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# Bulog's Strategy In Rice Export-Import Amid Food Security Issues In Indonesia 2023-2024

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#### Abstrak

Ketahanan pangan menjadi isu strategis bagi Indonesia mengingat tantangan global seperti perubahan iklim, ketidakstabilan ekonomi, dan konflik geopolitik yang memengaruhi rantai pasok pangan. Perum Bulog, sebagai lembaga yang bertanggung jawab atas logistik pangan nasional, memainkan peran krusial dalam menjaga stabilitas harga dan ketersediaan pangan melalui strategi ekspor-impor beras. Namun, perbedaan harga beras domestik dan internasional, serta tingginya biaya produksi, menjadi kendala dalam meningkatkan daya saing beras Indonesia di pasar global. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode studi literatur untuk menganalisis kebijakan ekspor-impor Bulog pada tahun 2023-2024. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Bulog menerapkan strategi peningkatan cadangan beras pemerintah, optimalisasi distribusi, dan kemitraan dengan petani lokal guna memperkuat ketahanan pangan nasional. Dengan kebijakan yang tepat dan dukungan pemerintah, diharapkan Indonesia dapat mencapai swasembada beras pada tahun 2025 serta meningkatkan daya saing di pasar internasional.

Kata kunci: Strategi Perum Bulog, Ekspor Impor, Kebijakan Pangan.

#### ABSTRACT

Food security is a strategic issue for Indonesia, considering global challenges such as climate change, economic instability, and geopolitical conflicts that impact the food supply chain. Perum Bulog, as the institution responsible for national food logistics, plays a crucial role in maintaining price stability and food availability through rice export-import strategies. However, differences between domestic and international rice prices, along with high production costs, pose challenges to improving Indonesia's competitiveness in the global market. This study employs a literature review method to analyze Bulog's export-import policies from 2023 to 2024. The findings reveal that Bulog implements strategies such as increasing government rice reserves, optimizing distribution, and fostering partnerships with local farmers to strengthen national food security. With appropriate policies and government support, Indonesia is expected to achieve rice self-sufficiency by 2025 and enhance its competitiveness in international markets.

Keywords: Perum Bulog, Export Import, Food Policy.

#### A. Introduction

Food security is one of the strategic issues for Indonesia, given its position as the fourth most populous country in the world. The stability of affordable food availability becomes a major challenge in ensuring public welfare. In recent years, various global factors such as climate change, economic instability, and geopolitical conflicts have significantly impacted global food supply chains, including in Indonesia. <sup>1</sup>

As the institution responsible for managing national food logistics, Perum Bulog plays a strategic role in maintaining food security. Global trade dynamics and increasing domestic needs require BULOG to adopt more flexible and responsive export and import strategies to market changes. This effort aims to maintain a balance between domestic production and national consumption needs.<sup>2</sup>

In the 2023-2024 period, Bulog faced challenges in stabilizing food prices and availability amid global market volatility. Therefore, a comprehensive strategy in export-import management is needed to strengthen national food security. These measures aim not only to ensure sufficient food supply for the community but also to increase the competitiveness of Indonesian food products in international markets and support the welfare of farmers and business actors in the agricultural sector. <sup>3</sup>

However, the main challenge faced is domestic rice prices being higher than international prices. In 2019, Bulog failed to export rice because the selling price in Indonesia reached Rp8,000 per kilogram, while the international price was only Rp6,200 per kilogram. Indonesian rice quality is acknowledged as good, but higher production costs become a barrier to competing in the global market.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, export potential remains, especially for certain types of rice that might be in demand in the American market. In recent years, Indonesia has also exported organic rice from Tasikmalaya to countries like Germany and the US. With the right strategy and price adjustments, Indonesia can expand its rice export market to the United States.<sup>5</sup>

Perum BULOG (State Logistics Agency) plays a crucial role in ensuring food stability in Indonesia. Along with increasing challenges caused by external factors such as climate change, geopolitical conflicts, and global economic fluctuations, BULOG is required to improve efficiency in export and import strategies to maintain national food availability.<sup>6</sup>

