

## BUKTI KORESPONDENSI

### ARTIKEL JURNAL INTERNASIONAL BEREPUTASI

- ❖ Judul artikel : Legislating civil-military relations in post-Reformasi Indonesia
- ❖ Jurnal : Global Change, Peace and Security (2026)
- ❖ Penulis : Victor Imanuel W. Nalle
- ❖ Korensponden : Victor Imanuel W. Nalle

#### Tahapan Korespondensi

No.	Tahapan	Tanggal	Deskripsi
1	Pengajuan manuskrip ke jurnal	24 September 2025	Penulis mengirimkan manuskrip melalui sistem Taylor & Francis.
2	Permintaan revisi 1	15 November 2025	Editor mengirimkan permintaan revisi ke-1.
3	Pengiriman artikel hasil revisi 1	6 Desember 2025	Penulis mengirimkan manuskrip hasil revisi ke-1.
4	Permintaan revisi 1	15 Desember 2025	Editor mengirimkan permintaan revisi ke-2.
5	Pengiriman artikel hasil revisi 2	20 Desember 2025	Penulis mengirimkan manuskrip hasil revisi ke-1.
6	Artikel diterima	25 Desember 2025	Editor menyampaikan keputusan bahwa manuskrip diterima untuk diterbitkan.
7	Permintaan mengisi author publishing agreement dan koreksi	28 Desember 2025	Production Editor mengirimkan email permintaan ke penulis untuk mengisi author publishing agreement dan mengoreksi manuskrip sebelum diterbitkan.
8	Pengiriman manuskrip hasil koreksi	1 Januari 2026	Jurnal mengkonfirmasi bahwa manuskrip hasil koreksi telah diterima.

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**Submission received for Global Change, Peace & Security (Submission ID: 257293483)**

1 pesan

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Kepada: [victor@ukdc.ac.id](mailto:victor@ukdc.ac.id)



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Dear Victor Nalle,

Thank you for your submission.

<b>Submission ID</b>	<b>257293483</b>
<b>Manuscript Title</b>	<b>Legislating civil-military relations in post-Reformasi Indonesia</b>
<b>Journal</b>	<b>Global Change, Peace &amp; Security</b>

If you made the submission, you can check its progress and make any requested revisions on the [Author Portal](#)

Thank you for submitting your work to our journal.  
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## 257293483 (Global Change, Peace & Security) A revise decision has been made on your submission

1 pesan

Global Change, Peace & Security <onbehalf@manuscriptcentral.com>

15 November 2025 pukul 03.20

Balas Ke: Shafferediting1@gmail.com

Kepada: victor@ukdc.ac.id

Cc: contactdries@gmail.com

14-Nov-2025

Dear Dr Victor Nalle:

Your manuscript entitled "Legislating civil-military relations in post-Reformasi Indonesia" which you submitted to Global Change, Peace & Security, has been refereed. The Referee comments are included at the bottom of this letter.

The Referees would like to see some revisions made to your manuscript before publication. Therefore, I invite you to respond to their comments and revise your manuscript.

When you revise your manuscript please highlight the changes you make in the manuscript by using the track changes mode in MS Word or by using bold or coloured text.

To submit a revision, go to <https://rp.tandfonline.com/submission/flow?submissionId=257293483&step=1>. If you decide to revise the work, please submit a list of changes or a rebuttal against each point which is being raised when you submit the revised manuscript.

If you have any questions or technical issues, please contact the journal's editorial office at [CPAR-peerreview@journals.tandf.co.uk](mailto:CPAR-peerreview@journals.tandf.co.uk).

Because we are trying to facilitate timely publication of manuscripts submitted to Global Change, Peace & Security, your revised manuscript should be uploaded as soon as possible. If it is not possible for you to submit your revision in a reasonable period of time, we may have to consider your paper as a new submission.

Once again, thank you for submitting your manuscript to Global Change, Peace & Security and I look forward to receiving your revision.

Sincerely,  
Ryan Shaffer  
Global Change, Peace & Security  
[Shafferediting1@gmail.com](mailto:Shafferediting1@gmail.com)

Referee(s)' Comments to Author:

Referee: 1

Comments to the Author

These are general overview that need author to do for their revisions:

Reviewer Comment1:

I think you should reconsider this part with further revisions: made additional legal facts that surely justified with your introductory section, I mean that you directing this article to discuss about civil military relations and also legislation process or periodication of TNI law deliberate in Indonesia legislation dynamics. (page 2).

