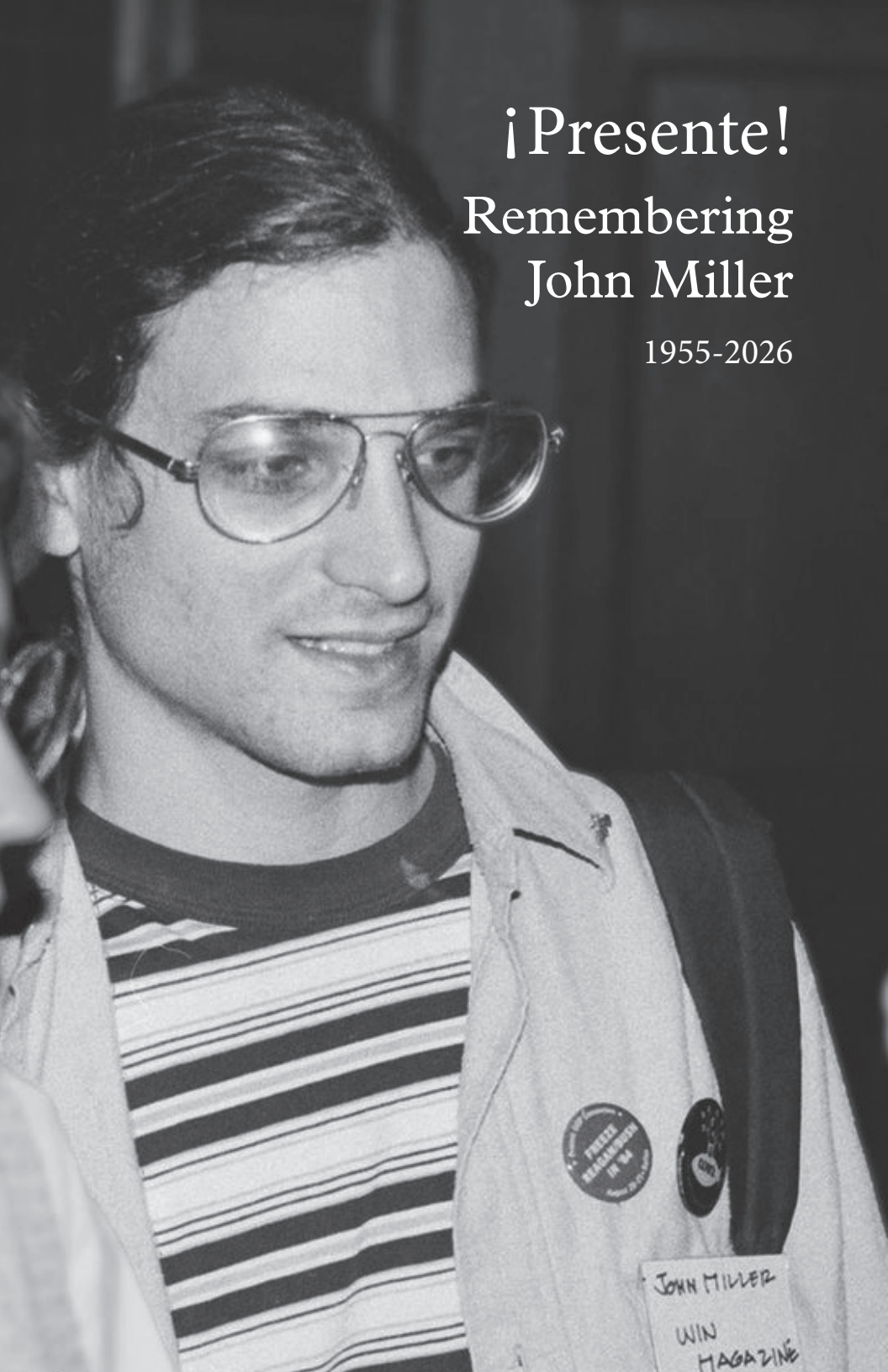
¡Presente!

Remembering John Miller

1955-2026



PHOTOBANK

Filipinos protest presence of U.S. military bases.

AQUINO CORNERED BY BASES, ARMY AND THE PEOPLE

By JOHN

ducing Mid
Philippin
United Stat
ment requi
major opera
mission for
ernment su
Iraq, but o
against it. A
the Philip
Affairs, th
dilemma:
dragged int
United Stat
night, and h

Filipino
the close o
ton's failu
wage incr
increase w
gaining, bu
increases f
ees at only
workers, p
held demon
The base
to strike in
price incre
wave of s
price rise,
gered incre
and servi
increases
Philippines

JAPANESE SEEK ECOLOGICAL JUSTICE IN U.S. COURT

Citing a "double standard," Japanese activists are suing the U.S. Navy for failing to study the environmental impact of its Yokosuka naval base near Tokyo.

The lawsuit, filed in mid-June, asks a U.S. District Court to order the Navy to follow the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) by preparing environmental impact statements and holding public hearings on its operations at Yokosuka and related facilities. The base, located in crowded Tokyo Bay, is home port to 10 U.S. warships, including the aircraft carrier USS Midway.

The suit, filed by the NEPA Coalition and other groups affected by the base, cites such environmental hazards as noise from the carrier's aircraft, whose operations expose as many as 400,000 area residents to noise levels many times greater than

Environmental casualties yet to be counted

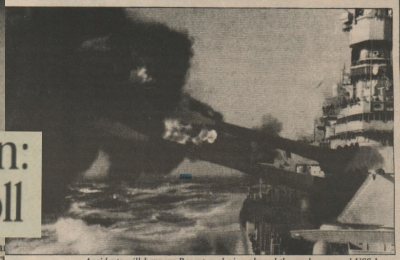
sions with tankers carrying hazardous cargos in the congested harbor and the destruction of the Ikego Forest to build Navy housing. (The 700-acre forest is the only significant woodland in the Tokyo area and hosts several endangered species.)

