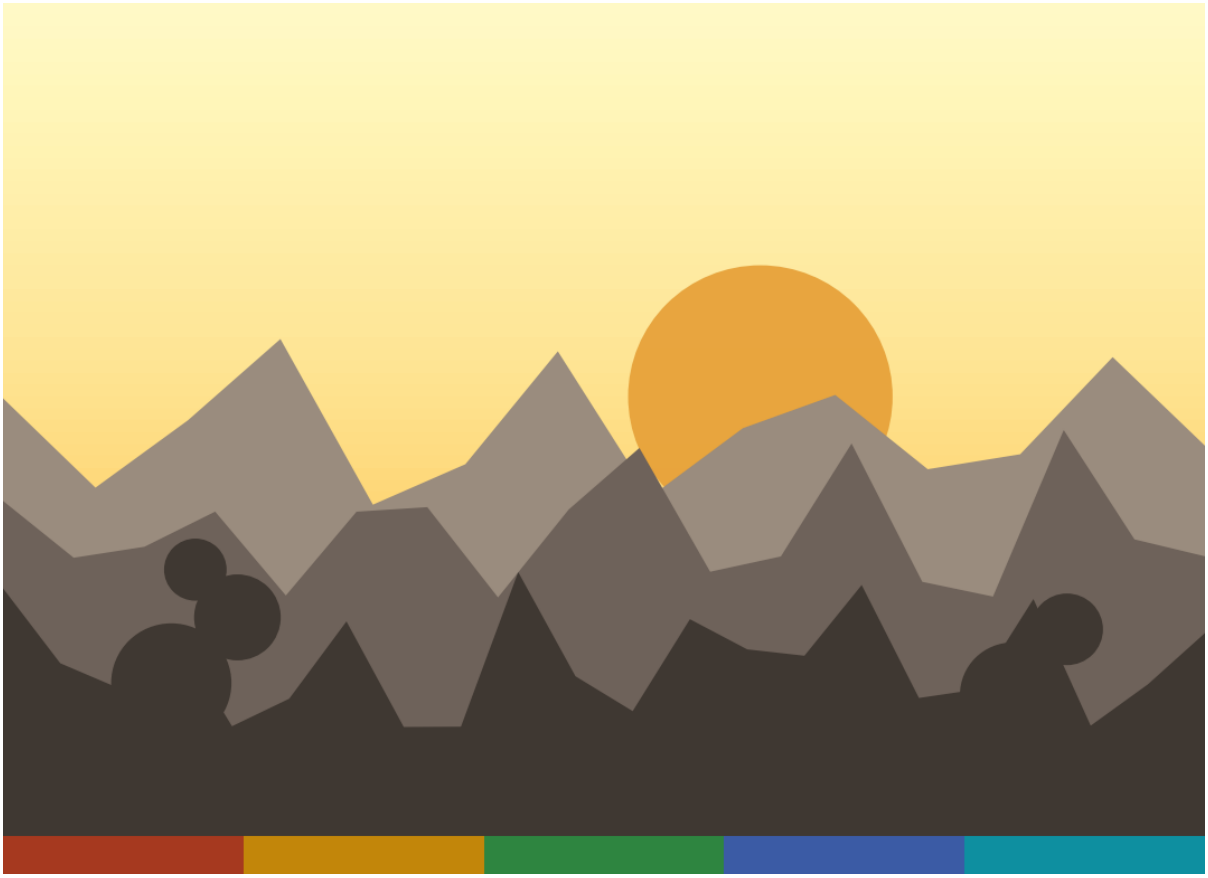
KEFIANO

2027 VISION

Plateau First: A Five-Pillar Manifesto for a Safe, Productive and Connected Plateau



Chief Kefas Wungak Ropshik

'Kefiano' · PDP Candidate for Governor, Plateau State

Security to produce. Learning to liberate. Roads to connect. Health to function. Prosperity for all 17 LGAs.

KEFIANO 2027 VISION

Plateau First: A Five-Pillar Manifesto for a Safe, Productive and Connected Plateau

Prepared for Chief Kefas Wungak Ropshik by the KEFIANO Research and Policy Team, Jos, November 2026.

A note on the figures in this book. Every number that describes Plateau today comes from a named public source, listed in the Notes at the back. Every number that describes the future (revenue targets, project costs, jobs) is a campaign projection built by our team from those sources. Projections are marked as such in each chart and table. Before any project is funded, it will pass through a full feasibility study, the Peace Impact Test and the Plateau Delivery Office. Where a figure in our own earlier working papers could not be confirmed, we have said so rather than repeat it.

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FOREWORD

My Covenant with Plateau

My dear people of Plateau,

For more than twenty years our state has buried its sons and daughters in numbers no family should ever have to count. We have lost farmers on their way to the farm, children on their way to school, and whole villages that once fed us. Each time, the response has been the same. A convoy arrives after the attackers have gone. A statement is read. A committee is set up. Then we wait for the next night.

I am not standing for Governor because I think I have a magic solution. I am standing because I have seen, as a businessman and as a private citizen who has housed, fed and schooled victims from Mangu, Bassa, Bokkos, Riyom, and Barkin Ladi out of my own pocket, that the problem is not a shortage of ideas. Plateau has had good plans before. What we have lacked is a system that turns plans into results, protects them from politics, and tells the people honestly what each promise costs.

This book is that system. It rests on five pillars: **Security, the Economy, Education and Human Capital, Infrastructure and Transport, and Health.** They are not five separate wish lists. A farmer who cannot reach his farm safely will not feed the processing hub. A child who is sick will not learn. A trader with no road will not pay tax. So we start with security, because nothing else stands without it, and we build the other pillars on the same rock.

I have asked my research team to do something unusual for a campaign. For every major promise, they have put down what it costs, where the money comes from and how we will know whether it worked. Some of these numbers will change once we see the books from inside Government House. When they do, we will publish the change and the reason. That is the covenant I make with you.

Plateau does not need a Governor who will fight after you die. Plateau needs a Governor who will prevent your death, open your farm, school your child and fix your road. With God and with you, that is the Governor I intend to be.

> *Security is economy. When Plateau is safe, Plateau will prosper.*
>
> Chief Kefas Wungak Ropshik, ‘Kefiano’

PART ONE

The Plateau We Inherit

Plateau is a highland state of about 4.7 million people spread across 17 local government areas and three senatorial zones, according to the National Population Commission's 2022 projection. It has the cool climate that once made Jos the holiday capital of Nigeria, some of the country's richest tin and columbite deposits, and farmland that sends Irish potatoes, maize, yam, acha and vegetables to markets from Lagos to Maiduguri. It is also a state that has paid one of the heaviest prices for insecurity anywhere in the federation.

The cost of insecurity

Amnesty International counted at least 2,630 people killed in Plateau State between May 2023 and May 2025, the highest toll of any state in its nationwide count of 10,217 deaths for that period. In one stretch alone, from December 2023 to February 2024, Amnesty recorded 1,336 deaths and more than 29,000 people displaced. These figures have been disputed in parts, and we use them with care, but no serious person in Plateau doubts the pattern behind them: attacks concentrated in Bokkos, Mangu, Bassa, Barkin Ladi, Riyom and Wase, followed by flight from farmland and a slow emptying of rural communities.

The economic damage is just as real. Our team's working estimate is that in the worst-affected rural districts only about 15 percent of land that was cultivated a decade ago is still under the plough. We have not been able to verify that figure against a published survey, and finding the true number is one of the first jobs of our 100-day Development Baseline.

Where Plateau's people live

Development that ignores population ends up concentrated in the capital. Figure 1 shows how our people are distributed across the LGAs. Jos North, Jos South and Mangu are the giants, but eight LGAs, from Langtang North to Qua'an Pan, each carry between 200,000 and 300,000 people. These are the places where a new road, a functioning clinic or a hub for potatoes and yam changes the most lives per naira. Our project plans are weighted with this in mind.