Reviewer comment2:

In my opinion, you should strengthen your argument accordingly based on political aspect and legal aspect (as known in Indonesia legal studies as Politik Hukum or legal political perspective). In this case, you need use Mahfud MD, Sri Soemantri Martosoewignjo, or Achsin Thohari [et.al.](#) argumentation to strengthen analysis on civil and military relations in Indonesia. (page 7)

Reviewer comment3:

As I have been determined previously, after you add legal political perspective, you also need to reconsider in your analysis with further justification especially you use legal periodisation, use: Mc Dougal and Laswell perspectives on legislation context. (page 13).

Reviewer comment4:

As I said earlier, both in section 3 and 4, you need to revise your argument with further elaboration on legal political aspects and McDougal + Laswell perspective. (page 19).

Reviewer comment5:

You need to deal with which source you collect to determine this table analysis. (page 26).

Reviewer comment6:

I strongly suggest you to made in-depth analysis accordingly based on Ann Seidman, Robert Seidman & Nalin Abeyesekere perspective:

1. you should have to elaborate Problem Solving Method (in Indonesian called: Metode Pemecahan Masalah) that introduced by Seidman [et.al.](#)
2. you need to determine relations actors, legal interest (kepentingan hukum) into legal system model that introduced by Seidman [et.al.](#)
3. I strongly you to added any sources that written by Seidman [et.al.](#) (page 27).

Reviewer comment7:

My suggestion you need to elaborate with legal political perspectives, Mc Dougal + Laswell, and Ann Seidman, Robert Seidman, Nalin Abeyesekere as elaborate with your thesis related with military civil relations before and after UU TNI (TNI Law) amended. (page 34).

Referee: 2

#### Comments to the Author

This manuscript provides a detailed descriptive account of Indonesia's TNI Law revision and attempts to link it to broader concerns about civil-military relations, both domestically and globally. However, while the subject matter is timely and politically important, the manuscript falls short of delivering a clear argument, analytical insight, and scholarly contribution. It tends to privilege narrative over theory and policy analysis, lacks focus in framing, and does not sufficiently engage with existing comparative literature in a critical or novel way.

Below is a breakdown of my concerns and suggestions.

The introduction is too long and unfocused. It tries to do too much at once: mentioning global militarisation trends, dwifungsi (dual function), the TNI Law revision, and parliamentary-executive roles, all within a few paragraphs. This leads to confusion about the paper's core problem and analytical lens.

\* Main Issue Unclear: Is the central issue the return of dwifungsi, the global rollback of civilian control, the TNI Law revision process, or legislative dynamics in post-authoritarian states? These are all important, but the manuscript never decisively chooses one, leaving the reader with mixed signals.

\* Why is the 2025 TNI Law a 'critical test'? The phrase is introduced but never justified empirically or theoretically. Why now? Why this law in particular? The significance needs to be argued, not asserted.

\* Shifting Focus: The introduction moves abruptly from discussing civil-military dynamics to focusing on legislative and executive roles in defence policymaking without explaining why this pivot is necessary or original.

\* Claims of Gaps Are Unconvincing: The statement that legislative aspects of parliamentary authority are "neglected" is inaccurate. Extensive comparative literature exists on this issue (e.g., Auerswald, Born, and notably, *Between Military Efficiency and Democratic Legitimacy*, as the reviewer notes). The paper's claim of originality should be more nuanced and situated.

The manuscript cites canonical authors (Huntington, Bruneau & Matei, Pion-Berlin) and some recent works. However, it does not clearly build an analytical framework from them. Instead, the references are used illustratively rather than theoretically.

\* The paper gestures toward global trends (e.g., erosion of civilian control, public trust in military, pandemic militarisation), but does not theorise Indonesia's place within them beyond stating that "Indonesia reflects broader patterns."

\* The literature on legislative roles is inadequately covered. For example, comparative works on parliamentary war powers, executive-legislative bargaining, and legislative-executive-military triangles in hybrid regimes are missing.

Suggestions:  
\* Reorganise the literature into thematic clusters (e.g., 1. Civil-military frameworks; 2. Legislative governance of the military; 3. Authoritarian resurgence).

\* Avoid using "frameworks" merely descriptively. Explain how the literature helps pose research questions or develop typologies.

The narrative of Indonesia's civil-military history and legal reforms is meticulous. The historical overview of dwifungsi and its institutionalisation under Suharto is well written. However:

\* Much of the text is chronological narration. There is little effort to explain why things happened the way they did or what this tells us about broader trends in democratic rollback, civil-military power struggles, or institutional inertia.

