Scholarly and popular consensus posits a direct causal link between the rise of anti-semitism and the emergence of Jewish nationalism in the late nineteenth century. The relationship appears so entrenched and self-evident that it has gone virtually unexamined, even in current revisionist scholarship on the origins of Zionism. Based on an ongoing study of the intellectual turn toward “love of Zion” in late imperial Russia, Litvak undertakes to interrogate this connection. Without underestimating the importance of the anti-semitic backlash to the dramatic impact of emancipation, Litvak explores how and why anti-semitism acquired its extraordinary explanatory power in Zionism historiography and in modern Jewish politics. The paper argues that the striking affinity between anti-semitic discourse and the Zionist “negation of the diaspora” is rooted in a common set of concerns about the social and economic costs of disruption in collective discipline, the decline of religious authority and the increasing pace and scale of Jewish occupational and geographic mobility. Emancipation anxiety informed the Zionist idea of transforming what L. S. Pinsker called the “surplus” of European Jewry into a nation of Eastern Mediterranean peasants.