"We don't know the extent of the dangers, because the Navy has not conducted any EIS," or environmental impact study,

Aquino gives U.S. base new lease on life—for now

ROMEO MARIANO, IMPACT VISUALS

BEWARE SHIPS BEARING NUKES, WARNS NEW REPORT



Accidents will happen: Recent explosion aboard the nuclear-armed USS Iowa, which the Navy wants to base in New York Harbor.

Toxic clouds on horizon: Gulf war's ecological toll

Eight Military Sealift Command vessels normally sit in Subic's vast harbor, ready to sail to the Persian Gulf or any other crisis area. Nearby, planes and helicopters can practice

an impact. Most of this aid goes to the Philippine militar and it is not a given that all or most of it would end. Th United States may decide that supporting Aquino and h

Closed military bases leave toxic dividend

By JOHN M. MILLER

When Congress decided at the end of ly to close 26 military bases in the United ates and shrink dozens of others, many mmunities near the installations stepped their efforts to convert the bases to civil- n uses, hoping to save jobs and in some ses, their local economies. But in many mmunities, the bases' biggest legacy will massive amounts of toxic waste.

The Pentagon produces more toxic waste n the five largest petrochemical compa- es combined. About 10 percent of its ses—96 bases, including four of the 86 ected for closure in 1988 and nine from s year's list—are so contaminated they e a spot on the Environmental Protection gency National Priorities (Superfund) st, which ranks the most polluted sites in nation. Cleaning up all Pentagon facili-

Research Center, which has been w on the conversion of bases in the Sa cisco Bay area, says that under s interpretation of the law "the militar all the cards. They fund the clean help decide when the environm restored." They can use this lever pressure local governments and busi which are anxious to take possession sites to begin generating revenue an to help fund cleanups that are the government's responsibility.

Lenny Siegel of the National Toxic paign Fund's Military Toxic Ne believes that the military can identi clean up or isolate most hazards at its within five to six years. Exceptions i unexploded weapons, for which the D ment of Defense has no cleanup p any site, and groundwater contami which can take decades to deal with

¡Presente!

Remembering John Miller

1955-2026

International Memorial
Gathering in Remembrance

August 28 (US) and August 29 (Timor-Leste)

John Miller, 1955-2026

International Memorial Gathering in Remembrance

August 28/August 29, 2026

Held virtually alongside local gatherings

Organized jointly by the War Resisters League and the East Timor and Indonesia Action Network

Memorial Organizing Committee: Ellen Barfield, Sky Hall, Craig Hughes, Susan Kingsland, Chris Lundry, Pam Sexton, Joanne Sheehan

Best efforts were made to credit the photographers throughout this booklet. In some cases, the photographer couldn't be identified. Please accept apologies if you are not credited.

A note about this booklet:

John lived a remarkable life and was loved and deeply respected by many people around the globe. This memorial booklet is not at all comprehensive and could only include a sliver of the outpouring of heartbreak and memories that people put forward when they knew he had passed away. A much fuller collection of remembrances has been compiled by La'o Hamutuk and posted here:
https://www.laohamutuk.org/solidarity/JMM%20tributes.pdf

The memorial organizers would like to thank Charles Overbeck at Eberhardt Press (eberhardtpress.org) for patiently and generously designing and printing this memorial booklet.

Table of Contents

Remembering John Miller,
in the words of his family

Obituary, written by the Miller family **4**
Carrie-Ann Miller-Engel (John's sister) **10**
Eddie and Jimmy Miller (two of John's brothers) **11**
Alana Miller-Engel (John's niece) **16**
Mable Miller (John's niece) **18**

Timor-Leste mourns the passing
of John M. Miller **21**

Statement from Timor-Leste President
José Ramos-Horta **23**

Remembering John Miller,
in the words of the War Resisters League **24**

Remembering John Miller,
in the words of the East Timor
and Indonesia *Action* Network **30**

Remembering John Miller,
in the words of La'o Hamutuk **42**

Announcement of John's passing
from Democracy Now! **45**

John with siblings: Buddy (dog), John, Carrie-Ann, Doug, Ben (dog).

Obituary for John Miles Miller

by his family

John M. Miller died unexpectedly on April 28, 2026.

Those who knew him — professionally, personally, or as family — know how deep a chasm his loss leaves. Life will never be the same. And, as awful as that is, perhaps that is how it should be when someone who meant so much to so many people is gone.

John was funny, brilliant, maddening, principled, stubborn, generous, and larger than life in ways many of us are only beginning to fully understand. He began life as one of five children and, over time, became both a brother and an uncle in ways that helped define him. Family memories of John include bedtime stories about the "honey cow," long conversations and his steady, unmistakable presence.

John's sense of justice, his belief in human rights and his willingness to fight for the things he believed in went back to childhood. Even then, he was already organizing in his own way — including putting his sister, less than a year younger than he was, to work making signs against the Vietnam War and in support of other causes.

Growing up, John was simply around in a way that mattered. At any given family event, you could often find him playing Risk or some other game with his youngest siblings, exposing them in small ways to his activism, or just hanging out — always present. Check-ins and hours-long conversations — about music, concerts, TV, politics, the Yankees, family and whatever else was on his mind — were always welcome. Those calls will be missed more than words can say.

John loved music deeply, and conversations with him about bands, concerts, records and whatever obsessive

music-related project he had going on could go on forever. He also loved to read and always seemed to have several newspapers, a magazine or two, and some other periodical close at hand. That was part of who he was: always reading, always following something, and always connecting one piece of information to another.