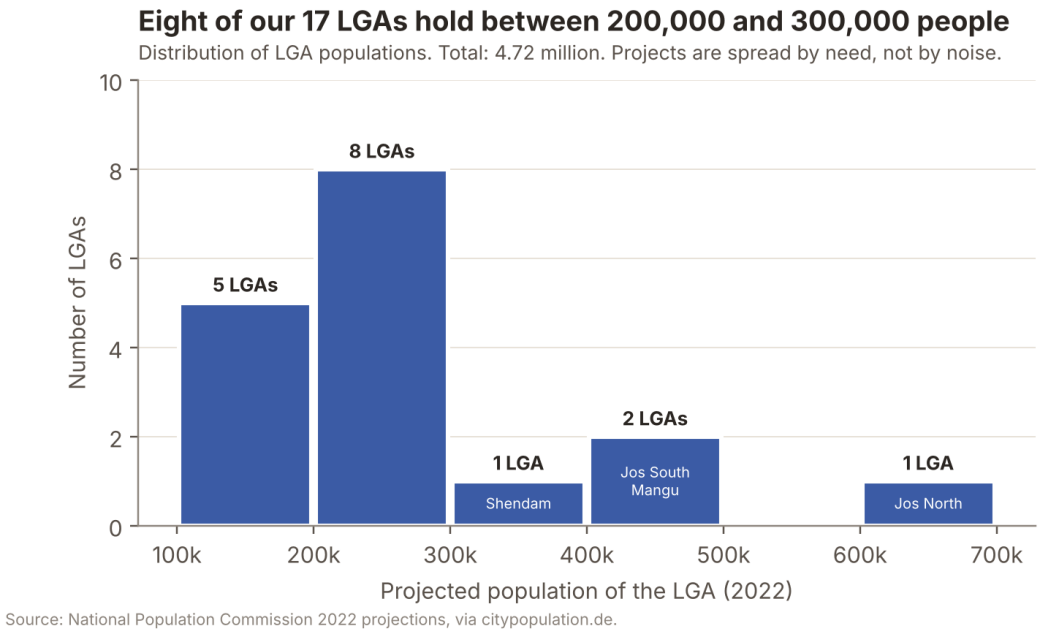


Figure 1. Histogram of projected LGA populations, 2022. The middle band of LGAs is where rural roads, PHCs and agro-hubs reach the most people.

The money: more than ever, still too dependent

The state's finances have grown fast. The signed 2026 Appropriation stands at ₦817.5 billion, up from ₦529.4 billion passed for 2025. Capital spending takes ₦501.1 billion, or 61 percent, which is a welcome shift towards building things. Internally generated revenue reached a record ₦45.1 billion in 2025, almost three times the ₦15.9 billion of 2022, according to the Plateau State Internal Revenue Service.

Yet the structure is fragile. The state received about ₦257.9 billion from the Federation Account in 2025, nearly six naira for every one naira it raised itself. That means our development plans rise and fall with oil prices and Abuja's decisions. Figure 2 shows how the 2026 budget is shared among the sectors that matter most to this manifesto.

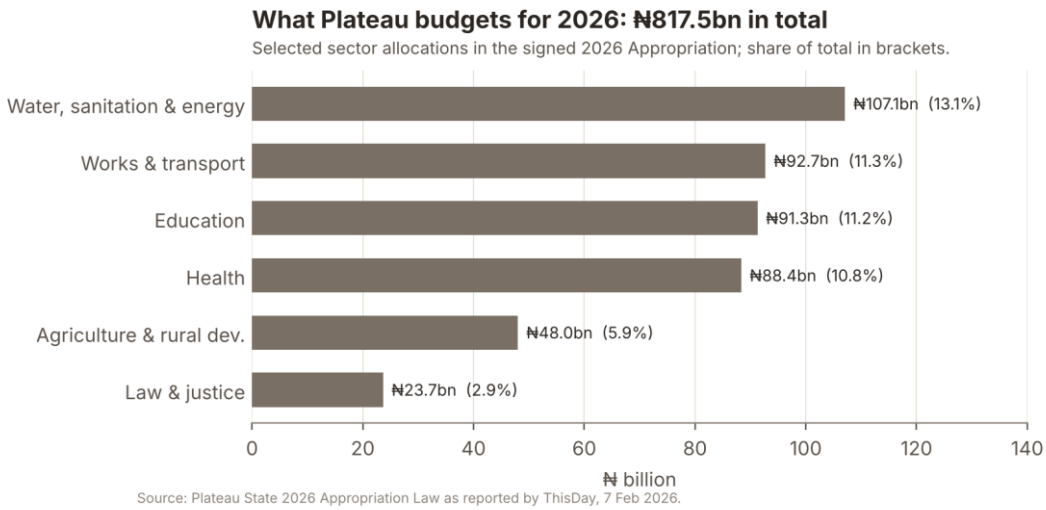


Figure 2. Selected sector allocations in the 2026 Plateau State budget. The published summary shows no separate line for security, which makes public tracking difficult.

Two things stand out. First, education receives about 11 percent of the total, below the 15 to 20 percent of public spending recommended in the Education 2030 Framework for Action that Nigeria signed. Second, the published budget summary carries no transparent line for security, even though security is the first concern of every Plateau family. We will change both.

Jobs and livelihoods

The National Bureau of Statistics placed Plateau's unemployment rate at 7.4 percent in 2023, against a national rate of 5.4 percent, putting us among the ten worst states. The NBS definition counts anyone who worked a single hour in the week as employed, so the lived reality is harsher. Our campaign's own working figure is that about 35 percent of young people are without decent work, and that close to three in four households depend on farming. These two figures come from earlier party papers and will be replaced by measured numbers once the Development Baseline is complete.

> **What we inherit, in brief**
>
> **Strengths:** fertile highland soil, minerals including tin, columbite, lead, zinc and barite, cool climate and tourism assets, eight state-owned tertiary institutions, an energetic diaspora, and rising IGR.
>
> **Weaknesses:** insecurity that empties farms, heavy dependence on federal allocation, thin value addition, weak rural roads, under-funded schools and clinics, and too little public data.
>
> **What the future demands:** a state that can attract private capital, train young people for digital and technical work, and protect its land and water from climate stress.

PART TWO

The KEFIANO Agenda at a Glance

Our central proposition is simple. **Plateau does not lack ideas. Plateau needs a system that turns ideas into results.** Everything in this manifesto hangs on five pillars that stand on a single foundation, which we call the Rock: the discipline to plan, finance, deliver, measure and maintain.

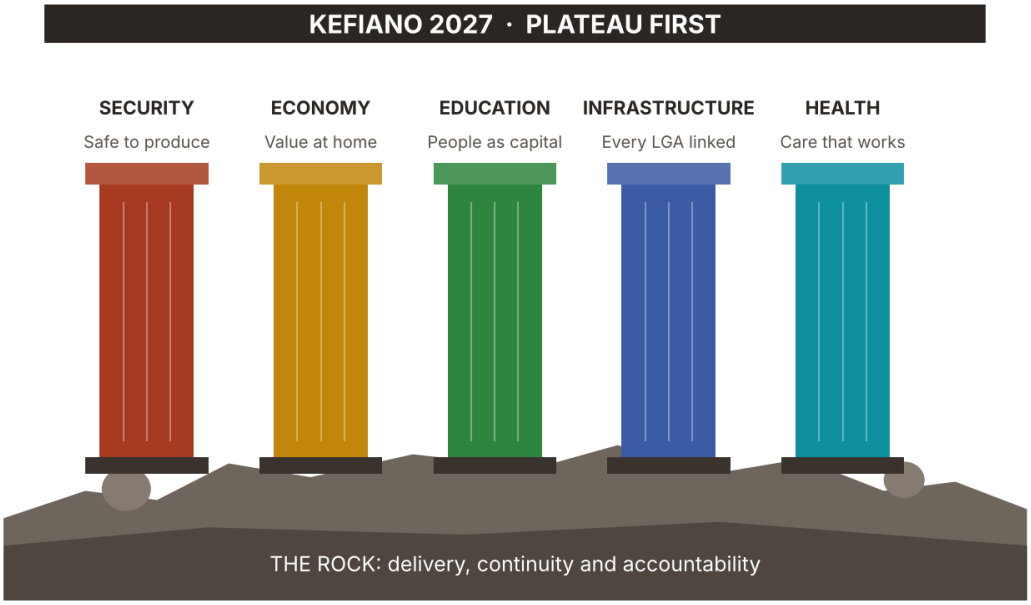


Figure 3. The five KEFIANO pillars standing on the Rock of delivery. The colours used for each pillar are carried through every chart in this book.

