

Self-Sufficiency Discourse in the Prabowo Era: A Study of the Inaugural and August 15, 2025 Speeches

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Abstract

This article aims to examine how the discourse of self-sufficiency is in the Prabowo administration era. The narratives analyzed are the texts of President Prabowo's speeches at the Presidential Inauguration, and the text of President Prabowo's State Address on August 15, 2025, which includes the text of the speech on the 80th Anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia and the text of the speech on the Introduction/Information on the Bill on the State Budget for the 2026 Fiscal Year. This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach with a critical discourse analysis (CDA) perspective proposed by Norman Fairclough. The results of the study show that in the three texts there is a shift in the word "swasembada" both in terms of quantity and in terms of cohesion (connectedness). In the inaugural speech, the word "swasembada" is attached to the words "food" and "energy". Meanwhile, in the two speeches on August 15, 2025, the word swasembada is only attached to the word food. Interestingly, in the introductory speech to the State Budget Bill, the word "food" is not only attached to the word "self-sufficiency" but also to the words "resilience" and "sovereignty." The discourse on self-sufficiency being rolled out is also inseparable from the experiences and realities experienced by President Prabowo in the past. For him, the inability to produce food is a loophole or entry point for other nations to intervene and disrupt Indonesia. Therefore, implicitly, the implementation of self-sufficiency in the food sector is inseparable from efforts to maintain domestic political stability.

Keywords: *self-sufficiency and food policy discourse*

INTRODUCTION

The self-sufficiency agenda in Indonesia is not fundamentally new. Since the republic's independence, it has been a key component of the national development agenda. During the Old Order, this agenda began with food diversification efforts; the government encouraged the public to consume staple foods other than rice, such as corn, cassava, and tubers (Saragih, 2017). However, this effort was not completely successful because at that time Indonesia was still experiencing a food crisis marked by a rice shortage in 1963 (Pangestu, 2023a).

In 1966, Indonesia's Old Order regime ended and was replaced by the New Order under President Suharto. Despite the regime change, the pursuit of self-sufficiency persisted. Through the Green Revolution program, implemented in the form of Mass Guidance (BIMAS), which focused on the use of superior rice varieties, fertilizers, pesticides, and irrigation improvements, Indonesia achieved rice self-sufficiency in 1984 (Perdana et al., 2025). For this success, Indonesia received an award from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in 1985.

Various positive and negative impacts emerged from the success of self-sufficiency. The positive impacts include increased rice production, which brings prosperity to farmers and strengthens the rural economy. Meanwhile, the negative impacts that emerged subsequently include environmental damage due to the excessive use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides (Mujahiddin, 2022). After 1985, Indonesia no longer experienced food self-sufficiency, especially rice (Sukarniati, 2013). Rice production tends to be unstable, and Indonesia continues to import rice to meet domestic demand. In fact, in 2024, Indonesia imported 4.52 million tons of rice. This is the highest figure in the past seven years: 2.25 million tons in 2018, 444,510 tons in 2019, 359,290 tons in 2020, 407,740 tons in 2021,

429,210 tons in 2022, and rising to 3.06 million tons in 2023 (Dewi, 2024).

During the Prabowo administration, since his inauguration in October 2024, the self-sufficiency agenda has been re-emerged within President Prabowo Subianto's development plan. This is evident in President Prabowo's eight missions, known as Asta Cita. The self-sufficiency agenda is included in the second Asta Cita point: "Strengthening the national defense and security system and promoting national independence through self-sufficiency in food, energy, water, the creative economy, the green economy, and the blue economy." (Juansa et al., 2025). At this point, the meaning of self-sufficiency during the Prabowo administration has been broadened, encompassing various sectors such as energy, water, and the economy (industry). Furthermore, upon closer examination, self-sufficiency during the Prabowo administration has not only expanded in scope but has also been categorized as part of national defense and security. Contextually, categorizing self-sufficiency (whether in the fields of land, energy, or water) as part of the national defense and security system is certainly not entirely incorrect. This becomes relevant given the uncertain global situation, such as war (Wika & Dewi, 2025), environmental crisis (Brink et al., 2023), and climate change (Beltran-Peña et al., 2020), and post-covid-19 life. The experience of the Covid-19 incident has indeed required many countries to be more independent and sovereign in the food sector, which is a basic human need (Aday & Aday, 2020a).