John set a high bar as an activist, journalist, writer and thinker. He cared about facts, memory, and people — especially those who were ignored, harmed, or forgotten. He did not just believe in justice in some abstract way. He worked for it year after year.

John's love for his nieces and nephews was something to behold. He followed their lives, took pride in who they were becoming and filled the role of Uncle Johnny with a kind of devotion that was entirely his own. His mother would "bug" John about having a family, and he would tell her that his role in life was to be an uncle. And he was. He was about as good an uncle as anyone could be — to his nieces and nephews, and, in a broader way, to many people who may never have known him personally but were touched by the work he did.

John was born at Long Island Jewish Hospital in Queens, N.Y., and grew up in Glen Cove, N.Y. He attended Antioch College in Ohio and SUNY Purchase. After college, he lived in Washington, D.C., before moving to Brooklyn in 1981, where he lived for the next 35 years before later moving to East Harlem in Manhattan.

John spent much of his adult life working for peace, justice, human rights, and self-determination. His activism went back decades. He was drawn into movement work in the 1970s through the War Resisters League (WRL) and its publications, and his work with WRL would span nearly 50 years. He joined the WRL Organizer Training Program in 1979, later worked on WIN magazine, helped launch The Nonviolent Activist, and served over the years in many roles in WRL's publications and organizing work.

John was a writer, editor, organizer, researcher, advocate and a keeper of the record. He helped publish movement newspapers and magazines. He edited, laid out and

John as a teenager in his bedroom in Glen Cove, NY.

sustained publications that most people outside those movements may never have seen, but that helped people organize, learn, remember, and act. He served on WRL's National Committee for decades, worked through its International Task Force, served as a steward and treasurer, and represented WRL with War Resisters' International.

John's work reached across causes and countries: the nuclear freeze movement, opposition to nuclear power, campaigns against U.S. militarism abroad, opposition to military bases and militarization of the seas, solidarity with people in Vietnam, Cambodia and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, and support for democracy, justice and human rights in Timor-Leste, Indonesia and West Papua.

In 1991, after the Santa Cruz Massacre, John co-founded the East Timor and Indonesia *Action* Network, or ETAN. Through ETAN, he helped keep attention on Timor-Leste's struggle for independence, the abuses committed during Indonesia's occupation and the need for accountability after much of the world had moved on. He maintained news

lists, wrote statements, worked with journalists and activists, preserved archives, organized campaigns, and kept showing up. His advocacy also carried into formal international spaces, including speaking at the United Nations on behalf of the East Timorese people.

The people of Timor-Leste have remembered John's work. President José Ramos-Horta called him a dear friend, a lifelong human rights and solidarity activist, and one of Timor-Leste's most tireless advocates during its struggle for independence. He wrote that John placed the cause of Timor-Leste above personal recognition and worked with dedication to amplify its voice to the world.

The Government of Timor-Leste honored John as a longtime friend of the Timorese people, and War Resisters League remembered him as a foundational "worker bee" activist in peace and solidarity movements — someone who could be found bartending at a WRL event as likely as working with presidents of Timor-Leste.

That description feels right. Much of John's work was not glamorous. It was the patient, principled work movements depend on: the listservs, letters, fact sheets, press calls, edits, coalitions, archives, meetings, layouts, late nights and stubborn follow-through that keep causes alive when the world would rather look away.

John understood that facts matter. Memory matters. Justice matters. And people matter — especially people whom powerful governments and institutions prefer to forget.

That was John: stubborn, dryly funny, principled, brilliant, loving and completely himself.

He did not do this work for recognition. But it means a great deal to see him recognized — by Timor-Leste, by Democracy Now!, by the War Resisters League, and by so many people whose lives and work intersected with his.

John was predeceased by his parents, Allen M. Miller and Diane Miller Asche, and by his stepfather, Edwin Asche. He is survived by his brother Douglas L. Miller and his wife Janet; his sister Carrie-Ann Miller-Engel and her husband

Left to right: Eddie, Johnny, Jimmy, Ben.

David; his brother James Alan Miller and his wife Tegan; and his brother Edward Alan Miller and his wife Jessica Hoffman.

John is also survived by his beloved nieces and nephews — Alana, Colleen, Morgan, Danny, Allison, Michael, Mabel, Ella-Jane, Ari, Anabelle, Dina and Noa — as well as his grandniece Caylee and grandnephew Eddie, extended family, friends and colleagues around the world, and assorted dogs and cats over the years who were part of the wider family story.

We loved him. We looked up to him. We will miss him terribly.

John M. Miller, rest in power.

Carrie-Ann Miller-Engel, John's Sister

John with his sister Carrie-Ann.

John with siblings: John, Carrie-Ann, and Jimmy at a Mets game.

I am very sad to say that my brother John passed away. Born less than a year apart, our bond was unbreakable. With my birthday on August 3rd and his on August 13th, I lovingly teased him about being twins for 10 days every year. He was more than my brother — he was my partner in adventure, and we were each other's guardian angel. I think I said "where is Johnny" more than any other phrase. I idolized him, and he inspired me to do good in the world. Amidst the joyous chaos of family life, he'd sit calmly with his *New York Times*, observing, listening, and offering sage advice when needed. He was brilliant, kind, compassionate, thoughtful and always there. John always put others first. He was a great listener… His presence will be deeply missed, but his memory will continue as others continue the work. He led quietly, did whatever had to be done and felt passionately about equal justice for all.