The promise in one line

> *Security to produce; education to liberate; infrastructure to connect; health to function; and prosperity that reaches all 17 LGAs.*

How the pillars depend on one another

We have deliberately ordered the pillars. Security comes first because a farmer who cannot sleep on his farm will not plant, an investor will not build in a valley where trucks are burnt, and a teacher posted to a frontline village will not stay. Once people can move and work, the Economy pillar turns what we grow and dig into value at home. Education and Human Capital supply the skills that the economy needs. Infrastructure and Transport carry goods, people and power to every LGA. Health keeps the whole workforce on its feet. Underneath sits Government That Works, the delivery engine that makes sure each of these survives a change in mood or leadership.

Pillar	Core promise	Four-year flagship envelope
1. Security	No farm, market, school or road left unprotected	₦144bn
2. Economy	Turn land, minerals and culture into jobs and value at home	₦240bn
3. Education & Human Capital	Educated, skilled young people who produce and pay tax	₦288bn

Pillar	Core promise	Four-year flagship envelope
4. Infrastructure & Transport	Roads, power and water that reach every LGA, not just Jos	₦360bn
5. Health	Care that works for every citizen, from ward PHC to specialist hospital	₦168bn
Total		**₦1,200bn**

Our political covenant

We will not ask Plateau to believe that everything can be fixed at once. For every major commitment, we will tell you what matters most, what comes first, how it will be paid for, who is responsible, how progress will be measured, and what happens if a project does not work. We will not erase the state's development memory either. Inherited projects will be audited, and each one will receive one of nine clear decisions, from continue to retire (see Part Four). Administrations change; public value should not be reset each time they do.

PILLAR ONE

Security First: The Plateau Homeland Security Model

> *From the bushes, the borders and the betrayers within, we will secure Plateau.*

Past governments treated Plateau's insecurity as a shooting problem. They bought vans, waited for attacks, then chased the attackers after the killing was done. In many cases the security response surfaced only after the perpetrators had escaped into neighbouring states or the forests and hills of our own state. Our diagnosis is different. **Plateau's insecurity is an intelligence problem, a border problem and an insider problem.** The response must be preventive, not reactive.

In our grandparents' time, when there was trouble in the city, people ran to the village for safety. Today the village itself is not safe, and there is nowhere left to run. Our aim is to bring back the safety of the village so that the city can be safe again.

The Plateau Homeland Security Model (PHSM)

The model has six components, all reporting to a single command and all subject to the Constitution, the courts and civilian oversight.

1. The Border Shield: a four-layer defence

Attackers rarely use the main road. They move through the bush tracks of Bokkos, the forests and hills around Mangu, the forest borders of Wase, the mountains of Barkin Ladi and Riyom, and the woodlands of Qua'an Pan and Kanam. The Border Shield closes these routes in four layers.

- **Layer 1, road posts.** Every major entry point into Plateau will be manned by the Homeland Guard, working alongside State Police once it is in force. No vehicle enters without documentation.
- **Layer 2, bush patrols.** We will screen and recruit local hunters and forest guards from border communities. They know every cattle route, footpath and cave that a map does not show. Equipped with motorbikes and solar-charged radios, they will operate up to 10 km inside the bush, trained by experienced professionals.
- **Layer 3, the Sky Eye.** Long-range thermal drones and solar CCTV masts on high ground will feed a live picture to the Central Command in Jos. A man moving 50 cattle at 2 a.m. along a known attack route will be seen as it happens, not discovered at dawn.
- **Layer 4, rules of engagement.** Every operative will be trained in both kinetic action against armed threats and non-kinetic work: community engagement, de-radicalisation and mediation of farmer-herder disputes before they turn violent. Force, with wisdom.

Every border village will receive a **Village Early Warning** kit: the traditional town bell, kept and respected, plus a dedicated alert line that triggers the nearest patrol within five minutes.

2. Synergy with neighbouring governors

Insecurity does not respect state boundaries. Within our first 90 days we will propose a **Middle Belt Border Governors' Security Forum** with Bauchi, Kaduna, Nasarawa and Taraba. Its work will include geo-mapping of disputed boundaries, joint CCTV and communication masts at known flashpoints, periodic joint border patrols, a shared database of wanted suspects, and a Joint Operations Protocol on hot pursuit, so that an attacker who strikes in Plateau and flees to a neighbouring state is arrested there and handed over, and the same applies in reverse.

3. State Police and the Homeland Guard: one mission

We welcome the move towards State Police and will push for its speedy passage. But we will be honest: changing a uniform from federal to state, without fixing the bushes, the moles and the intelligence gaps, simply renames the same problem. In our model, State Police are the statutory teeth, with the legal power to arrest, investigate and prosecute. The restructured **Plateau State Homeland Guard**, built from Operation Rainbow, hunters, vigilantes and community structures, are the eyes and legs. Both will work under one roof, the **Plateau Intelligence Fusion Centre (PIFC)** in Jos, chaired by the Governor, with the military providing heavy support. No rivalry, one mission.

4. Flushing out saboteurs, strictly within the law

One reason past efforts failed is that we have been sold from inside. We will deal with this firmly but fairly. Any informant inquiry will follow a **two-source rule**: nobody is accused on one person's word. Unexplained wealth after attacks will be reviewed by community structures, and phone records will be obtained only with a court order. Traditional rulers who knowingly shelter attackers will face suspension, referral to the Council of Chiefs and prosecution through the proper agencies. Security personnel will face unannounced rotation every six months and confidential integrity checks. Anyone found guilty of aiding attacks will be dismissed, blacklisted from state employment and prosecuted. There will be no sacred cows.

5. Village intelligence: our forefathers' method, modern tools

What worked before still works. No stranger slept in a village without the ward head knowing. Age grades defended the community. We will bring together elders, hunters and trackers with special knowledge of the land, require every Ardo to register new entrants with the District Head during seasonal migration, and have every District Head chair a weekly security council with youth, women and Ardo representatives. At least 70 percent of each LGA's Homeland Guard will be indigenes of that LGA. During the farming season, **Farm Corridor Protection** will escort and guard major farming belts. A **Special Court for Insecurity and Land Grabbing** will give young people a reason to trust the law rather than take it into their own hands.

The PIFC will use pattern analysis to give commanders earlier warning of likely attacks. In line with our AI governance rule, no automated system will be used to target individuals, and any analytics tool will pass a legal, human-rights and privacy review before use.

6. Welfare of personnel and care for victims

You cannot send a hungry man to war. Frontline personnel in Mangu, Bokkos, Bassa, Barkin Ladi, Riyom and Wase will receive a monthly risk allowance, life insurance, decent accommodation, and health cover for their families. Officers who show gallantry and integrity will be publicly honoured and promoted. If any officer, federal or state, dies in the line of duty in Plateau, the state will give a funeral with full honours, compensate the family and place the children on state scholarship.

For victims, **there will be no more mass burials** under our watch. Every life lost will receive a dignified burial. The state will adopt affected families, support them through the shock, and pursue the resettlement and rebuilding of displaced communities as a non-negotiable duty. A **Whistle-Blower Reward Line** will pay for credible tips that prevent attacks.