Therefore, this article aims to examine how the discourse of self-sufficiency in the Prabowo administration era? The narratives analyzed are the text of President Prabowo's speech at the Presidential Inauguration, and the text of President Prabowo's State Address on August 15, 2025, which includes the text of the speech on the 80th Anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia and the text of the speech on the Introduction/Information on the Bill on the State Budget for the 2026 Fiscal Year. The three texts were deliberately analyzed to find two things, namely; first, the form of the discourse of self-sufficiency in the era of President Prabowo. Second, the form of shift in the discourse of self-sufficiency from the time span of October 2024 to August 2025. Overall, the urgency of this finding is to find out the policy ideas related to self-sufficiency that will be carried out by the Prabowo administration and the targets to be achieved from these policy ideas.

This is consistent with the purpose of the state speech itself, namely to explain the condition of the country, including economic, political, social, security and foreign policy aspects (Mukminin et al., 2024). In Indonesia, state addresses are typically given during important moments such as presidential inaugurations and/or speeches commemorating the 80th anniversary of Indonesian Independence. This year, the address commemorating the 80th anniversary of Indonesian Independence will be held on August 15, 2025. It was moved forward one day earlier than usual because August 16, 2025, falls on a Saturday. In the address commemorating the 80th anniversary of Indonesian Independence, the President reports on the government's achievements and conveys important information regarding plans and visions for the country's future. This state address also serves as a means for the head of state to communicate directly with the people and stakeholders by addressing various policy topics relevant to national interests (Rif et al., 2024).

Therefore, the President's state address should not only be viewed in terms of its wording or its neatly structured language, from the opening, body, and closing, but also in a broader and more in-depth context. Every speech is imbued with a message, meaning, and power (Ilham et al., 2023). To address this, the three speech manuscripts that are the object of this study will be analyzed using a critical discourse analysis approach. In the critical discourse paradigm, language is indeed used in the texts being analyzed, but the study of language in critical discourse analysis differs from the study of language in traditional linguistics. The language analyzed in critical discourse analysis not only describes its linguistic aspects but also relates them to context; in this case, language is used for specific

purposes, including the practice of power (Fairclough, 2013).

There are many studies that have actually revealed the relationship between the text of the state speech and various aspects contained within it, such as ideology (Sutopo, 2011; Nurhayati et al., 2022) and political image (Lestari, 2021). Some of them also show messages of leadership transition (Contesa, 2025), and also narratives of continuity of government between the Government of President Joko Widodo and the Government of President Prabowo Subianto (Harmoko & Purwaningrum, 2025).

Studies related to discourse analysis of President Prabowo's State Address have also been conducted with various findings, including that illocutionary speech acts were the speech acts most frequently found in President Prabowo's Inauguration Speech (Zulfa et al., 2025). In addition, the Inaugural Speech also found at least 8 major themes, namely: prioritizing the interests of the people, becoming a brave nation, the dangers of budget leaks, highlighting poverty, the target of food self-sufficiency, energy self-sufficiency, the war against corruption, and affirming Indonesia's free and active foreign policy (Ayuningtyas, 2025).

The overall results of the previous research certainly provide valuable insights regarding the study and analysis of discourse in the President's State Address in Indonesia, both during the era of President Joko Widodo and the era of President Prabowo Subianto. Therefore, the findings of this article aim to complement the treasure trove of discourse analysis of the President's State Address in Indonesia, specifically referring to President Prabowo Subianto's Addresses during the period of October 2024 to August 2025. Considering that there has been no discourse analysis-based research that examines President Prabowo's three State Addresses simultaneously on the single theme of self-sufficiency, the novelty of this research will be seen in the context of self-sufficiency, which has become a major theme and work agenda of the Prabowo Subianto administration (Ayuningtyas, 2025; Juansa et al., 2025).