To address these challenges, Bulog implements various policies oriented towards strengthening food reserves, optimizing distribution, and increasing partnerships with the private sector and local farmers. With a holistic approach,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mulyani, A., et al. (2023). "Strategi Kebijakan Pangan Nasional dalam Menghadapi Krisis: Fokus pada Peran BULOG". Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional, 29(1), p. 5-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Watampoe, D. P. (2024, Agustus). *Strategi Kebijakan Ekspor-Impor Dalam Mengamankan Rantai Pasokan Pangan*. From djpb kemenkeu: https://djpb.kemenkeu.go.id/kppn/watampone/id/data-publikasi/beritaterbaru/3718-strategi-kebijakan-ekspor-impor-dalam-mengamankan-rantai-pasokan-pangan.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Rachman, B., & Suryani, E. (2022). "Efektivitas Kebijakan Stabilisasi Harga Beras di Indonesia". Jurnal Agro Ekonomi, 38(2), p. 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Anisah, L. (2022, Agustus). *Bulog: Stok Banyak, Indonesia Berpeluang Ekspor Beras*. https://nasional.kontan.co.id/news/bulog-stok-banyak-indonesia-berpeluang-ekspor-beras (Diakses pada 1 Februari 2025)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Putri, A.K., & Widjajanti, E. (2023). "Strategi Penguatan Ketahanan Pangan Nasional melalui Optimalisasi Peran BULOG". Jurnal Ekonomi Pertanian dan Agribisnis, 7(2), p. 335.

Bulog strives not only to secure food supplies but also to maintain price stability and strengthen Indonesia's long-term food security. These strategic steps reflect Bulog's commitment to supporting national food security amid evolving global dynamics. With appropriate policy support and synergy between government, business actors, and society, it is hoped that Indonesia can face future food challenges more resiliently and sustainably. <sup>7</sup>

#### **B.** Research Metode

The method used in this research is literature study. The literature study in this research is a series of activities concerning methods of collecting library data, reading and taking notes, and managing research data objectively, systematically, analytically, and critically about Perum Bulog's Strategy in Export and Import Amid Food Security Issues in Indonesia 2023-2024. Research with this literature study has the same preparation as other research, but the sources and methods of data collection involve taking data from literature, reading, recording, and processing research materials from research articles about variables in this study.<sup>8</sup>

This literature study research analyzes thoroughly and in-depth to obtain objective results about Perum Bulog's Strategy in Export and Import Amid Food Security Issues in Indonesia 2023-2024. The data collected and analyzed is secondary data in the form of research results such as books, journals, articles, internet sites, and other relevant sources about Perum Bulog's Strategy in Export and Import Amid Food Security Issues in Indonesia 2023-2024. Furthermore, the data analysis technique in this research uses content analysis. Data analysis begins with analyzing research results from the most relevant, relevant, and fairly relevant. Then by looking at the research year starting from the most recent, and gradually moving back to earlier years. The researcher then reads the abstract of each prior research to assess whether the issues discussed align with those to be solved in the research. Next, important parts relevant to the research problems are recorded.<sup>9</sup>

#### C. Discussion

### 1. Indonesian Rice Export Policy

Indonesia's rice export policy is part of the government's strategy in managing national food security while taking advantage of global trade opportunities. The implemented regulations aim to ensure a balance between domestic needs and export opportunities, so as not to disrupt price stability and rice availability for the community. Rice exports can only be conducted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Hidayat, R. (2023). "Evaluasi Kinerja BULOG dalam Manajemen Stok Beras Nasional 2020-2023". Repository IPB University, p. 45.