What it costs

Programme	What it delivers	₦ bn (4 yrs)
Plateau Intelligence Fusion Centre & Central Command	24-hour command, data room, secure communications	18
Border Shield: posts and bush patrols	Road posts, motorbikes, radios, kits for forest guards	22
Sky Eye	Thermal drones and solar CCTV masts on high ground	26
Homeland Guard restructuring	Recruitment, screening, training and equipment	20
Village Early Warning	Bells, alert lines and response protocols in border villages	6
Frontline welfare package	Risk allowance, insurance, housing, family health cover	24
Victims' care and resettlement	Dignified burials, family support, rebuilding communities	22
Special Court & justice support	Court, prosecutors, legal aid for land disputes	6
Total, Pillar One		**144**

Fifteen percent of the annual security vote will be ring-fenced for technology and equipment and publicly audited each year. A **Plateau Security Trust Fund**, established by law and independently governed, will receive contributions from large mining operators, commercial farms and hotels that benefit directly from peace, together with diaspora and partner funds. No single official will control its disbursement.

How you will know it is working

Measure	Starting point	Target by 2031
Average response time to an alert in a border village	To be measured in first 100 days	Under 30 minutes
Deaths from violent attacks, per year	Amnesty: about 1,300 a year (2023–25)	Cut by at least 80%
Displaced communities resettled	Baseline audit, Year 1	All verified communities
Protected farm corridors in the farming season	None formally designated	At least one per high-risk LGA
Security spending published line by line	No separate public line	Published and audited yearly

PILLAR TWO

The Economy: A Prosperous Plateau

> *Farm to fortune, rock to wealth: what Plateau grows and digs should be processed, branded and sold by Plateau people.*

Plateau sells raw. Our potatoes leave in open trucks and come back as crisps. Our tin leaves as concentrate. Our stones are crushed by firms that hire few of our young people. This pillar is about moving up the value chain: from production to storage, processing, transport, market, finance and export. We treat agriculture, mining, tourism and small business as one connected economy.

Agriculture: from occupation to industry

We will start by knowing our farmers. A **Farmer Registry** will place every farmer into small, medium or large-scale categories so that inputs, credit and grants go to the right people, and support is linked to capacity rather than connections. Improved seed, fertiliser and extension services will be delivered through cooperatives. A mechanisation service, run on a hire basis, will give smallholders access to tractors and harvesters they could never buy alone. We will push commercial horticulture, where the highland climate gives Plateau a natural edge in tomatoes, peppers, carrots, cabbage and strawberries.

The Plateau First Agro-Industrial Hub Network

Each of the three senatorial zones will host a zonal agro-industrial hub, linked to 17 LGA mini-hubs. Each hub is built around what its area grows best: Irish potato and maize in the Northern and Central belts around Bokkos, Mangu, Pankshin and Barkin Ladi; yam, rice, guinea corn and cassava in the Southern zone around Langtang, Shendam, Mikang and Qua'an Pan. Hubs will offer cold storage, sorting, grading, processing lines and packaging. **Ownership is shared: 60 percent community cooperatives, 20 percent the state and 20 percent private or development finance partners**, so farmers become owners of the infrastructure, not just its customers. A food reserve window will buy during glut and release during scarcity to steady prices.

Livestock will be modernised through animal-health services, inspected abattoirs, cold chains and proper waste handling across the LGAs, using existing institutions rather than new bureaucracies. Peaceful, regulated livestock production is part of the security solution, not a threat to it.

Plateau Markets across Nigeria

Working with fellow state governments, and standing as guarantor for Plateau traders, we will establish **Plateau Markets** in twelve major cities across the six regions: Kano, Kaduna, Sokoto, Maiduguri, Abuja, Enugu, Aba, Onitsha, Owerri, Port Harcourt, Ibadan and Lagos. Each will have cool rooms and preservation equipment and will carry only Plateau produce and products. The aim is to cut out the long chain of middlemen and put a larger share of the city price into the farmer's pocket.

Mining and solid minerals: Rock-to-Wealth

Mineral title and royalties belong to the Federal Government under the Constitution, but the state controls land, environment, roads and the welfare of host communities. Within those powers, we will formalise artisanal mining into safer cooperatives, invest in mineral data and investment intelligence, and require processing and value addition here on the Plateau. A traceability system will let a buyer see where, how and by whom a shipment was produced, which turns honesty into a

price premium. Abandoned mining ponds will be rehabilitated, starting with those closest to homes and schools.

Royalties reaching the state rose from about ₦30–50 million a month in 2023 to nearly ₦400 million a month by late 2025, according to the state commissioner responsible. That shows what better organisation can do, and we will build on it.

Plateau Rock-Quarries and Plateau Rock-Tiles

Under the Plateau Investment and Property Company (PIPC), we will drive the establishment of quarries in LGAs with large stone deposits to produce gravel and a branded **rock-block** for roads, houses and tourist sites. The same quarries will feed our road-building programme in Pillar Four. A **Plateau Rock-Tiles** company will turn our granite into finished tiles for the national market. Host communities will receive defined benefits in schools, water, power and roads, set out in a written community development agreement.

Tourism, culture and sport

A **Tourism and Culture Masterplan** will position Plateau as Africa's premier highland destination. Through **One Village, One Tourism Product**, each community will be helped to develop and market one asset, from a waterfall to a craft or festival. An annual **Tourism Ultimate Discovery** competition will reward the best new find. A three-day **Plateau Talent Hunt** will showcase young people's creativity, and our cultural festivals will be strengthened as genuine, people-led events. A **Plateau State Sports Festival** will run from ward to LGA, senatorial and state level every year, and our state teams, Plateau United, Mighty Jets, Plateau Queens, Plateau Angels and our para-athletes, will get proper facilities and rewards.

Small business, artisans and modern markets

Data is the key to funding. We will count every business in Plateau, big and small, through a business census. Viable enterprises will qualify for **interest-free loans** from a revolving fund. With each LGA, we will build **mechanic villages** at LGA headquarters, with proper roads and security and space for panel beaters, painters, auto-electricians and spare-parts dealers. We will also build modern, clean markets in LGA headquarters and in busy produce towns such as Mai Katako, Bokkos, Fobur Gada, Majuju, Federe, Zandi Shere, Vwang, Kugiya, Jarmai, Gum-Gagdi, Dengi, Kukawa, Amper, Kabwir, Dawadki, Main Market, Dadur, Pilgani, Zinni, Mabudi, Dadin Kowa, Turaki, Ganawuri, Namu, Baki Ciyawa, Ampang-West, Gindiri, Mangun, Pushit, Langai, Kombun, Montol Tunkus, Koenoem (Zomo), Garkawa, Piapung, Pankshin, Dyis, Chip, Doemak, Dokan Kasuwa, Kwande, Kurgwi, Dokan Tofa, Nshar, Shimankar, Moekat, Nyak, Mavo, Bashar, Kadarko, Kwande, Kurgwi, Shimankar, Namu and Riyom, one at a time and in partnership with LGAs and development partners.

What it costs

Programme	What it delivers	₦ bn (4 yrs)
Agro-Industrial Hub Network (state share)	3 zonal hubs, 17 LGA mini-hubs, cold chain, food reserve	70
Inputs, seed, extension, mechanisation	Farmer registry, cooperative inputs, tractor hire service	30
Plateau Markets in 12 cities (state equity)	Cool rooms, stalls, logistics links	18

Programme	What it delivers	₦ bn (4 yrs)
Modern LGA markets & mechanic villages	Phased construction with LGAs and partners	34
Rock-Quarries & Rock-Tiles (via PIPC)	State equity in quarry and tile companies	20
Mineral formalisation & land rehabilitation	Miner cooperatives, traceability, pond reclamation	14
Tourism, culture & sports	Masterplan, One Village One Product, festivals, teams	24
MSME census & interest-free loan fund	Revolving fund for viable small businesses	30
Total, Pillar Two		**240**

How you will know it is working

Measure	Starting point	Target by 2031
Share of potato and yam output processed in Plateau	Baseline survey, Year 1	At least 25%
Farmers in registered cooperatives	Baseline survey, Year 1	300,000
Plateau Markets operating outside the state	None	12
Businesses in the state register	No census exists	Every business counted
Post-harvest losses on fresh produce	To be measured	Halved

PILLAR THREE

Education and Human Capital: A Strong Plateau

Educated, healthy and protected people are the real wealth of a state.