\* The detailed timeline of the 2004 TNI Law and its 2025 revision is descriptive but lacks a comparative anchor or an analytical concept (e.g., policy drift, path dependence, political settlement).

\* Dwifungsi is a core historical concept but is never unpacked conceptually. How is this doctrine evolving? Is this a return to dwifungsi, or is it a new mode of military involvement?

The thing that I really feel not strong is section 5. Section 5 departs from the rest of the manuscript's empirical and descriptive tone and enters a normative register, asserting that legislation on civil-military relations should adhere to

principles of civilian supremacy, legislative robustness, and deliberative democracy. While these are laudable ideals, they are presented as self-evident solutions rather than analytically derived insights. As such, this section reads more like a policy advocacy piece than a contribution to scholarly debate.

The core issue is not simply that the author proposes what should be done, but that these prescriptions are disconnected from a deeper explanation of why Indonesia's civil-military governance has evolved as it has. The section does not engage with the political economy of institutional design, the dynamics of executive–legislative relations, or the constraints of post-authoritarian democratic consolidation.

Moreover, by juxtaposing Indonesia with loosely connected global examples (e.g., France's military deployment or U.S. generals criticising presidents), the section flattens important contextual differences. Rather than enhancing understanding, this global framing dilutes the argument and feels tacked on.

I think it would be better to avoid prescriptive generalisations that merely restate democratic ideals. Instead, ask: why have civilian control and parliamentary authority eroded? What political bargains, institutional path dependencies, or elite interests have shaped these outcomes? The section would benefit from an explanatory framework rather than a list of normative goals. For instance, it could explore whether the Indonesian case reflects a model of “delegative militarism,” where elected executives expand military roles to circumvent weak civilian institutions. Also, consider shifting from “what should be done” to a diagnostic mode of analysis. What does this case reveal about the logics of military accommodation under democratic regimes? Is it inertia, strategic ambiguity, or intentional co-optation?

Overall, the manuscript remains largely within a descriptive domain. There is no clear argument or theoretical innovation. It reports institutional and legal developments without synthesising them into an analytical contribution.

\* What conceptual leverage does this case give us?

\* Does it revise or support existing theories of post-authoritarian civil-military relations?

\* What does this paper offer beyond a detailed case study?

#### Minor issue

\* ABRI/Dwifungsi: These terms are used without sufficient elaboration for non-Indonesian readers.

\* Figures: The surveillance hierarchy figure (Figure 1) is useful but could be better integrated with the argument.

\* Writing Style: The writing is solid overall but would benefit from cutting unnecessary detail and streamlining transitions.

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**Revised submission received for Global Change, Peace & Security (Submission ID: 257293483.R1)**

1 pesan

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6 Desember 2025 pukul 18.37

Kepada: [victor@ukdc.ac.id](mailto:victor@ukdc.ac.id)



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Dear Victor Nalle,

Thank you for submitting your revised manuscript.

<b>Submission ID</b>	<b>257293483</b>
<b>Manuscript Title</b>	<b>Legislating civil-military relations in post-Reformasi Indonesia</b>
<b>Journal</b>	<b>Global Change, Peace &amp; Security</b>

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## 257293483.R1 (Global Change, Peace & Security) A revise decision has been made on your submission

Global Change, Peace & Security <onbehalf@manuscriptcentral.com>

15 Desember 2025 pukul 03.12

Balas Ke: Shafferediting1@gmail.com

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14-Dec-2025

Dear Dr Victor Nalle:

Your manuscript entitled "Legislating civil-military relations in post-Reformasi Indonesia" which you submitted to Global Change, Peace & Security, has been refereed. The Referee comments are included at the bottom of this letter.

The referees are in general favourable and suggest that, subject to minor revisions, your paper could be suitable for publication. Please consider these suggestions, and I look forward to receiving your revision.

When you revise your manuscript please highlight the changes you make in the manuscript by using the track changes mode in MS Word or by using bold or coloured text.

To submit a revision, go to <https://rp.tandfonline.com/submit/flow?submissionId=257293483.R1&step=1>. If you decide to revise the work, please submit a list of changes or a rebuttal against each point which is being raised when you submit the revised manuscript.

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Once again, thank you for submitting your manuscript to Global Change, Peace & Security and I look forward to receiving your revision.