My brothers legacy… is one to be admired. Johnny…. I will miss you…

John's Brothers, Eddie and Jimmy Miller

Those who knew Johnny — professionally, personally, or as family — know how deep a chasm his loss leaves. Life will never be the same. And, as awful as that is, maybe that is how it should be when someone who meant so much to so many people is gone. We are not ones to have heroes. But if anyone came close, it was John. John was funny, brilliant, maddening, principled, stubborn, generous, and larger than life in so many ways.

John was our big brother from the very beginning — the one who told us bedtime stories about the "honey cow", made us omelets, let us eat his pizza (with white clam sauce), refereed one-on-one football games, and brought home Ben (the best dog ever). You can see from the pictures that he really liked spending time with us from the start, just as he would later with each subsequent niece and nephew.

Growing up, John was simply around in ways that mattered. At any given family event, you could often find him playing Risk or some other game with us, exposing us in subtle ways to his activism, or just hanging out in one of our rooms — always present. When we were older, we would take him back to Brooklyn after family gatherings, letting him drive until one too many close calls with lamp posts and other hazards, we agreed (mutually) that it was best if he left the driving to us. But John still got to where he needed to be, walking, taking the subway or train, riding as a passenger on hours-long drives, or flying all over the country and the world to visit family, friends, and colleagues.

We picked up our love of music from him. He introduced us to new music, took us to browse at Tower Records, made mixed tapes, and bequeathed (perhaps unintentionally) his old issues of Rolling Stone and reel-to-reel tapes stored carelessly in our mother's basement (they didn't survive). We went to numerous concerts with John, including Steve Earle,

Midnight Oil, Ornette Coleman, Sun Ra, Pere Ubu, Sonic Youth, The Pogues with Joe Strummer, an all-day Amnesty International concert at Giants Stadium, and, most recently for his birthday — his last birthday — The Who at Madison Square Garden with Eddie, where he had first seen them in the early to mid-1970s.

We never stopped talking about music, concerts, and whatever obsessive music-related projects each of us had going at any given time — projects that, frankly, no one but the two of us would really understand. Those conversations could go on forever, and often did. A few months ago, John shared a Google document, "John's Songs," listing his favorite songs by artist, a work in progress at the time, but now part of his legacy. His favorite Springsteen songs, you might ask? *Born to Run, 10th Ave. Freeze Out, Thunder Road, Badlands, Rosalita,* and *Rendezvous*. And, by the way, those reel-to-reels included Springsteen in concert playing songs years before they appeared on *Born to Run*.

John loved to read and always seemed to have several newspapers, a magazine or two, and some other periodical close by. That was part of who he was: always reading, always following something, always connecting one piece of information to another. He never failed to have a paper copy of *The New York Times* on hand. Books were his gift of choice when we were very young and, later in life, once again. This tradition started when he lived in Washington, D.C., back in the mid-70s, working in a bookstore. For some reason, books often had the covers torn off.

John set a high bar as a journalist and writer, one we still do not think we've reached. John cared about facts. He cared about memory. He cared about people who were ignored, harmed, or forgotten. He did not just believe in justice in some abstract way. He worked for it, year after year.

John at the WRL Annual Conference, 1983. (Photo by Ed Hedemann)

John would check in with us periodically if too much time had passed. Either he would call, or we would. Sometimes he could be hard to understand on the phone, which made video calls a godsend, typically using a third-party app because, unlike the rest of the family, John didn't have an iPhone. But whether we caught every word or not, his check-ins and hours-long conversations — often about music, concerts, TV, politics, family, the Yankees, or the Giants — were always welcome. He would keep us company on long runs, long drives, and quiet afternoons or evenings at home. We will miss those calls more than we can say.

John was born to be a big brother, exceedingly patient, never raising his voice, and only occasionally becoming mildly annoyed by those of us doing the annoying. John truly shone as an uncle — to the East Coast twin's three daughters, Anabelle, Dina, and Noa; and to the St. Louis twin's two daughters, Mabel and Ella-Jane, and stepson, Ari; and to our four-legged family members, Ruby, Miles, Levy, Lexi, and Duke — as well as to all of his nieces and nephews. For many years, the East Coast twin (Eddie) would drive more than 18 hours with Johnny every Christmas and New Year's to see the St. Louis Millers and, until the kids grew up, delivered Hanukkah presents together to our other nieces and nephews. Once the East Coast twin had kids, he would come up most Christmases with our sister Carrie-Ann's family to spend time with us and simply hang out.

John would always bring something back from his travels, initially for us and then for the kids. The kids would receive care packages with all sorts of knick-knacks, often including excerpts from The New York Times' children's or science sections. One year, he gave the East Coast twin's kids — Anabelle, Dina, and Noa — more than 30 lightly used DVDs that he found on the streets of New York. John was endlessly amused by the kids. He never failed to call them on their birthdays.

John's love for the St. Louis twin's two daughters, Mabel and Ella-Jane, stepson, Ari, and all of his nieces and

nephews was something to behold. Telling his girls about his passing was one of the worst moments he has ever had. Watching them process it and grieve was heartbreaking. But as he told them, that pain also shows how much he meant to them — and how much they meant to him. Whether they knew it or not, he consistently checked in with the St. Louis twin to ask how they were doing. He was proud of them. And he hoped that John was proud of him, too. But in the end, what matters most was that the St. Louis twin was proud of him. Proud of who he was. Proud of what he stood for. Proud to be his little brother.

Our mother once relayed to us — actually, several times, as she was wont to do even before dementia — that John would tell her that his role in life was to be an uncle. And he was about as good an uncle as anyone could be — to his nieces and nephews, and, in a broader way, to many people outside the family and even to those who may never have known him personally but were touched by the work he did.