Plateau runs about 2,405 public primary schools, 312 public secondary schools and eight state-owned tertiary institutions, according to our team's compilation of state records. Too many classrooms lack roofs, furniture, toilets and teachers. Plateau SUBEB data cited in 2026 put the share of school-age children out of school at 23.2 percent, and insecurity has closed schools in frontline LGAs for weeks at a time. Our goal is a learner-centred system that teaches foundational literacy and numeracy well, keeps children in school, and links learning to the skills our economy needs.

Funding that matches the promise

We will raise education's share of the state budget from about 11 percent in 2026 to **at least 20 percent within two years**, moving towards 25 percent by the end of the term. This goes beyond the 15 to 20 percent of public expenditure benchmark in the Education 2030 Framework for Action. Every naira will be tracked school by school on a public dashboard.

Vision 200:200:549

Together we will build, rebuild or fully renovate **200 smart schools in 200 communities within 549 days**, each designed to last at least 50 years. Each school will have solid classrooms, furniture, safe water, separate toilets for girls, a perimeter fence, solar power and a digital learning room. Communities will be selected by need, population and security, using the Peace Impact Test so that no group feels left out.

Free basic and secondary education

Education in public primary and secondary schools will be tuition-free, and we will work with partners to supply uniforms, shoes, belts, bags, exercise books and writing materials at no cost to families. Parents keep a duty to support their children's learning, attend school meetings and ensure attendance. A **back-to-school drive** in each LGA will trace out-of-school children, with special attention to girls, children with disabilities and in mining communities and children displaced by violence.

Special Four-Real Technical and Science Colleges

In each of the three education zones we will transform an existing four school into a **Special Real Technical and Science Colleges**, with smart classrooms, science and technical workshops, hostels that house three students to a room, and sports facilities. These colleges will also run evening and weekend skills programmes for young adults who do not wish to return to formal schooling but want a trade. Each will host a **technology hub** for digital literacy and coding. Graduates of skills programmes will receive start-up grants and be linked to the MSME loan fund in Pillar Two.

Teachers at the centre

No education system rises above the quality of its teachers. We will close the teacher gap through phased recruitment of qualified, TRCN-registered teachers, starting with rural and frontline schools. Every teacher will receive continuous professional development in modern pedagogy, curriculum content, science and technology, and digital teaching methods. Teachers, lecturers and non-teaching

staff will be paid on nationally recognised salary structures, on time, and a staff housing scheme will begin in the hardest-to-staff locations.

Reviving our tertiary institutions

Our eight state-owned tertiary institutions, Plateau State University Bokkos, Plateau State Polytechnic Barkin Ladi, the College of Education Gindiri, the College of Agriculture Garkawa, the College of Nursing and Midwifery Vom, the Colleges of Health Technology at Pankshin and Zawan, and the College of Arts, Science and Remedial Studies Kurgwi, will each be returned to its founding mission. Each will receive reliable solar power, computer and CBT laboratories, and well-equipped lecture rooms. They will also serve as training centres for the state civil service and for private businesses, with quarterly workshops led by the Head of Service.

Scholarships and the PlaEdu Trust Fund

Through **Vision 250:300** we will award up to 250 overseas and 300 local scholarships a year in science, technology, engineering, medicine and other fields where Plateau faces shortages, with bonding so that beneficiaries serve the state on return. This scheme will grow as funds allow. We will also launch the **EDU-Give It Back, PlaEdu Trust Fund**, anchored on the Plateau old students' associations, as advocated in Peter Panden's *History and Impact of Education in Plateau State* (2020). Each year, we will celebrate graduates of Plateau schools who are making an impact around the world and invite them to invest in the schools that formed them.

What it costs

Programme	What it delivers	₦ bn (4 yrs)
Vision 200:200:549	200 smart schools in 549 days, fully furnished	110
Free basic & secondary education package	Uniforms, books, bags and materials for pupils	40
Tertiary revival	Solar, CBT and ICT labs, classrooms in 8 institutions	40
Special Four-Real Technical & Science Colleges	3 colleges, workshops, hostels	36
Vision 250:300 scholarships	Overseas and local awards, phased	30
Teacher recruitment & professional development	Capital costs of training, housing, materials	24
Skills start-up grants & tech hubs	Grants for graduates, coding hubs	8
Total, Pillar Three		**288**

How you will know it is working

Measure	Starting point	Target by 2031
Education's share of the state budget	About 11% (2026)	At least 20%, rising to 25%
Out-of-school rate	23.2% (SUBEB, cited 2026)	Below 10%
Pupils reading at grade level by Primary 3	Assessment in Year 1	Up by 30 points
Schools with water, toilets and fence	School census, Year 1	Every school in the 200 programme, then all
Skills graduates in work or business within a year	New programme	At least 60%

PILLAR FOUR

Infrastructure and Transport: A Connected Plateau

> *Roads, power, water and housing that reach every LGA, not just the capital, are part of our security too.*

Infrastructure is the network through which farms reach markets, children reach school and patrols reach villages. Plateau's terrain of hills, rock and seasonal streams makes rural roads expensive and bridges vital. Our approach puts Plateau engineers, Plateau stone and Plateau labour at the centre of building.

A state construction capacity, the Gomwalk way

In the days of the Benue-Plateau Construction Company under the late Joseph Dechi Gomwalk, the state built with its own equipment and its own engineers. We will revive that spirit. The state will acquire a fleet of heavy road equipment, strengthen the Ministry of Works with additional engineers, architects and builders, and use **direct labour** where it is cheaper and faster, with materials supplied by the Plateau Rock-Quarries. Where contractors are used, capable local firms will be preferred, through open and competitive procurement. Small artisans, iron benders, plumbers, masons, electricians and technicians, will be part of every site.

Roads and bridges

Within the first three months, our engineers and planners will finish an inventory of every road and route in the state and rank them by economic value, population served and security need.

- **Vision 5:10:15:20.** In the first phase, every LGA will receive between 5 and 20 kilometres of standard rural road, with the length set by farm output, population and the number of communities along each corridor. About 255 km of rural roads are planned in the first phase.
- **Roads to all 17 LGA headquarters** will be built or rebuilt where they are in poor condition.
- **Operation Bridge Connectivity** will put a standard bridge wherever a community is cut off for part of the year, so that bikes, cars and security patrols can get through.
- Strategic **roundabouts, interchanges and flyovers** will be built in Jos and other growing towns where traffic data shows the need.

New towns and the Greater Jos Smart City Plan

We will revive and update the Greater Jos Master Plan into a **Greater Jos Smart City Plan**, with security designed in from the start. New towns will be laid out with streets, water, power lines, schools and markets before people move in, and each will carry the name of the indigenous community on whose land it stands. A digital model of Greater Jos will let planners test road and housing decisions before money is committed.

Housing

Through the PIPC we will partner established estate developers and mortgage lenders to deliver an **Affordable Housing Scheme** with long repayment periods for working families. Because these partners carry most of the cost, housing appears in the financing plan mainly as private capital, not state spending.

Energy and water

Plateau's highlands, rivers and sunshine give it real clean-energy potential; our earlier working papers put this at around 3,300 MW, a figure we will test through proper resource studies. A **Productive Energy Programme** will start with solar mini-grids for agro-hubs, markets, schools and clinics, and partner the distribution company and private generators to supply homes and industry. Water schemes will be rehabilitated and extended town by town, starting with LGA headquarters.

Transport: moving Plateau

Since the removal of fuel subsidy, the cost of moving around Plateau has hurt every household. We will introduce **electric buses** on major routes, with charging points powered by solar across the 17 LGAs. Qualified Plateau drivers will operate them on a hire-purchase basis, so that ownership passes to them over time. A cashless fare and tracking app will make every trip and every naira visible. **Modern motor parks** at major towns and LGA headquarters will have waiting rooms, toilets, water, shops and eateries, with space for young entrepreneurs.