<sup>8</sup> Zed, M. (2024). Metode Penelitian Kepustakaan. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid.

after meeting various strict requirements, including recommendations from the Department of Agriculture and permits from the Department of Trade. This policy aims to ensure that exports do not negatively impact domestic rice availability and prices. One of the main rules is that exports are only allowed if rice stock at the Logistics Affairs Agency (Bulog) exceeds three million tons. Thus, domestic needs remain the top priority before rice is allocated for export.<sup>10</sup>

Besides quantity, the government also sets limits on the types of rice that can be exported. Only certain types of rice such as seeds, red rice, and black glutinous rice are permitted for foreign markets, as these types have more limited domestic demand. This step aims to protect the main consumption rice supply for Indonesian society, especially for low-income groups who are highly dependent on rice as a staple food. From an economic perspective, rice export policy considers the commodity balance that reflects domestic production surplus. The government also encourages import source diversification to avoid dependence on one or several specific countries while strengthening national food security. In the long term, this policy is designed not only to maintain rice supply stability but also to increase the competitiveness of Indonesian food commodities in international markets.<sup>11</sup>

The government also strives to encourage value-added rice exports, such as organic or premium rice, to increase foreign exchange and the competitiveness of the domestic agricultural industry. By developing rice products with specific advantages, Indonesia can expand its export market share and increase farmers' income. However, this policy still faces challenges, especially due to production uncertainty caused by climate change and rice price variability in the global market. Nevertheless, rice export policy is not free from criticism. Some parties view a contradiction in regulations that allow exports while the government still conducts imports to meet domestic needs. This raises questions about the effectiveness of national food policy, especially in protecting local farmers from the negative impacts of excess supply that can lower selling prices at the producer level. 12

Overall, Indonesia's rice export policy seeks to achieve a balance between meeting domestic needs and utilizing export opportunities. With strict supervision of stock, prices, and types of rice exported, the government tries to maintain domestic food stability while increasing the agricultural sector's contribution to the national economy.

Perum Bulog, as the institution responsible for managing rice in Indonesia, has an export policy designed to maintain price stability and national food security. One of the main policies is rice export restriction, where only certified premium rice types are allowed to be exported, with a maximum quota of 100

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Suhendra, T., & Basjir, W. (2023). op.cit., p. 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Rachman, B., & Suryani, E. (2022). op.cit., p. 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Pertanian, P. D. (2024). *Analisis Kinerja Perdagangan Beras Vol. 14 No.1A.* Pusat Data dan Sistem Informasi Pertanian Kementrian Pertanian.

thousand tons in a certain period. This step aims to ensure domestic supply remains secure and prevent price spikes due to high international demand. Additionally, Bulog sets a target to not import rice in 2025, with confidence that domestic production will meet national needs. Production surplus is projected to reach 1.25 million tons in that year.<sup>13</sup>

As part of this policy, Bulog is also committed to maintaining government rice reserves (CBP) of at least 3 million tons to support price and supply stability. Part of these reserves is allocated for the Food Assistance (Bapang) program for people in need. On the other hand, Bulog continues to optimize grain absorption from local farmers during the main harvest to ensure sufficient stock, especially approaching critical periods such as Ramadan or famine periods. Although normal weather projections in 2025 are expected to support optimal harvest yields, challenges remain in ensuring stock availability during the transition period before the main harvest arrives. This rice export policy demonstrates Perum Bulog's efforts in balancing domestic market needs and international trade opportunities. With a focus on local production and export restrictions, Bulog hopes to achieve food self-sufficiency while maintaining price stability and rice availability for Indonesian society. 14