Sincerely,

Ryan Shaffer

Global Change, Peace & Security

[Shafferediting1@gmail.com](mailto:Shafferediting1@gmail.com)

Referees' Comments to Author:

Referee: 1

Comments to the Author

This manuscript can be proceed for further steps of publication.

Referee: 2

Comments to the Author

This manuscript analyses the 2024–2025 revision of Indonesia's National Armed Forces Law (TNI Law) and situates it within broader debates on post-Reformasi civil–military relations. The topic is highly relevant and timely, both empirically and theoretically. By focusing on legislation as a political arena rather than as a neutral legal instrument, the paper addresses an important but still underexplored dimension of civil–military governance, particularly in transitional and hybrid regimes. The manuscript is generally well written, empirically detailed, and grounded in a wide range of literatures. Its findings are interesting, substantively important, and potentially of broader relevance beyond the Indonesian case.

At the same time, while I find the manuscript promising, I believe that it requires revision before it can be published. My overall recommendation is therefore revise and resubmit. The core issues concern the theoretical integration of the analytical framework, the absence of explicit theoretical expectations, the lack of methodological transparency, and the insufficiently theory-driven structuring of the empirical analysis.

The manuscript presents an ambitious analytical framework that combines four theoretical traditions: civil–military relations theory, comparative legislative governance, Indonesian legal politics (Politik Hukum), and policy-oriented and problem-solving jurisprudence. Each of these bodies of literature is relevant to the research question. However, in its current form, the framework remains conceptually underdeveloped as a unified theoretical apparatus. Rather than functioning as an integrated analytical model, it reads primarily as an additive assemblage of perspectives.

From a theoretical standpoint, the main problem is not the breadth of the framework but the lack of explicit integration and theoretical leverage. The manuscript does not clearly specify how these literatures speak to one another, which concepts are central, or what concrete analytical expectations follow from their combination. As a result, it remains unclear what the framework allows us to explain that existing theories of civil–military relations or legislative politics could not already explain on their own. Strengthening the theoretical contribution therefore requires moving beyond literature review toward explicit theory-building or theory-refining.

In particular, the paper would benefit from articulating clearer analytical propositions or expectations derived from the framework. For example, the combination of civil–military relations theory and comparative legislative governance could yield expectations about how executive–military alliances shape legislative outcomes under conditions of weak parliamentary capacity. Integrating Politik Hukum could then specify how power configurations are translated into legal form, while the policy-oriented and problem-solving approaches could be used to assess the gap between the stated purposes of legislation and its actual institutional effects. Making these linkages explicit would significantly enhance the paper's theoretical clarity and explanatory power.

Relatedly, the manuscript draws on influential concepts such as mission creep, military prerogatives, and competitive authoritarianism, it does not always clarify whether it seeks to confirm, extend, or challenge these theories. A more explicit statement of how the findings speak back to these literatures would strengthen the paper's theoretical contribution.

A second major concern is the absence of an explicit methodological discussion. Despite making strong theoretical and empirical claims, the manuscript does not clearly specify its data sources, methods of analysis, or research design. The analysis appears to rely on qualitative document analysis of legislation, policy drafts, parliamentary proceedings, media reports, and secondary literature, but this remains implicit. From a theory-driven perspective, this is problematic because it obscures how empirical evidence is mobilized to assess theoretical claims.

The authors should therefore include a clear methodology section that explains how data were collected, how different sources were triangulated, and how empirical observations are linked to theoretical concepts. Doing so would not only improve transparency but also clarify how the empirical material supports the paper's theoretical arguments.

Third, while the empirical analysis is detailed and informative, it is not consistently structured around the analytical framework. Much of the empirical discussion proceeds chronologically and descriptively, with theory often appearing only in the background. As a result, the framework's analytical potential is not fully realized. Several theoretical components, particularly the policy-oriented and problem-solving approaches, remain underutilized in the empirical sections.

To strengthen the theory–empirics linkage, the authors should more explicitly organize the empirical analysis around the framework's core concepts and expectations. Empirical sections should consistently demonstrate how observed legislative dynamics illustrate, confirm, or complicate the theoretical arguments advanced earlier. This would allow the reader to more clearly see the analytical added value of the framework.

In terms of structure, the manuscript is generally coherent and logically organized, but it would benefit from clearer analytical signposting. Some historical sections are quite extensive and could be slightly condensed to make more room for explicit theoretical interpretation and synthesis.

The quality of writing is overall strong. The manuscript is clearly written, coherent, and accessible, especially given the complexity of the topic. The authors succeed in maintaining a scholarly tone while presenting detailed empirical material. Only minor stylistic revisions would be necessary.