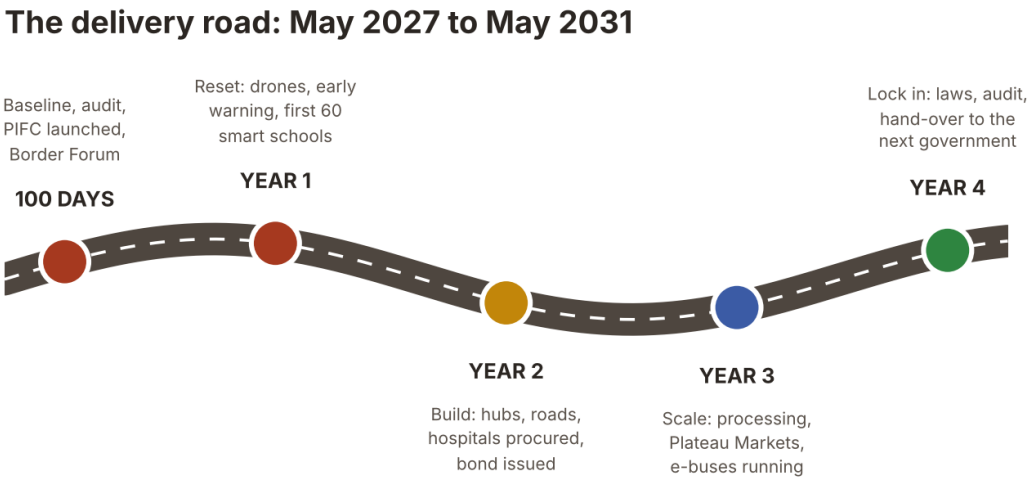


Figure 4. The delivery road from the first 100 days to the handover in 2031. Security and baseline work come first; construction peaks in Years 2 and 3.

What it costs

Programme	What it delivers	₦ bn (4 yrs)
Vision 5:10:15:20 rural roads	About 255 km of standard rural roads across 17 LGAs	140
Roads to LGA headquarters	Rehabilitation and reconstruction of poor links	90
State works equipment fleet	Heavy equipment for direct-labour construction	30
Operation Bridge Connectivity	Standard bridges for cut-off communities	25
Productive Energy Programme (state share)	Solar mini-grids for hubs, schools, clinics	25
Electric buses, charging & motor parks (state share)	Buses, chargers, modern parks; rest via PPP	20
Greater Jos Smart City & new towns	Planning, layouts, digital city model	15
Urban and rural water	Rehabilitation and extension of schemes	15
Total, Pillar Four		**360**

How you will know it is working

Measure	Starting point	Target by 2031
Rural road built to standard (first phase)	Road inventory, first 3 months	About 255 km
LGA headquarters linked by good road	Inventory, first 3 months	All 17
Communities cut off in the rainy season	Inventory, first 3 months	Halved
Agro-hubs, PHCs and schools on solar	Very few	All new and renovated facilities
Cost per km against national benchmark	To be published	Published for every road

PILLAR FIVE

Healthcare: A Healthy Plateau

Healthcare that works for every citizen, from the ward clinic to the specialist bed.

Plateau's health system has a strong skeleton: primary health centres across all 17 LGAs, 17 general and cottage hospitals, comprehensive health centres, and specialist facilities in Jos. The current government has begun renovating more than 300 PHCs and the general hospitals, and has moved doctors to 90 percent of the national CONMESS salary scale. We will keep what is working and finish what has started. Our focus is on the gaps that still kill: mothers dying in childbirth, children dying of malaria and diarrhoea, and patients who cannot reach a doctor in time.

Primary health care: one working PHC in every ward

Plateau has 325 electoral wards. Our first commitment is that every ward will have at least one fully functional PHC with a skilled birth attendant, essential drugs, clean water, solar power and a referral link to the nearest general hospital, in line with the national 'one functional PHC per ward' policy. Community health extension workers will be recruited and posted to the places that need them most.

General and specialist hospitals

All general hospitals will be fully rehabilitated and equipped with modern diagnostic and theatre facilities. One general hospital in each of the three senatorial districts will be upgraded into a **specialist hospital** able to handle serious cases close to home, so that Jos is no longer the only place to go. New staff quarters will be built within hospital grounds so that nurses and doctors live where they work and can respond at night.

Telemedicine across the 17 LGAs

A **Plateau Telemedicine Network** will connect PHCs and general hospitals to specialists in Jos, allowing a nurse in a remote village to consult a doctor by video, share images and arrange referral. Electronic patient records will follow the patient across the system.

The health workforce

We will recruit more doctors, pharmacists, nurses, midwives, community health extension workers and pharmacy technicians on national salary structures, with incentives for rural service. Welfare, training and housing will be our tools against brain drain. Our tertiary health colleges at Vom, Pankshin and Zawan will be expanded to train more of the workers we need.

Health insurance and disease control

We will strengthen the path to universal health coverage through the Plateau State Contributory Healthcare Management Agency, with the state paying premiums for the poorest households, pregnant women, children under five, the elderly and people living with disabilities. We will intensify the fight against malaria, improve maternal and child health, take mental health seriously, especially for survivors of violence, and expand screening for chronic diseases such as hypertension and diabetes.

What it costs

Programme	What it delivers	₦ bn (4 yrs)
Three senatorial specialist hospitals	Upgrade of one general hospital per zone	45
General hospital rehabilitation & equipment	Theatres, diagnostics, wards	34
One functional PHC per ward	Renovation, drugs, solar and water across 325 wards	30
Health workforce & staff housing	Recruitment incentives, quarters within hospitals	25
Health insurance for vulnerable groups	State-paid premiums through PLASCHEMA	20
Malaria, maternal-child & mental health	Targeted programmes and supplies	8
Plateau Telemedicine Network	Links, devices and electronic records in 17 LGAs	6
Total, Pillar Five		**168**

How you will know it is working

Measure	Starting point	Target by 2031
Wards with a fully functional PHC	Facility audit, Year 1	All 325
Births attended by a skilled health worker	Survey baseline, Year 1	Up by 25 points
Specialist hospitals outside Jos	None at full specialist level	3
Vulnerable residents with state-paid insurance	Agency records, Year 1	At least 500,000
LGAs linked to telemedicine	None	All 17

PART THREE

Paying for It: Prudent Financing

> *Money without strategy is waste. Strategy without money is a dream. We bring both, and we show the arithmetic.*

Campaign manifestos in Nigeria rarely say how promises will be paid for. We think the people of Plateau deserve better. This section sets out the full four-year cost of our flagship programmes, where the money will come from, and the rules that will stop us from borrowing our children's future.

The size of the programme

Our flagship programme across the five pillars costs **₦1.2 trillion over four years**, or about ₦300 billion a year on average. To put that in perspective, the 2026 budget already contains ₦501 billion of capital spending in a single year. Our flagships therefore sit comfortably **inside** the state's normal capital envelope. They are a sharper choice about what the state builds, not a bigger bill on top of what it already spends. Figure 5 shows the split by pillar.

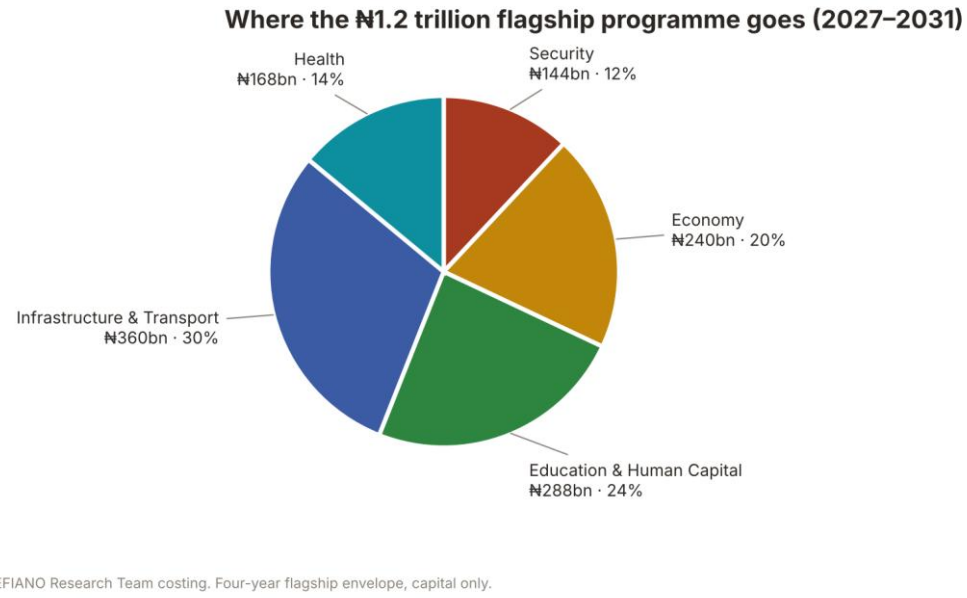


Figure 5. Four-year flagship spending by pillar. Infrastructure is the largest share because roads and power serve every other pillar.