## 2. Indonesian Rice Import Policy

Approaching 2025, rice import policy in Indonesia has undergone several significant changes in response to national production conditions and food needs. In 2023, the government set an import quota of 2 million tons, but the impact of the El Nino phenomenon causing a decrease in domestic rice production made this quota increase to 3.5 million tons. Import realization in that year reached around 3.06 million tons, showing quite high dependence on imports to meet domestic needs. Entering 2024, the government again set an import quota of 2 million tons, but due to concerns about potential deficits due to bad weather and decreased production, the quota was raised to 3.6 million tons. Based on Central Statistics Agency (BPS) data, national rice production potential in 2024 is estimated at around 30.34 million tons, while consumption needs reach 31.21 million tons, triggering the decision to import to cover the shortage. Until September 2024, rice import realization was recorded at 3.23 million tons. <sup>15</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Mulyani, A., et al. (2023). op.cit., p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Widi, H. (2025, Januari). *Bapanas: Bulog Harus Punya Cadangan 3 Juta Ton Beras pada 2025*. From Kompas.id: <a href="https://www.kompas.id/artikel/bapanas-bulog-harus-punya-cadangan-3-juta-ton-beras-pada-2025">https://www.kompas.id/artikel/bapanas-bulog-harus-punya-cadangan-3-juta-ton-beras-pada-2025</a> (Diakses pada 1 Februari 2025)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Hasan, A. A. (2024, September). *Bulog Kembali Impor Beras, Penuhi Target 1,2 Juta Ton Sampai Akhir 2024*. From Tempo: <a href="https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/bulog-kembali-impor-beras-penuhi-target-1-2-juta-ton-sampai-akhir-2024-11762">https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/bulog-kembali-impor-beras-penuhi-target-1-2-juta-ton-sampai-akhir-2024-11762</a> (Diakses pada 3 Februari 2025)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Sukarelawati, E. (2024, Desember). *Bulog Targetkan Tidak Impor Beras Pada 2025*. From Antara: https://www.antaranews.com/berita/4529338/bulog-targetkan-tidak-impor-beras-pada-2025#google vignette (Diakses pada 3 Februari 2025)

This import policy faces various challenges and criticism. Dependence on imports is considered to reflect the instability of national food security, especially since Indonesia had previously received awards for rice self-sufficiency. Additionally, this policy is considered to create long-term dependence on international markets and ignore the potential for increasing domestic production. Nevertheless, this step is taken by the government to ensure food availability remains maintained amid climate change threats and domestic production fluctuations. <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup>

In addition to weather factors, limited agricultural land and rapid urbanization have also become major factors in increasing rice imports. The conversion of agricultural land into industrial areas and settlements reduces the land area that can be used for rice production, thus hampering food self-sufficiency. The government has tried to address this problem through various programs such as agricultural modernization, increasing farmer productivity through technology use, and development of superior varieties that are more resistant to climate change. On the other hand, rice import policy also impacts domestic market rice prices. The entry of imported rice in large quantities has the potential to suppress prices at the farmer level, which can harm them if not balanced with basic price protection by the government. Therefore, the government continues to review subsidy policies and incentives for local farmers so they can continue to compete with imported rice. 19 20

Although receiving criticism, import policy remains a temporary solution in facing potential food crises. The government also continues to conduct diplomacy with rice-exporting countries to ensure supply remains guaranteed, especially when disruptions occur in the global market. Additionally, food diversification efforts are also encouraged so that people do not rely too heavily on rice as a staple food, by introducing alternatives such as cassava, sago, and corn.<sup>21</sup> Overall, rice import policy before 2025 reflects government efforts in overcoming food shortages while facing challenges from weather