METHOD

This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach with a critical discourse analysis (CDA) perspective proposed by Norman Fairclough. Three elements are mapped in the CDA: (a) text, (b) discourse practice, and (c) social context. The data collected in this study consist of words, sentences, and paragraphs from the speeches of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto, in his Inaugural Address on October 20, 2024, and his State Address on August 15, 2025, before the annual session of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) and the House of Representatives (DPR) of the Republic of Indonesia in commemoration of the 80th Anniversary of Indonesian Independence, and his Introductory Address to the Bill on the State Budget for Fiscal Year 2026. The data were then grouped and analyzed using the CDA method.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The results and discussion in this article will be divided into three sections, following Fairclough's proposed model: the text dimension, the discursive practice or discourse production dimension, and the sociocultural practice dimension. The following is a discussion of each of these.

1. Text Dimensions

In a president's state address, the choice of text, structured into a single sentence, reflects the message, image, and influence he wishes to convey to the audience. A look at President Prabowo's three speeches, both on October 20, 2024, during his inauguration, and August 15, 2025, during his speech marking the Independence Day of the Republic of

Indonesia, reveals the use of the word "we" as the most frequently used word by President Prabowo (see table 1).

Table 1. Number of Words Spoken by President Prabowo in the Three State Address Manuscripts

Speech Manuscript	Count	Percentage
Presidential Inauguration October 20, 2024	249	5.02%
Speech on the 80th Anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia	197	0.90%
Introductory Speech on the Bill on the State Budget for Fiscal Year 2026	137	1.01%
Amount	583	4.60%

Source: Processed Research Data (2025)

During the inauguration, the word "we" was uttered 249 times, representing 5.02% of the total text in the manuscript. In the 80th Independence Day speech, the word "we" was uttered 197 times, representing 0.90% of the total text in the manuscript, and in the Introductory Speech to the 2026 State Budget Bill, representing 137 times, representing 1.01% of the total text in the manuscript. When viewed partially, the word "we" in each speech manuscript is always in the top five words most frequently used by the president in all three of his speeches. The very dominant use of the word "we" in all three of President Prabowo's speech manuscripts indicates that the manuscripts are collective and inclusive. Because the word "we" in Indonesian is inclusive and collective because it includes both the speaker and the interlocutor in one group. Thus, it creates a sense of togetherness and involvement. Examples of the use of the word "we" in sentences in President Prabowo's state address:

"We have a very large land and sea area, we have enormous natural resources, we understand that these natural resources consist of natural resources that are very important for human life in the 21st century and beyond." (Excerpt from President Prabowo's Inaugural Speech on October 20, 2024 at the MPR-RI Building, Senayan, Jakarta).

Figure 1. Top Ten Words in the Three Manuscripts of President Prabowo's State Addresses Processed Using Word Frequency Query.

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%) ▾
kita	4	583	5.49
indonesia	9	175	1.65
saudara	7	157	1.48
saya	4	153	1.44
rakyat	6	108	1.02
negara	6	89	0.84
bangsa	6	79	0.74
republik	8	58	0.55
ekonomi	7	57	0.54
mereka	6	55	0.52
sekalian	8	54	0.51

Source: Processed Research Data (2025)

In President Prabowo's three state speeches, the word "we" is not the only word found as a collective and inclusive form frequently mentioned in the speeches. Several other words are also found, such as "nation," "people," and "state" (see Figure 1). The use of the word "nation," for example, not only indicates a collective nature but also conveys the meaning of a desire to build collective awareness among the audience listening to the speech. Similarly, the use of the word "people" in speeches generally refers to collective and public interests. This word emphasizes a shared fate and shared responsibility. One of the collective awareness efforts to be built concerns the desire for self-sufficiency, defined as the effort to meet one's own needs. The word "swasembada" itself is used eight times in President Prabowo's three speeches, six of which were uttered during President Prabowo's Inaugural Address (see Table 2).

