the presence of ASEAN is significant and felt in every line of people's lives. Learn from Brexit that most of the UK population does not understand how the European Union can play a significant role in their lives. The lack of success of the government's role in spreading ideas and discourse throughout the country has resulted in people becoming less concerned about the European Union. The desire of the British people to get out of the European zone is the main reason Brexit happened. The issue of immigrants entering the UK is the main reason, according to a poll conducted by the British media, Guardian, in March 2016. In the poll, the three most important issues have an effect on Britain, including immigration, health, UK membership, and its relationship with the European Union (Mann, 2016).

Polling reflects that British citizens identify the issue of immigrants as the problem that most affects the UK. The problem of UK membership in the EU is the most important issue after the issue of immigrants and health. ASEAN, which inaugurated the AEC in 2015, will create a movement of services and workers between ASEAN countries so that the phenomenon of immigration will occur from countries with weaker economies to countries with stronger economies. As faced by Britain, ASEAN countries are very likely to face the same issue. The concern arises not from the government aspect but the community. The public will face concerns over the movement of immigrants who allegedly will take up jobs in the countries where they are migrating. Like Britain, ASEAN must be able to learn that ASEAN people may still be hesitant about the free movement of immigrants among ASEAN member countries. Like the British people who declare immigrants as the main issues and reasons that affect their voting regarding Brexit.

Besides, the loosening of ASEAN mechanisms and regulations is also an opportunity for countries to be absent from any agreements formed. For example, regarding the ASEAN Economic Community, ASEAN needs to regulate the movement of people and services. If ASEAN is unable to provide precise arrangements, it will harm the ASEAN countries themselves. It is also possible if a phenomenon such as Brexit can occur in ASEAN.

## **5. Conclusion**

The impact of "Brexit" is the threat of European integration and unity because it will be a model for other EU countries to conduct a similar exodus, especially if the brave British experiment shows its success. Uniformity and shared responsibility in bearing the total burden have become considerations out of integration, which in the early 1990s became a solution to the economic and political problems that occurred in the region. In Europe, regional integration has shown anti-climactic developments. The anticipation of international analysts, such as Duffield (1998),

in the 1990s, who predicted regional integration as a trend, seemed too premature to be conveyed, given the different developments. The increasingly close relations between nations in the region that are expected to last, in fact, gradually become loose before they can be scattered again.

So, regional integration is not as beautiful as it had dreamed of before. "Brexit" leaves questions for ASEAN, and Indonesia in particular, the largest member country, regarding the prospects of the Southeast Asian community. Although different from the history of its formation and growth, "Brexit" has provided valuable historical lessons for ASEAN. In Malaysia, the impact on overall market liquidity has occurred within a few weeks. Although for Indonesia, the impact is estimated to be insignificant, for emerging economies, it will appear, related to the exchange rate of the Euro and the Pound Sterling in trade, investment, and loan transactions.

### References

- [1] ASEAN, 2019. *ASEAN Outlook on The Indo-Pacific*, s.l.: ASEAN.
- [2] Balassa, B., 1961. Towards a Theory of Economic Integration. *Kyklos*, pp. 1-14.
- [3] Bell & Hindmoor, 2009. *A State Centric Relational Approach, Rethinking Governance: The Centrality of the State in Modern Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [4] Bolaños, A. B., 2016. A step further in the theory of regional integration: A look at the Unasur's integration strategy. *Gate Lyon Saint-Etienne*, pp. 1-31.
- [5] Darmayanti, A., 2018. Indo-Pacific Maritime Cooperation: ASEAN Mechanisms on Security Towards Global Maritime Governance. *Global and Strategy Journal*, 13(1), p. 12.
- [6] Figuière, C. & Guilhot, L., 2006. Caractériser les processus régionaux : les apports d'une approche en termes de coordination. *Mondes en développement*, 135, p. 145-146.
- [7] Full Fact Team, 2019. EU immigration to the UK. *The UK'S Independent Fact Checking Charity*, 18 March.
- [8] Gross, J. & Douglas, J., 2016. Immigration Unease in UK Animates 'Brexit' Vote. *The Wall Street Journal*.
- [9] Hathway, O. A., 2014. *International Delegation and State Sovereignty*. s.l.:Duke University School of Law.
- [10] Jankowiak, C. & Lamparski, N., 2016. 'Brexit' feeds European populist' ambitions of power. *The Jakarta Post*, 21 June, p. 12.
- [11] Marks, G., 1996. European Integration from the 1980s: State Centric v. Multi-level Governance. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 34, p. 3.
- [12] Morgenthau, H. J., 1948. The Problem of Sovereignty Reconsidered. *Columbia Law Review* Vol. 48, No. 3, pp. 341-465.
- [13] Nainggolan, P. P., 2016. "Brexit", Penyebab dan Implikasi Globalnya. *Majalah Info Singkat: Hubungan Internasional* Vol. VIII, 12 Juni, pp. 5-8.
- [14] Nanda, B. J. & Permata, I. M., 2017. BREXIT: Pelajaran bagi ASEAN. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, pp. 46-56.
- [15] Siahaan, S. Y. E. & Risman, H., 2020. Strengthening ASEAN Centrality within the Indo-Pacific Region. *International Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(1), p. 263.
- [16] Suarez, A., 2009. *Integration Regionale. Evolution d'un concept*. Paris: Hachette Livre.
- [17] Viner, J., 1950. *The Custom Unions Issue*. New York: s.n.
- [18] Ward, M., 2019. Statistics on UK-EU trade. *House of Commons Library Briefing Paper*, 16 December, p. 3.