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Birokrasi, K. P. (2024, Desember). *Pemerintah Hentikan Impor Beberapa Komoditas Pangan di 2025*. From menpan: <a href="https://www.menpan.go.id/site/berita-terkini/berita-daerah/pemerintah-hentikan-impor-beberapa-komoditas-pangan-di-2025">https://www.menpan.go.id/site/berita-terkini/berita-daerah/pemerintah-hentikan-impor-beberapa-komoditas-pangan-di-2025</a> (Diakses pada 3 Februari 2025)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Bulog, P. (2024, Juli). *Alasan Indonesia Harus Impor Beras: Memahami Keputusan Pemerintah*. From bulog: <a href="https://www.bulog.co.id/2024/07/05/alasan-indonesia-harus-impor-beras-memahami-keputusan-pemerintah">https://www.bulog.co.id/2024/07/05/alasan-indonesia-harus-impor-beras-memahami-keputusan-pemerintah</a>/ (Diakses pada 3 Februari 2025)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Nasional, B. P. (2025, Januari). *Penyesuaian Derajat Sosoh Beras Untuk Mendukung Penyerapan Beras dan Pemenuhan CBP Tahub 2025*. From badanpangan: <a href="https://badanpangan.go.id/blog/post/penyesuaian-derajat-sosoh-beras-untuk-mendukung-penyerapan-beras-dan-pemenuhan-cbp-tahun-2025">https://badanpangan.go.id/blog/post/penyesuaian-derajat-sosoh-beras-untuk-mendukung-penyerapan-beras-dan-pemenuhan-cbp-tahun-2025</a> (Diakses pada 3 Februari 2025)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Praditya, I. I. (2025, Januari). *Kunci Swasembada Beras 2025 Ada di Tangan Bulog*. From liputan 6: https://www.liputan6.com/bisnis/read/5896308/kunci-swasembada-beras-2025-ada-di-tangan-bulog (Diakses pada 3 Februari 2025)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Wakik, A. K. (2024, Desember). *Menuju 2025, Bulog Siap Jalankan Tugas Pemerintah di Bidang Pangan*. From rmol bisnis: <a href="https://rmol.id/bisnis/read/2024/12/31/650610/menuju-2025-bulog-siap-jalankan-tugas-pemerintah-di-bidang-pangan">https://rmol.id/bisnis/read/2024/12/31/650610/menuju-2025-bulog-siap-jalankan-tugas-pemerintah-di-bidang-pangan</a> (Diakses pada 3 Februari 2025)

factors, increasing consumption needs, land use changes, and global trade dynamics.<sup>22</sup>

# 3. Perum BULOG's Strategy in Indonesian Rice Import and Export

Perum Bulog, as the institution responsible for rice management in Indonesia, has various comprehensive strategies in regulating rice exports and imports to support national food security. With the grand vision of achieving food self-sufficiency, Bulog continues to strengthen the domestic agricultural sector and increase efficiency in national rice stock distribution and management.<sup>23</sup>

One of Bulog's main targets is to no longer import rice by 2025 by fully relying on domestic production. To realize this ambitious target, Bulog carries out various strategic steps including increasing Government Rice Reserves (CBP) stock, which has now reached 1.5 million tons. This stock is strengthened through systematic local procurement, cooperation with strategic partners, and increased investment in storage and distribution infrastructure. Additionally, Bulog also focuses on diversifying supply sources by building a wider network throughout Indonesia to ensure rice availability in sufficient quantities and good quality.<sup>24</sup>

In accelerating food independence, Bulog prioritizes grain procurement strategy from local farmers as the main priority. The grain pickup program becomes one of the innovative steps to ensure optimal absorption of farmers' harvests. Furthermore, Bulog establishes close collaboration with agricultural offices to increase agricultural productivity through better production facilities provision, training for farmers, and expansion of a wider supplier network. With modern technology support, such as digitalization system use in agricultural data management and agricultural machinery optimization, Bulog hopes to increase overall agricultural efficiency and productivity.<sup>25</sup>

Although in the short term, Bulog still imports rice to meet national needs, especially during famine periods and other emergency situations. As of August 2024, it was recorded that Bulog had imported about 2.578 million tons of rice from countries such as Thailand and Vietnam to ensure national stock availability. However, this import is carried out as a temporary tactical