John spent much of his adult life working for peace, justice, and human rights. His activism spanned decades, including work with the nuclear freeze movement, the War Resisters League, and efforts opposing U.S. militarism abroad. He later co-founded the East Timor and Indonesia *Action* Network, or ETAN, and helped keep attention on Timor-Leste's struggle for independence, the abuses committed during Indonesia's occupation, and the need for accountability after much of the world had moved on.

John was a writer, editor, organizer, researcher, advocate, and keeper of record. He maintained news lists, wrote statements, worked with journalists and activists, preserved archives, and kept showing up. John understood that facts matter, memory matters, and that people are often forgotten because others stop paying attention. He did not stop paying attention.

That was John: persistent, principled, brilliant, loving, dryly funny, and completely himself. John was deeply loved and served as a role model to so many. He will be missed terribly.

Alana, Niece of John

Death pulls us abruptly out of our daily routines, musings, worries. It stops us short, demands that we face its inevitability and confront its finality. No matter when it comes, whether we expect it or not, death startles us. It may send us into sadness, anger, heartbreak, even numbness. In this moment, let's be grateful for the precious time we shared with John and for all the good work he did to make this world a better place.

John Miller was a peace activist at his core. His life's work was to help the people of Timor-Leste gain independence. He was honored by their government for his efforts with the Order of Timor-Leste. Our family recently buried Aunt BJ, a pioneer and activist in her own right. There must be a protest being planned in Heaven that we are not privy to yet for us to lose these two individuals so close together. In the past few days my friends and coworkers have asked me how I was coping. My answer has been sarcasm and dark humor; after all this is my third funeral in a month.

But these conversations have also helped me determine a path forward for today. They asked me about my Uncle: Were you close? What was he like? What will he be remembered for? The answers in turn. Yes and no, he was Uncle Johnny. He was always there, a steady presence in my life. He was the calm amid the chaos that is our family. As my brother Morgan aptly put it- he knew to stay out of the kitchen. To those who are not family, the one rule in my home when we are hosting is to stay out of my dad's way when he is cooking in the kitchen. Johnny took that to heart. You always knew you could find him on the corner of the couch quietly observing, sometimes trying to control the chaos, more often just letting it brush over him.

Yes he will be remembered for his incredible activism work. As a family we are moved by the global response to his passing. But in our family he will be remembered for always showing up with a *New York Times*, a large Iced-Tea with Lemon NO SUGAR, and his backpack. His nieces and nephews knew him for his kindness and generosity; giving even when he did not have much. Let's be honest, he never

John at WRL's Ralph DiGia Memorial Mets Game in his Yankees hat. (Photo by Ruth Benn)

L to R: Niece Allison, nephew Danny, niece Alana, niece Anabelle, John.

met a museum gift shop that he did not stop in. Leading to the most random gifts you've ever received- for example he gave my cousins a bag of DVDs he collected around Manhattan. His presence amongst our family was quiet, but mighty. May John's memory be a blessing and may we celebrate his life by carrying on his legacy of standing up for peace and pursuing freedom and justice in this world.

Mable, Niece of John

To me, John Miller was Uncle Johnny — one of the most incredible people I have ever had the honor of knowing. He dedicated his life to serving others. He fought tirelessly, through hardship and adversity, for the rights of those who needed it most. He never sought recognition; he did this work because he believed deeply in every cause he took on.

In 1991, he co-founded the East Timor and Indonesia *Action* Network, advocating fiercely for Timor-Leste's right to self-determination. In 2012, ETAN received the Order of Timor-Leste — the country's highest honor — for its contributions to the country's independence. He also served on the board of the War Resisters League and spent time all over the world advocating for peace and humanitarian causes.

Beyond his selfless work, the role he cherished most was being an uncle. He loved it, and he loved each of us deeply. He didn't just show up; he supported us and cared for us in a way that left a lasting impact. We lived across the country from each other — my family in Missouri, and him in New York — but I never felt that distance.

When Ella and I were young, he and Uncle Eddie came every holiday season. I didn't know Christmas without them, without him. As I got older and busier, every time I was in New York, he made time to see me. We would meet in the city, and he would tag along as I went about whatever I needed to do that day.

He was with me when I bought the phone I'm typing this on. I had gotten frustrated that my phone kept dying and impulsively decided to get a new one. Of course, he had plenty of questions for the salesperson and made sure I got the best option.

He was a quiet but steady presence. You could find him with his iced tea — he was never without one — and a newspaper, simply listening. He was always ready to lend an ear and genuinely loved hearing about our lives. He understood my need for quiet and was just as happy to sit beside me in silence.

John and his niece Mabel.

One of my favorite memories is him lovingly teasing me. I must have been five or six years old, wearing red-and-white striped tights, when he called me a candy cane — and I did not take it well. I never let him forget the "candy cane incident," but it's something I look back on now with so much fondness.

He was loving, goofy and kind. When I couldn't sleep as a kid, he would rub my back until I drifted off. He was patient — more patient than anyone I've ever known.

He made you feel safe just by being near him. He had a quiet, steady way of showing up for the people he loved, through small acts of care that made you feel truly seen. He loved deeply, gave more than he took, and left everyone he met better than he found them.

Uncle Johnny, you will be deeply and truly missed. I love you always.

John in Timor-Leste, 2009.

Timor-Leste mourns the passing of John M. Miller

Presidency of the Council of Ministers
Spokesperson of the Government of Timor-Leste
Ninth Constitutional Government

April 30th, 2026

The Government of Timor-Leste expresses its deep sorrow at the recent passing of John M. Miller in New York, co-founder and former National Coordinator of the East Timor and Indonesia *Action* Network (ETAN), and a longtime friend of the Timorese.