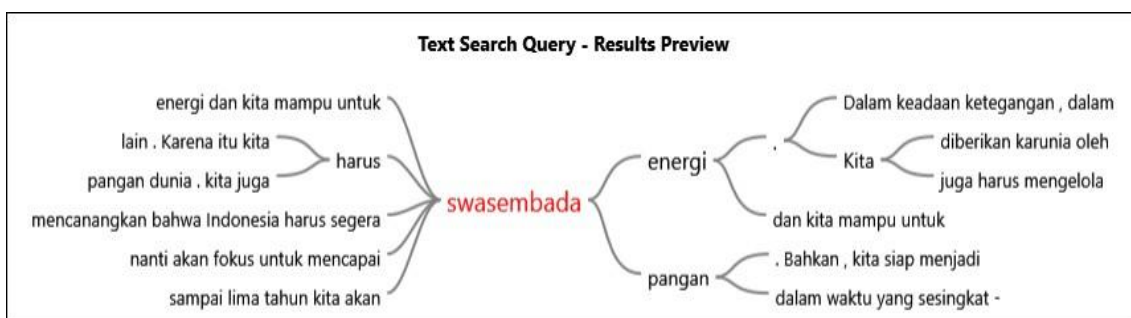
Table 2. Number of Times President Prabowo Said the Word "Swasembada" in the Three State Address Manuscripts

Speech Manuscript	Count	Percentage
Presidential Inauguration October 20, 2024	6	0.30%
Speech on the 80th Anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia	1	0.02%
Introductory Speech on the Bill on the State Budget for Fiscal Year 2026	1	0.01%
Amount	8	0.33%

Source: Processed Research Data (2025)

The word "swasembada" was mentioned six times in President Prabowo's inaugural address at the MPR RI Building in Senayan, Jakarta, on October 20, 2024. A text search query in the NVivo-12 application reveals a close association between the word "swasembada" and the words "food" and "energy." This can be seen in the Word Tree display of the text search query (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Word Tree Display in Word Frequency Query About the Word "Swasembada".



Source: Processed Research Data (2025)

In Figure 2, we can also see the presence of the word "we" (seven of them). These words are intertwined, such as: "We will be self-sufficient in food within five years." In fact, "We are ready to feed the world." "We are capable of energy self-sufficiency." The emergence of the word "we" in discussions about food and energy self-sufficiency indicates that the effort to achieve self-sufficiency is a collective effort that must be undertaken together, and is also a form of basic need that is required not only internally by Indonesian society but also by the global community.

However, in the speeches on August 15, 2025, specifically the speeches commemorating the 80th Anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia and

also the Introductory Speech to the Bill on the State Budget for Fiscal Year 2026, the word "swasembada" actually showed a decrease in number, namely only once in each speech. And in each speech, the word "swasembada" was only attached to the word "food". Thus, there is a shift in the meaning of the text of self-sufficiency, which previously contained two aspects of self-sufficiency: food and energy, but in August 2025, the word "swasembada" was only intended for food. This can be seen in the statement of the sentence below:

*“President Suharto implemented equitable economic development from Sabang to Merauke, **successfully achieved food self-sufficiency**, laid the foundations for economic industrialization, and reduced extreme poverty.” (Excerpt from President Prabowo's speech on August 15, 2025, at the MPR-RI Building, Senayan, Jakarta, in commemoration of the 80th Anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia).*

*“We must **achieve food self-sufficiency**, especially in rice and corn, stable prices, prosperous farmers, prosperous fishermen, and safe consumers.” (Excerpt from President Prabowo's speech on August 15, 2025, at the MPR-RI Building, Senayan, Jakarta, in the context of the Introduction to the Bill on the 2026 State Budget).*

In the speech commemorating the 80th anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia's Independence Day, the term "food self-sufficiency" was embedded in a historical context. President Suharto was credited with successfully achieving food self-sufficiency in Indonesia. Meanwhile, in the Introductory Speech to the Bill on the 2026 State Budget, the term "food self-sufficiency" was embedded in the context of hopes for prosperity for farmers and welfare for fishermen in the future.