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Widi, H. (2025, Januari). *Bapanas: Bulog Harus Punya Cadangan 3 Juta Ton Beras pada 2025*. From Kompas.id: <a href="https://www.kompas.id/artikel/bapanas-bulog-harus-punya-cadangan-3-juta-ton-beras-pada-2025">https://www.kompas.id/artikel/bapanas-bulog-harus-punya-cadangan-3-juta-ton-beras-pada-2025</a> (Diakses pada 3 Februari 2025)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Hortus, M. (2024, Agustus). *Perum Bulog Paparkan Strategi Perkuat Cadangan Beras Pemerintah*. From Majalah Hortus: <a href="https://news.majalahhortus.com/perum-bulog-paparkan-strategi-perkuat-cadangan-beras-pemerintah">https://news.majalahhortus.com/perum-bulog-paparkan-strategi-perkuat-cadangan-beras-pemerintah</a>/ (Diakses pada 3 Februari 2025)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Anggraeni, R. (2024, Oktober). *Bulog Andalkan Produksi Beras Dalam Negeri, Belum Ada Rencana Impor 2025*. From Ekonomi Bisnis: <a href="https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20241031/12/1812153/bulog-andalkan-produksi-beras-dalam-negeri-belum-ada-rencana-impor-2025">https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20241031/12/1812153/bulog-andalkan-produksi-beras-dalam-negeri-belum-ada-rencana-impor-2025</a> (Diakses pada 3 Februari 2025)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Bulog, P. (2025, Januari). *BULOG Akan Serap Semua Gabah dan Jagung Petani untuk Jaga Stabilitas Harga*. From bulog.co.id: <a href="https://www.bulog.co.id/2025/01/01/bulog-akan-serap-semua-gabah-dan-jagung-petani-untuk-jaga-stabilitas-harga/">https://www.bulog.co.id/2025/01/01/bulog-akan-serap-semua-gabah-dan-jagung-petani-untuk-jaga-stabilitas-harga/</a> (Diakses pada 3 Februari 2025)

measure, which is expected to be gradually reduced as domestic production increases. To reduce dependence on imports, the government also supports farmers through fertilizer subsidy programs, provision of superior seeds, and increased access to agricultural financing.<sup>26</sup>

In the long term, Bulog is committed to strengthening national food security through various initiatives that support agricultural sector sustainability. One of these is increasing supply chain efficiency, implementing modern agricultural technology, and optimizing a more equitable distribution system. Additionally, Bulog also strives to develop community-based food security programs, such as strengthening village food storage and incentives for farmer cooperatives so they can be more independent in meeting food needs in their respective regions.<sup>27</sup> With these various innovations, it is hoped that Indonesia will not only achieve rice self-sufficiency but also have strong food security in facing various global challenges, such as climate change and international commodity price fluctuations.

With the ambitious target of stopping rice imports by 2025, Bulog continues to strive to become a main pillar in national food security. Through synergy between government, farmers, and various other stakeholders, it is hoped that Indonesia can achieve sustainable and independent rice self-sufficiency in the long term. With hard work and sustainable innovation, Bulog is optimistic that Indonesia is capable of achieving highly competitive food independence and contributing to strengthening national economic stability.<sup>28</sup>

#### **D.** Conclusions

Perum Bulog plays a strategic role in maintaining national food security through flexible and adaptive export-import policies. In facing global challenges, Bulog strives to increase rice reserves, strengthen distribution networks, and cooperate with local farmers to increase domestic production. However, the main constraints faced are differences between domestic and international rice prices, and high production costs that hinder export competitiveness. Nevertheless, with comprehensive strategies and government support, Bulog has the potential to help Indonesia achieve rice self-sufficiency by 2025.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Watampoe, D. P. (2024, Agustus). *Strategi Kebijakan Ekspor-Impor Dalam Mengamankan Rantai Pasokan Pangan*. From djpb kemenkeu: <a href="https://djpb.kemenkeu.go.id/kppn/watampone/id/data-publikasi/beritaterbaru/3718-strategi-kebijakan-ekspor-impor-dalam-mengamankan-rantai-pasokan-pangan.html">https://djpb.kemenkeu.go.id/kppn/watampone/id/data-publikasi/beritaterbaru/3718-strategi-kebijakan-ekspor-impor-dalam-mengamankan-rantai-pasokan-pangan.html</a> (Diakses pada 3 Februari 2025)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Mulyani, A., et al. (2023). "Strategi Kebijakan Pangan Nasional dalam Menghadapi Krisis: Fokus pada Peran BULOG". Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional, 29(1), p. 5-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Putri, A.K., & Widjajanti, E. (2023). "Strategi Penguatan Ketahanan Pangan Nasional melalui Optimalisasi Peran BULOG". Jurnal Ekonomi Pertanian dan Agribisnis, 7(2), p. 335.

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