John M. Miller has dedicated several decades to advocating for self-determination, human rights, and justice for the people of Timor-Leste. In 1991, following the Santa Cruz Massacre, the East Timor *Action* Network (ETAN) was established. He was a co-founder of the organisation, which played a key role in raising international awareness of the situation in Timor-Leste and mobilising support from civil society, the media, and policymakers in the United States.

Throughout his career, John M. Miller contributed to awareness-raising and advocacy campaigns defending the rights of the Timorese people and seeking recognition of their right to self-determination. In addition to ETAN, he was a member of the War Resisters League, War Resisters International, and other peace organisations, and he established the Foreign Bases Project, dedicated to opposing U.S. militarism in other countries.

Timor-Leste has recognised the work of John M. Miller and ETAN. In 2003, Miller was honoured with the Order of Timor on ETAN's behalf. In 2012, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Restoration of Independence, ETAN

was awarded the Order of Timor-Leste in recognition of its contribution to national liberation.

Agio Pereira, Minister of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and Government Spokesperson, on behalf of the Government and the people of Timor-Leste, extends his "deepest condolences to the family, friends, and all who shared his journey" and assures them that "his voice in defence of the Timorese people, as well as his warm friendship and unwavering support in the struggle, will never be forgotten."

The Government of Timor-Leste pays tribute to the memory of John M. Miller and to his longstanding solidarity with the Timorese people.

This statement is available online at:
https://timor-leste.gov.tl/?p=48837&lang=en&lang=en

Transcript of the statement from José Ramos Horta, President of Timor-Leste, recorded in July 2026 for John's memorial.

I had known John Miller for many, many years. During those long years of our struggle for independence, during my long stay in New York, the constant presence of John Miller, and of course of others, God willing, still alive and in good health, always taught me lessons of humanity, of solidarity.

What impressed me most, impressed me a lot from John Miller and Charlie Sscheiner and so many in the US, in Europe, around the world, that they are not Timorese. They actually have no family connection of long physical presence living in the country to gain some affinity, some emotion, some sense of belonging to this country.

Yet, they live the struggle, the dreams, the suffering of the people of Timor-Leste, every day. And I often wonder, in the years before Timor-Leste's independence, when Timor-Leste achieved independence, I, José Ramos Horta — would I be as self-sacrificing, as committed, as all these friends, like John Miller and many others, in regard to Timor-Leste? Would I be committed, spend hours, days, years on solidarity with other peoples — whether workers' rights, women's rights, LGBT rights, or the struggles of people, other people, for self-determination and independence? I asked myself then. So these were lessons, inspirations that I learn, that I absorb from the solidarity movement, and this is what I remember of John Miller.

So, for John Miller's family, immediate family, other relatives and friends in solidarity movement, my forever respects for his memory.

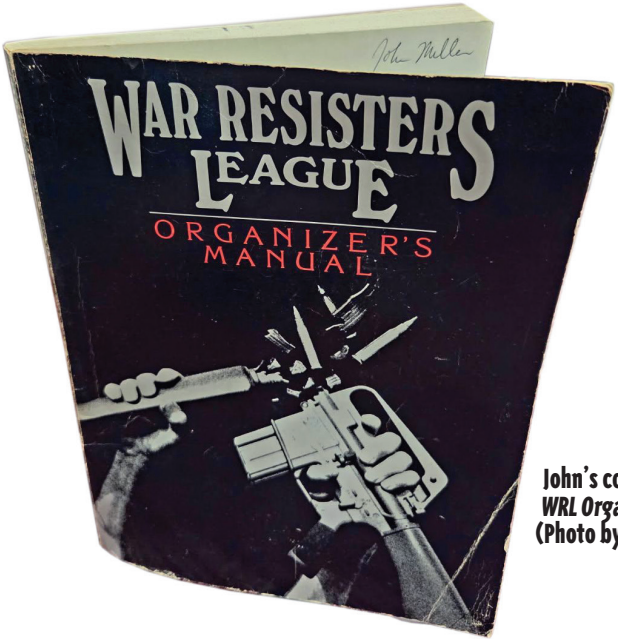
I thank you all.

War Resisters League statement in remembrance of John M. Miller

John M. Miller (August 1955-April 2026) was a foundational, "worker bee" activist in peace and solidarity movements, locally in New York City and globally. He could be found bartending at a WRL event as likely as working with the presidents of Timor-Leste, who recognized his contributions to the struggle for independence.

One of 5 kids, he grew up in a close-knit family on Long Island, sharing his love of music and the Yankees with his siblings. He happily played the role of Uncle Johnny to his many nieces and nephews.

John credits his introduction to the movement by reading his roommate's *WIN* in 1976. He wrote that he "was captivated by the then weekly magazine as it chronicled the Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice and the beginnings of nonviolent direct action against nuclear power."



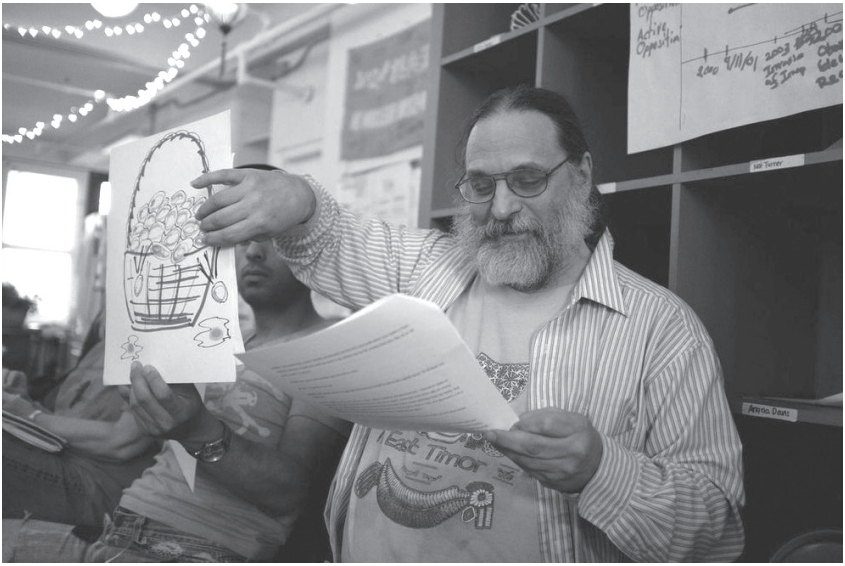
John's copy of the *WRL Organizer's Manual*. (Photo by Catherine Trapani)