Where the money comes from

Less than half of the ₦1.2 trillion will come directly from the state treasury. The rest comes from partners whose interests are aligned with ours, under the rule that every source of money must be matched to a source of repayment.

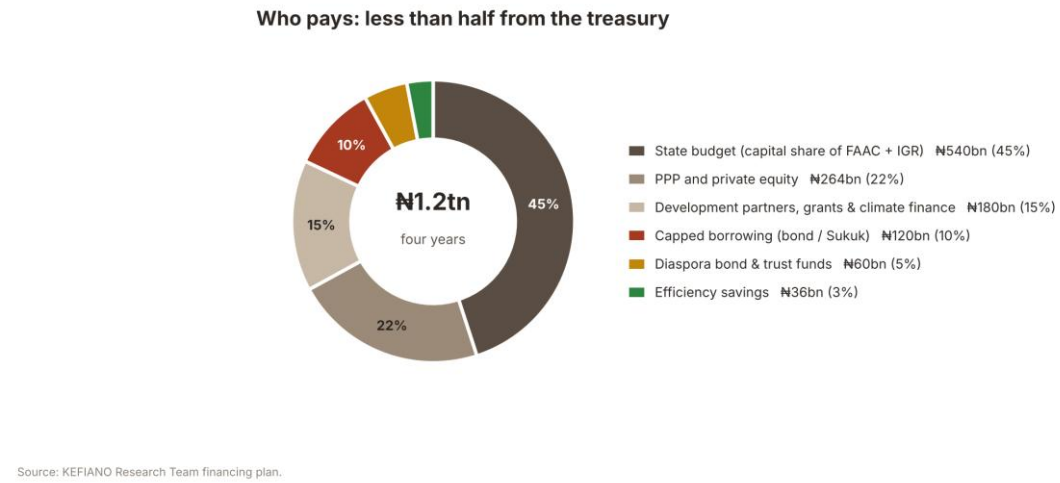


Figure 6. Sources of finance for the flagship programme. Borrowing is capped at 10 percent and only for assets that earn or save money.

Source	₦ bn	How it works
State budget	540	Capital share of FAAC and growing IGR, about ₦135bn a year
PPP and private equity	264	Agro-hubs, markets, quarries, e-buses, housing, energy; investors earn from user fees
Development partners, grants & climate finance	180	World Bank, AfDB, IFAD and climate funds for agriculture, water, health and resilience
Capped borrowing	120	State bond or Sukuk for revenue-earning assets only, within the debt rule below
Diaspora bond & trust funds	60	Plateau Diaspora Bond, Security Trust Fund, PlaEdu Trust Fund
Efficiency savings	36	Open contracting, direct labour and payroll clean-up
Total	**1,200**	

Growing our own revenue, fairly

The surest protection against debt is a stronger internal revenue base. IGR rose from ₦15.9 billion in 2022 to ₦45.1 billion in 2025. We will push it to **₦150 billion by 2031** without new taxes on the poor or on small traders. The levers are: full digitisation of collections so that money goes straight to the treasury; a property and land register that brings formal estates into the tax net; a fair share of value from mining, quarrying and large-scale agriculture as these sectors grow; tourism and hospitality receipts; and the dividends of PIPC companies. Every levy will be published, and harassment of market women and okada riders by touts will end.



Figure 7. Recorded IGR (solid) and KEFIANO targets (hatched). The 2022–2025 growth rate shows the targets are demanding but within reach.

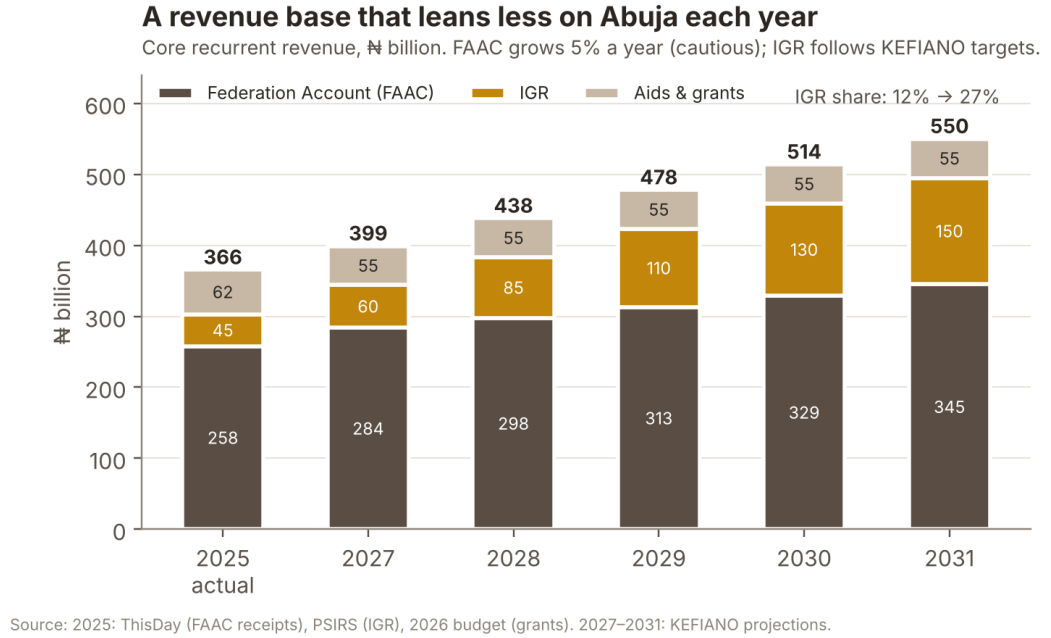
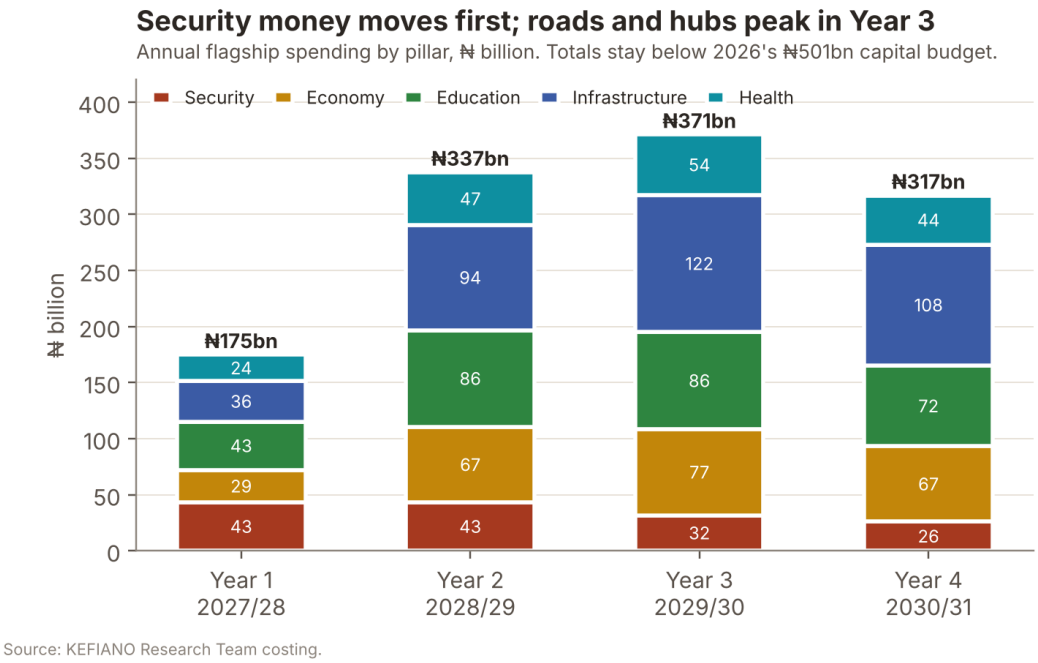


Figure 8. Projected core revenue. We assume federal allocation grows only 5 percent a year, so the plan does not depend on an oil windfall.