Although the term "swasembada" decreased in frequency from the President's Inaugural Address on October 20, 2024, to the Address on August 15, 2025, the Prabowo administration's drive to achieve self-sufficiency remains strong. This is evident in the frequency of use of the word "food" in each of President Prabowo's state addresses (see table 3).

Table 3. Number of times President Prabowo utters the word "Food" in the three drafts of his State Address.

Speech Manuscript	Count	Percentage
Presidential Inauguration October 20, 2024	6	0.18%
Speech on the 80th Anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia	5	0.03%
Introductory Speech on the Bill on the State Budget for Fiscal Year 2026	9	0.10%
Amount	20	0.31%

Source: Processed Research Data (2025)

The word "food" was most frequently mentioned in the Introductory Speech to the 2026 Draft State Budget (RAPBN). In the speech, the issue of food even ranked first among the eight priority agendas in the 2026 Draft State Budget. In the priority agenda section, the word "food" is not only attached to the word "self-sufficiency" but also attached to the words "resilience" and "sovereignty" (see Figure 3). Although these three concepts have differences, they are fundamentally interconnected. For example, the concept of food self-sufficiency

focuses on domestic food production to meet domestic consumption needs. The concept of food security has a broader meaning, namely, encompassing the availability, access, stability, and quality of sufficient and nutritious food for all citizens. Meanwhile, food sovereignty emphasizes the right of communities and states to determine their own food systems, including how food is produced, distributed, and consumed, as well as to control those systems. However, of these three concepts, the concept of food self-sufficiency is one of the pillars or important indicators for achieving food security and food sovereignty.

Figure 3. Excerpt from the President's Speech in the Introduction to the Bill on the 2026 State Budget

RAPBN 2026 kita utamakan pada 8 (delapan) agenda prioritas.

Pertama, kita harus terus wujudkan ketahanan pangan sebagai fondasi kemandirian bangsa. Kita harus mencapai swasembada pangan terutama beras dan jagung, harga-harga stabil, petani makmur, nelayan sejahtera, dan konsumen aman. Indonesia harus berdaulat dalam urusan pangan.

Untuk itu, kita akan cetak sawah baru. Kita akan salurkan pupuk bersubsidi yang tepat sasaran. Kita akan dukung bibit-bibit unggul, alat mesin pertanian modern, dan pembiayaan murah, juga kita menjamin harga pembelian pemerintah untuk gabah. Saudara-saudara sekalian,

Source: Processed Research Data (2025)

Therefore, in this text dimension, there is a shift in the word "swasembada" in terms of quantity in each state address and a shift in cohesion (connectedness) in each word that follows it. For example, in President Prabowo's Inaugural Address, the word "swasembada" is attached to the words "food" and "energy." Meanwhile, in the speech for the 80th Anniversary of Indonesian Independence and the speech for the Introduction to the Bill on the 2026 State Budget, the word "swasembada" is only attached to the word "food." And interestingly, in the speech for the Introduction to the Bill on the State Budget, the word "food" is not only attached to the word "swasembada" but also attached to the words "resilience" and "sovereignty." This certainly illustrates the message and image that the Prabowo administration wants to build about the seriousness of food self-sufficiency and food security in Indonesia's development agenda.

2. Discursive Practice

The discursive practice dimension is one of three dimensions in critical discourse analysis proposed by Norman Fairclough. Therefore, in this dimension, text is not simply interpreted as a collection of letters and words, but also fundamentally possesses intent, purpose, and meaning that can reveal ideology, power, and forms of injustice that may be produced within the text itself. As is well known, the text of a presidential speech is not written solely by the president but involves numerous parties within the president's circle of power, such as expert staff, the presidential secretariat, and relevant ministries, who collaborate to formulate the messages and policies to be conveyed to the public.