Ruth, Michael, Ralph and John at the WRL office David McReynolds, 1990. (Photo by David McReynolds)

In 1979 John, who was on staff of the Washington Peace Center, participated in the War Resisters League Organizers Training Program. In 1981, he moved to Brooklyn to join the *WIN* staff, helped plot the launch of WRL's *Nonviolent Activist* and later its transition to what would be called "the new" *WIN*, serving over the years in many roles in WRL's publications. He was also editor and helped publish the National Mobilization for Survival's *The Mobilizer* and helped edit and did the layout for the Metropolitan Council on Housing's *Tenant/Inquilino* Newspaper among others.

He served on the WRL National Committee for decades, and served on many committees including the International Task Force. He played a vital role as a steward and treasurer. He was WRL's representative to War Resisters' International (WRI), who contributed much to international solidarity and networking.

He was a co-founder and Coordinator of the East Timor and Indonesia *Action* Network (ETAN) which works for



John at WRL National Committee meeting, 2018. (Photo by Matt D.)

1979 War Resisters League Organizer Training Program.
(Photo by Grace Hedemann)

WIN Magazine staff (Sharon Bray, Lynn Johnson, Lisa Lincoln, John Miller, Murray Rosenblith on couch), 1981. (WRL Files)

Armed Forces Day, 1981 (holding up the paper given to them by the police after their arrest for disrupting the parade). Photo by Grace Hedemann

democracy, justice and human rights in Timor-Leste, Indonesia and West Papua since 1991, receiving a number of awards and honors. He served as staff for a Parliamentarians for East Timor observer mission to the 1999 referendum in East Timor and made numerous visits to East Timor.

He participated in campaigns to close nuclear power plants in Virginia and the Philippines and against the militarization of the seas and military bases in New York harbor, the Pacific region and North Atlantic. He fostered and modeled a kind of mutual respect and shared friendships that could allow people to connect.

John wrote a reflective piece about his experiences with WRL publications for the final issue of *WIN* Magazine: "My Favorite Issue: NVA on Solidarity & Self Reflection, 1999" and "Reflections on ETAN Upon Its 20 Year Anniversary" about the accomplishments of that group supporting self determination for the people of Timor-Leste and West Papua.

We've seen so many touching remembrances and tributes to John over email and one his facebook page. One from his niece really summed it up:

> *Yesterday I got the call that my Uncle Johnny passed away. He was an incredible human being who did so much quiet good for the world. You could always count on him to be there as long as he could bring his*

John with Benny Wenda

John with his Aunt BJ.

New York Times. *He devoted his life to the belief that ordinary people, standing together, could bend the arc of history toward justice.*

He did not seek recognition; he sought change.

Those who knew him understood that his strength was not loud, but steady. He stayed. He listened. He insisted that the world pay attention.

Now there is a quiet where his voice once was, but not an absence. What he set in motion continues to move, outward and onward. Not lost, only carried—through the people he stood beside, and those who will never know his name, but live in the wake of what he helped make possible. The country of Timor—Leste will mourn the death of their biggest advocate. Our family will mourn a beloved brother and uncle.

—Alana Miller-Engel

John M. Miller, Rest In Power.

The East Timor and Indonesia *Action* Network thanks you, John

East Timor and Indonesia* Action *Network

John Miller's activism and leadership sustained the East Timor and Indonesia *Action* Network-ETAN from its founding until literally the end of John's life. John was a solidarity activist who never centered himself, but always the cause of justice with which he was engaged. Yet it is impossible to say "ETAN" without thinking of John, nor to imagine ETAN's effectiveness without his dedication, his energy, his style.

From among the many tributes to John and his work that have been received from around the world, we share below some which are from members of ETAN's Steering Committee and leadership, past and present, as an expression of both our deep sense of loss at John's unexpected passing, and of our deep appreciation and gratitude for the work he played such a crucial role in making possible.

John, you are present in our work and in our hearts.

Charles Scheiner

John's many decades of quiet, tireless work immeasurably advanced peace, justice and self-determination in Timor-Leste and throughout the world. John was one of the founders of the East Timor *Action* Network (ETAN/US – later the East Timor and Indonesia *Action* Network) in 1991 and served as its National Coordinator from 2001-2026. We already miss him greatly.

John introduced me to global peace activism a half-century ago. We travelled together to Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Scotland, India, Thailand, the Philippines, Japan, Timor-Leste and many other places. We worked together with the War Resisters League, Mobilization for Survival, North Atlantic Network of Peace Movements, Campaign

John in Timor-Leste with José Ramos-Horta and Charlie Scheiner, 2012.

Against U.S. Bases in the Philippines, Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific Network and other movements, campaigns, groups and networks around the world.

His Foreign Bases Project is still urgently necessary, and his rarely noticed vital role promoting peace advocacy among UN-based NGOs must be taken up by others.