The relevance of the topic and findings is high. The paper contributes meaningfully to debates on civil–military relations by showing how legislation can function as a mechanism for formalizing informal power shifts rather than constraining them. The manuscript's effort to extract broader theoretical lessons from the Indonesian case is one of its key strengths and should be further emphasized, particularly in the conclusion.

In sum, this is a promising manuscript with clear empirical relevance, strong writing, and significant theoretical ambition. However, substantial revisions are needed to strengthen the theoretical integration of the framework, clarify methods and data, and more tightly align empirical analysis with theoretical claims. Addressing these issues would greatly enhance the paper's contribution to the literature.

**Revised submission received for Global Change, Peace & Security (Submission ID: 257293483.R2)**

[journalshelpdesk@taylorandfrancis.com](mailto:journalshelpdesk@taylorandfrancis.com) <journalshelpdesk@taylorandfrancis.com>  
Kepada: victor@ukdc.ac.id

20 Desember 2025 pukul 15.15



Dear Victor Nalle,

Thank you for submitting your revised manuscript.

<b>Submission ID</b>	<b>257293483</b>
<b>Manuscript Title</b>	<b>Legislating civil-military relations in post-Reformasi Indonesia</b>
<b>Journal</b>	<b>Global Change, Peace &amp; Security</b>

If you made the submission, you can check its progress and make any requested revisions on the **Author Portal**.

Thank you for submitting your work to our journal.  
If you have any queries, please get in touch with [journalshelpdesk@taylorandfrancis.com](mailto:journalshelpdesk@taylorandfrancis.com).

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**Global Change, Peace & Security - Decision on Manuscript ID 257293483.R2**

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25 Desember 2025 pukul 23.49

Balas Ke: [Shafferediting1@gmail.com](mailto:Shafferediting1@gmail.com)Kepada: [victor@ukdc.ac.id](mailto:victor@ukdc.ac.id)Cc: [contactdries@gmail.com](mailto:contactdries@gmail.com), [Shafferediting1@gmail.com](mailto:Shafferediting1@gmail.com)

25-Dec-2025

Dear Dr Victor Nalle:

Ref: Legislating civil-military relations in post-Reformasi Indonesia

Our referees have now considered your paper and have recommended publication in Global Change, Peace & Security. We are pleased to accept your paper in its current form which will now be forwarded to the publisher for copy editing and typesetting.

You will receive proofs for checking, and instructions for transfer of copyright in due course.

The publisher also requests that proofs are checked and returned within 48 hours of receipt.

Thank you for your contribution to Global Change, Peace & Security and we look forward to receiving further submissions from you.

Sincerely,

Ryan Shaffer  
Editor-in-Chief

Global Change, Peace &amp; Security

E: [Shafferediting1@gmail.com](mailto:Shafferediting1@gmail.com)W: [tandfonline.com/cpar20](http://tandfonline.com/cpar20)

**Your article has been accepted for publication DOI - 10.1080/14781158.2025.2611247**

CPAR-production@journals.tandf.co.uk <CPAR-production@journals.tandf.co.uk>  
Kepada: victor@ukdc.ac.id

28 Desember 2025 pukul 05.17

Dear Victor Imanuel W. Nalle,

Congratulations! We are pleased to share that your article "Legislating civil-military relations in post-Reformasi Indonesia" has been accepted for publication in Global Change, Peace & Security.

To move forward with publication, we need you to review and accept the terms and conditions of an author publishing agreement.

We'll start with some questions that will inform the details we include in your agreement.

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28 Desember 2025 pukul 04.08

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Article: Legislating civil-military relations in post-Reformasi Indonesia

Journal: *Global Change, Peace & Security* CPAR

Article ID: CPAR 2611247

Dear Victor Imanuel W. Nalle,

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Yours sincerely,

Yatheesh Mohan

INDIA

Email: [CPAR-production@journals.tandf.co.uk](mailto:CPAR-production@journals.tandf.co.uk)



---

**Submitted Corrections for article CPAR 2611247**

CPAR-production@journals.tandf.co.uk <cats@taylorandfrancis.com>  
Balas Ke: CPAR-production@journals.tandf.co.uk  
Kepada: CPAR-production@journals.tandf.co.uk, victor@ukdc.ac.id

1 Januari 2026 pukul 07.31

Article: Legislating civil-military relations in post-Reformasi Indonesia

Journal: *Global Change, Peace & Security* (CPAR)

Article ID: CPAR 2611247

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