Likewise, the contents of the manuscript to be read as the president's state address will still be read by the president first for approval. At this stage, the president's legitimacy (in the form of approval/revision) of the manuscript's contents makes it his sole property. This is because the president has prior knowledge of the manuscript's contents, made revisions, and/or approved the contents that align with the main ideas he intends to convey to the

public. The alignment between the president's main ideas and the narrative created by the presidential team is an inseparable part of the production of the entire text.

The key point is that the speech must contain the main ideas or thoughts of the president's vision, mission, and aspirations for developing the nation. As president, Prabowo is certainly not a value-free individual. He brings his knowledge, ideas, and extensive experience to bear on the nation's development. Therefore, the discourse on self-sufficiency did not emerge spontaneously as a development discourse, but rather a construct of knowledge and experience from previous periods. In this context, if we examine the previous text, we can see that in his speech for the 80th anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia's Independence, President Prabowo linked self-sufficiency to only one figure: President Suharto. President Prabowo made this statement at the beginning of his state address, reviewing the development achievements of previous presidents, from President Soekarno to President Joko Widodo. During President Suharto's tenure, he stated; *“President Suharto implemented equitable economic development from Sabang to Merauke, successfully achieving food self-sufficiency and laying the foundations for economic industrialization, and reducing extreme poverty.”*

This indicates that the dream of regaining self-sufficiency, particularly in the food sector, is inextricably linked to the successful experiences of President Suharto. This effort to replicate Suharto's success certainly didn't come about overnight; rather, there was a connection between President Suharto and President Prabowo, who at the time shared a kinship, a *“son-in-law-in-law”* relationship. This relationship was established in 1983, when Prabowo was matched with President Suharto's daughter, Siti Hediati Hariyadi, better known as Titiék Suharto. Thus, when President Suharto's administration successfully achieved food self-sufficiency from 1984 to 1988, Prabowo's status was already that of a son-in-law within President Suharto's circle of power.

The idea of restoring food self-sufficiency in Indonesia, as it was during the Suharto era, was also proposed by Prabowo Subianto during the 2019 Presidential Election campaign. At that time, the presidential and vice-presidential candidate pair number 2 (Prabowo-Sandi) stated their desire to restore food self-sufficiency during the New Order era. This was conveyed directly by the Secretary General of the Gerindra Party, Ahmad Muzani, when met in Kartanegara, Monday, November 19, 2019.

“When Pak Harto led the country, he achieved food self-sufficiency. What Pak Prabowo intends to do if the people elect him president is, of course, restore this spirit: the spirit of having the ability to meet our own food needs.” (Gerinda Party Secretary General, Ahmad Muzani. Quoted from the news channel: kumparan.com)

Furthermore, President Prabowo's development agenda, particularly regarding food self-sufficiency, is also inextricably linked to past socio-political experiences. History records that one of the causes of the fall of the Sukarno government (the Old Order) was the economic crisis, which led to rising food prices, such as rice. In 1966, ten percent of food needs had to be imported (Hakim & Giovani, 2012; Pangestu, 2023b). The crisis situation was finally overcome by the Suharto government (New Order), although in the end the same thing happened again, where the economic crisis and the increase in the prices of basic necessities (nine basic commodities) caused the New Order government to fall (Mirsael, 2017; Supriyanto, 2022). The experience of the past crisis shaped President Prabowo's political-economic mindset. Pambudi (2009) note this by writing:

“For him, it was simple: if he wanted the people to trust him, he had to fulfill their needs. If he wanted to be President of Indonesia,

*secure rice. Don't let it be insufficient, don't import it, don't let it be expensive... Ironically, Suharto succeeded Sukarno with the determination that there would be no more people queuing for rice and kerosene. But, thirty-two years later, Suharto's power collapsed because more and more people were queuing for rice and kerosene. It seems Prabowo is very aware of this. So he cares more about rice and kerosene than abstract economic development strategies." (Quoted from Pambudi (2009) in his book *If Prabowo Becomes President*; pages 8-9).*

