This talk will outline parallels in the ways successive Chinese-led administrations in Xinjiang—warlord, Nationalist, and Communist—interacted with the province’s Muslim majority. The talk will demonstrate that governments with profoundly different ideologies used remarkably similar rhetoric to attack the policies of previous administrations and to insist that this time, things would be different. Each administration drew on a vocabulary of equality, economic development, and political participation then gaining currency in many parts of the globe. Yet surviving sources on public opinion in mid-century Xinjiang suggest that each of these administrations left native peoples dissatisfied and disaffected in similar ways. These parallels, I will argue, indicate that Chinese states’ governance strategies in mid-century Xinjiang were typically determined more by considerations of ethnicity than by overarching state ideology.