Phasing: security first, construction later

Money is released in the order the plan needs it. In Year 1, security receives the largest share of new spending because nothing else works without it, while engineers complete designs and feasibility studies for roads, hubs and hospitals. Construction peaks in Years 2 and 3. In Year 4, spending tapers as projects are completed and handed over for maintenance.



Source: KEFIANO Research Team costing.

Figure 9. Annual flagship spending by pillar. The highest year, about ₦371bn, remains below the 2026 capital budget of ₦501bn.

The Four Fiscal Locks

To make prudence enforceable, we will send a **Fiscal Responsibility (Plateau First) Bill** to the House of Assembly in the first year, built on four locks:

- **Lock 1, the debt ceiling.** Total debt service will never exceed 20 percent of the state's recurrent revenue. New loans will fund only projects that earn or save money.
- **Lock 2, the completion rule.** No new capital project starts unless at least 70 percent of its full cost is secured and a maintenance plan exists.
- **Lock 3, the maintenance ring-fence.** Five percent of every year's capital budget is reserved for maintaining what has already been built.
- **Lock 4, the open book.** Every contract above ₦50 million, every loan and every PPP agreement will be published online within 30 days, following Open Contracting standards.

The Master Capital Ledger

For each flagship project, the Delivery Office will publish a one-page ledger showing the total project value, the state's own exposure, private and partner contributions, any guarantees, annual debt service, operating cost, the source of revenue and the maintenance liability. This prevents a headline figure from being mistaken for what the state actually owes.

Jobs: counted, not claimed

Our target is **500,000 direct and indirect jobs** over the term. Jobs should come from productive systems, not from swelling the government payroll. An independent **Job Creation Observatory**, working with a university and the State Bureau of Statistics, will verify every claim and prevent double counting. Figure 10 shows where we expect the jobs to come from.

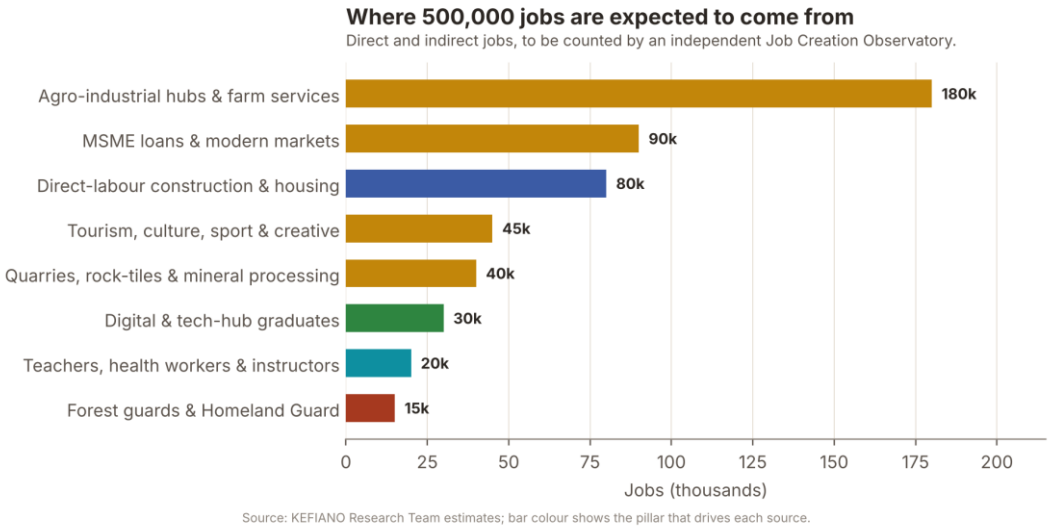


Figure 10. Expected sources of the 500,000-job target. Agriculture and small business carry most of the load.

PART FOUR

Government That Works

The five pillars rest on an engine that most manifestos forget: the machinery of delivery. Good projects fail in Plateau because they are poorly prepared, abandoned at the change of government, or never maintained. We will fix this with institutions, not slogans.

The Plateau Delivery Office

Reporting directly to the Governor, the Delivery Office will keep one master register of all development projects, one dashboard of flagship initiatives and a risk register. It will hold quarterly delivery reviews with every commissioner, collect citizen feedback, and publish a public performance report. Selected flagship programmes will be evaluated independently.

The Public Value Compact

- An annual statewide broadcast and town hall called **'Where Your Money Went'**.
- Open contracting and procurement transparency, and an open budget portal that citizens, journalists, lenders and legislators can all read.
- Anti-corruption and asset recovery through the proper courts and agencies.
- Digitisation of court records, stronger legal aid and faster justice.
- Performance management for the public service, with training through our tertiary institutions.

The first 100 days

The first 100 days are not for laying foundation stones. They are for establishing the truth and taking control. We will:

1. publish a Plateau Development Baseline on security, revenue, schools, clinics, roads and water;
2. audit all inherited projects and commitments, and review earlier state development plans;
3. conduct a full fiscal and revenue diagnostic;
4. launch the Plateau Intelligence Fusion Centre and convene the Middle Belt Border Governors' Forum;
5. begin recruitment of forest guards and send the State Police bill forward if it is still pending;
6. map security and productive corridors for the coming farming season;
7. set up the Delivery Office and assign a named owner to every KPI;
8. launch low-cost quick wins that need coordination more than capital; and
9. publish a 100-Day Citizen Report.

Nine decisions for every inherited project

We will not abandon projects simply because a different government started them. Each major inherited project will receive one of nine decisions, published with reasons.

Decision	When we use it
Continue	The project is viable and fits the plan

Decision	When we use it
Complete	It is well advanced and justified
Repair	The idea works, but delivery needs correction
Reconfigure	The goal is valid, but the design must change
Repurpose	The asset can create more value in a different use
Scale	Evidence supports expanding it
PPP / concession	Private participation is clearly better value
Transfer	Another level of government is better placed to run it
Retire	It is not viable, justified or sustainable

The Peace Impact Test

Plateau is a diverse state, and development can either heal or deepen divisions. Every policy, programme and project will pass a mandatory **Peace Impact Test** before approval. It asks: Who benefits? Who may feel left out? Could this intensify an existing tension? Does it improve trust or access? Does it reduce a known grievance? And what evidence will show its contribution to peace? A People's Assembly and an Interfaith and Traditional Leaders' Council will give citizens a standing voice in these decisions.

Beyond one term

Some infrastructure takes decades. Human capital takes a generation. Our four years are the foundation of a longer journey, and the first government's success will be judged by what it hands over: working institutions, audited data, completed and maintained assets, protected long-term plans and trained successors. The **JD Gomwalk Fellowship** will place promising young Plateau graduates inside government to learn, serve and carry this knowledge forward.

CONCLUSION

Our Contract with You

Our opponents will tell you they will buy more vans and more guns. Plateau has been buying vans since 1999. Vans cannot climb the Rukuba hills where attackers hide. Intelligence can. Communities can. Technology can.

This manifesto asks for your vote on a simple basis. We have told you what we will do, what it costs, where the money comes from and how you will hold us to account. If a project fails, we will tell you and fix it. If a number changes, we will publish the new one.

> *Vote for me, not because I will fight after you die, but because I will work to prevent your death, open your farm, school your child and connect your community. Security is economy. When Plateau is safe, Plateau will prosper.*
>
> Chief Kefas Wungak Ropshik, 'Kefiano'

PLATEAU FIRST

From the Plateau, to the world.