The explanations above provide an illustration that knowledge formed from past experiences can have an impact on the thoughts and ideas of a leader in discussing and formulating development strategies (Mujahiddin, 2022). What President Prabowo saw and experienced ("lived in") about the downfall of past regimes became a valuable lesson for him. This belief was firmly held by President Prabowo and firmly stated during the 8th Plenary Cabinet Session at the Presidential Palace in Jakarta on August 6, 2025. President Prabowo stated that domestic food production is the main foundation for Indonesia's future. Reliance on imported food will only open the door to external intervention.

"It doesn't happen. It won't happen. No country can be independent and sovereign without being able to produce its own food, which is why food production is strategic for me. Our nation is always being harassed and even destroyed through food. If another nation wants to destroy us, it will destroy our food." (Quoted from <https://www.presidenri.go.id> on September 3, 2025)

The phrase "our nation has always been disturbed and even destroyed through food," is a statement that clarifies his experience of witnessing the fall of the Old Order and New Order regimes due to economic and food crises. For him, the inability to produce food was a loophole or entry point for other nations to intervene and disrupt Indonesia. Therefore, it is natural that food self-sufficiency or food security has become a key keyword in the implementation of development during President Prabowo's era.

Furthermore, President Prabowo's move to promote the self-sufficiency agenda is also inseparable from the food estate program, which was part of his responsibilities when he served as Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia (Menhan RI). Prabowo was tasked by President Joko Widodo to lead the development of the food estate, as the food crisis at that time faced a serious threat due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Many countries around the world were experiencing problems with food supplies (Aday & Aday, 2020b), and food security (Mardones et al., 2020). Interestingly, Prabowo's response at that time continued to position the food issue as part of national defense and categorized it as a weapon; "*food is weapon and weapon is a food*" (kompas.com).

Therefore, in this discursive practice dimension, it is clear that President Prabowo's background knowledge and past experiences have impacted the formation of the discourse on self-sufficiency, particularly in the food sector. Food self-sufficiency is even positioned as a crucial instrument for a nation's socio-political stability. This is further reinforced by President Prabowo's background as a former military officer who served during the New Order era, during which the military played a significant role in development processes, including food security. Mujiburrohman (2021) during the New Order era, the military acted as the implementer of agricultural intensification policies. This involvement was part of the ABRI (Indonesian Armed Forces) dual function concept, in which the military had a socio-political role and participated in development beyond its defense function. Now, a similar situation is reoccurring, with the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) increasingly

actively involved in food security programs under the Prabowo-Gibran administration. One example is the TNI preparing to establish a Food Brigade in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture (Kementan).

3. Sociocultural Dimension

Analysis of the discourse of self-sufficiency in the era of President Prabowo seen from three state speeches including the inauguration speech on October 20, 2024, the speech on the 80th Anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia and the speech on the Introduction to the Bill on the State Budget for the 2026 Fiscal Year delivered on August 15, 2025, all three speeches were delivered directly at the MPR – DPR Building of the Republic of Indonesia, in Senayan, Jakarta. This building is a people's representative building filled with senators and members of the people's representative council who are part of the legislative institution that has legislative functions, budget functions, and oversight functions.

The reading of these three speeches before the legislative body and their live broadcast on various national television stations is an integral part of the practice of transparent development planning. From each speech, the public and the legislative body will understand the direction of Indonesia's development planning for the next five years. The ideas in these speeches will then be translated into development programs that can later be evaluated by the public through the legislative body.

In Indonesia, the implementation of the state address by the President of the Republic of Indonesia before the annual session of the MPR and the Joint Session of the DPR every August 16 is a state convention as part of the constitution (Susanto, 2022). This includes unwritten forms of constitutional law. Constitutional conventions are not always ongoing customs; they can also be one-off constitutional practices that are recognized as part of the constitution, even if they are not explicitly stated in the constitution, because they are deemed beneficial to the life of the nation. In 2025, the annual session of the MPR and DPR will not be held on August 16th but will be moved forward to August 15th because August 16th falls on a Saturday. According to Mahardika, (2019) The state address by the President of the Republic of Indonesia every August 16th is considered a convention because it is the time the President delivers a report on past and future performance, as the President is responsible to his people. Furthermore, the President traditionally delivers the state address as part of the commemoration of Indonesian Independence Day on August 17th.

Since the beginning of his political campaign and administration, President Prabowo has prioritized self-sufficiency, particularly in the food sector, as a top national development priority. Programs such as the Food Estate, the revitalization of Bulog, the establishment of the National Food Agency, and the strengthening of the role of state-owned enterprises in the food cluster have become key pillars of President Prabowo's food security policy (Ahirullah, 2024; R. Supriyanto et al., 2025). This policy was then strengthened by encouraging synergy between the military (TNI-Polri), state-owned enterprises, and large private companies in developing new agricultural lands, particularly in the regions of Kalimantan, Sumatra, and Papua.

Looking at the background to the implementation of self-sufficiency policies, particularly regarding food, during President Prabowo's era, it appears that some of his policies focused on food availability through increased mass production. This policy approach is considered to have not fully addressed other aspects of the global food security concept developed by the FAO. According to the FAO, there are four main pillars of food security: food availability, access to food, utilization, and supply stability (Hadi et al., 2019; Ibnu, 2025). The steps to make Indonesia a country with widespread food availability are certainly inseparable from the current increasingly uncertain global geopolitical conditions

(Almubaroq et al., 2025). Even when the Covid-19 pandemic took place in 2020, many countries, including Indonesia, began to realize the food security risks caused by the pandemic disaster.

Panghal et al., 2022) He wrote about how Covid-19 has disrupted global food availability. This impact is particularly pronounced in developing countries like Indonesia, not only in the health sector but also in livelihoods, where agriculture is the backbone of the economy and provides livelihoods for a large portion of the population (Workie et al., 2020). Therefore, disruptions to food security and the agricultural sector will have far-reaching impacts on these countries. Learning from these experiences, the discourse of self-sufficiency, particularly in the food sector, has become a crucial element in Indonesia's development process. However, implicitly, the implementation of self-sufficiency in the food sector is inseparable from efforts to maintain domestic political stability.

CONCLUSION

The discourse of self-sufficiency in the era of President Prabowo Subianto can be seen in three of President Prabowo's speeches: the Inauguration Speech on October 20, 2024, the Speech for the 80th Anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Indonesia, and the Introductory Speech to the Bill on the State Budget for Fiscal Year 2026. These three speeches provide an overview of development implementation and planning in Indonesia. In all three speeches, the word "swasembada" (swasembada) shifts, both in terms of quantity and cohesion (connectedness). In the inaugural speech, the word "swasembada" (swasembada) is attached to the words "food" and "energy." Meanwhile, in the two speeches on August 15, 2025, the word "swasembada" is attached only to the word "food." Interestingly, in the introductory speech to the State Budget Bill, the word "food" is attached not only to "swasembada" but also to "resilience" and "sovereignty."

Furthermore, the discourse on self-sufficiency promoted during President Prabowo's presidency is inextricably linked to the experiences and realities experienced by President Prabowo in his past. The downfall of the Old and New Order regimes due to the economic and food crises should serve as a lesson in itself. For him, the inability to produce food is a loophole or entry point for other nations to intervene and disrupt Indonesia. Therefore, it is natural that food self-sufficiency or food security has become a key keyword in the implementation of Indonesian development during President Prabowo's era. The rationale for creating a self-sufficiency or food security program is also supported by the increasingly uncertain global geopolitical situation, particularly following the Covid-19 pandemic. However, implicitly, the implementation of food self-sufficiency is inseparable from efforts to maintain domestic political stability.

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