When we protested at the Indonesian Mission in NYC in December 1991, John's urging, commitment and dependability led to forming ETAN as a national, grassroots, decentralized network of activists and educators. ETAN has been effective for more than 30 years thanks to John's work behind-the-scenes, vision, and commitment. It is gratifying to see John appreciated by so many people after his passing, and I hope his life will motivate others to keep working in these challenging times.

As Lutes Continuam.

John M. Miller, presente!

Berta Antonieta

Dear Kamarada John M Miller,

Thank you for your tremendous contribution to the self determination of the Timorese, since 1980s you work to globalize Timor-Leste's independence movement.

Thank you also for welcoming me as an intern at ETAN New York in 2015. Your service and solidarity have been deeply appreciated and will always be remembered.

Eliot Hoffman

Oh, my! John was an important part of my life. I met dear John around 1996 through the East Timor *Action* Network. He and I traveled to East Timor in 1999. We last met again in 2019 at an event he invited me to in New York City.

My teacher, my colleague, my friend. I learned so much from John. Thank you for everything, John. I will miss you.

Pam Sexton

John was a movement mentor and friend, with whom my communication mostly happened via phone or email. We were almost always either on opposite sides of the US or opposite sides of the globe. I'm so grateful for knowing, learning from and organizing with John.

John was the steady heart of ETAN, keeping core pieces of the organization: the listserve that kept so many people across the world and in Timor-Leste connected to news and info about Timor-Leste; a bookstore that was John responding to requests by snail mail, posting Timor-Leste related books; advocacy that included tracking opportunities to advance justice and accountability for the atrocities in Timor-Leste within the US government, the UN and alongside other international solidarity groups.

I am so grateful for all of times - always memorable - that our paths crossed in real time. ETAN Steering Committee gatherings in New Hampshire, New York, Chicago. Multiple ETAN Lobby Days in Washington D.C. An international

Brad, John, and Vicki under arrest at the Day Without the Pentagon action, 1998. (Photo by Ruth Benn)

WRL Executive Committee Meeting, 2013, with West Papuan human rights defender, Rosa Moiwend, speaking. (Photo by Matt Meyer)

solidarity conference in Dili, Timor-Leste, to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the country's historic referendum on independence.

A few specific memories: on what might have been one of my first trips to New York for ETAN related work, John took me to the War Resistors League's office. John introduced me to WRL staff and volunteers, and I saw the long and deep relationships he had there. I felt awe and inspiration for the long-term, steady, inspiring vision of a world without war and the long-term, steady, quiet but earth-shaking work being done by John and others.

The last event that I organized together with John was an online gathering around education, connection and solidarity geared to East Timorese studying in the US or alum of US-based schools together with ETAN activists. During the day-long meeting, John shared the history of ETAN

with mostly young Timorese unfamiliar with the story of international solidarity with the struggle for Timor-Leste's self-determination. It was beautiful to see John — along with West Papuan Octo Mote and *Democracy Now* host Amy Goodman - share that story with a younger generation of Timorese visionaries and change makers.

The story of ETAN, which John stewarded for so long, is a powerful story of solidarity. Thank you, John!

Chris Lundry

Rest (and Resist) in Peace, my dear friend John Miller. John was a founding and foundational member of the East Timor *Action* Network, the US-based human rights NGO formed after the Santa Cruz Cemetery Massacre in Dili in November, 1991. John coordinated the organization, maintaining records and contacts, organizing protests and legislative actions, demonstrating in the streets, speaking at events, facilitating national meetings.

John was soft-spoken but firm in his convictions, literally devoting his life to peace and justice. I have many fond memories of time spent with John in ETAN meetings, in person, over the phone, online. I dragged him to at least two academic conferences – I felt that the need for a voice of activism was necessary and contrasted with the sometimes abstract or even irrelevant voice of academia.

I'll miss you John, and your memory will be a blessing and bring a smile.

Brad Simpson

I was radicalized by reading about East Timor as a college student in 1992-1993. I was studying abroad at the time and when I returned to the US, flying through JFK airport on the way back to Washington, D.C., John met me at the airport for a few hours to talk to me about how to found a D.C. chapter of ETAN. I knew nothing about organizing. John was my first real connection to the world of activism. I

Philippines workshop at the WRL National Conference, 1985. (Photo by David McReynolds)

have many fond memories of seeing him in NYC or in D.C. during the scorching summers when he would help organize activists coming from around the country to lobby Congress to cut US military aid to Indonesia.

John was skilled and knowledgeable, wry and sometimes grouchy, indefatigable and determined. He never put himself in the spotlight and never stopped working on behalf of seemingly marginalized causes. He was one of those people who make social movements and campaigns run (but who are rarely written about) — managing lists and databases and newsletters and home offices stuffed with shirts and books and pamphlets, and answering the countless queries from journalists and people who had just learned about East Timor.

He will be missed by many, many people.

Rest in Power, John.

Loren Ryter

My heart dropped when I heard the news of the passing of John M Miller, with whom I worked closely as a co-founder of ETAN after the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor.

I was just a kid, really, but John and Charles Scheiner had years of experience in international human rights and justice work. John worked quietly but incredibly effectively. He guided us students without leading us. And he continued the work with the same constant energy and commitment long after we'd mostly moved on.

Elice Higginbotham

I worked alongside John in his home office (then in Brooklyn) — surrounded by ETAN's books, files, artifacts, merch — for several months before the 2012 parliamentary election in Timor-Leste, preparing for ETAN's delegation of solidarity election observers. We were mostly quiet — John at his computer and phone, managing the listserve, writing articles, doing research, preparing for events, connecting with

colleagues and comrades across the world. Even though we'd been friends and ETAN colleagues for years, I was a bit in awe, knowing John's deep knowledge of Timor-Leste, years of experience, broad range of international connections — and there I was, little me, at my computer and phone, recruiting observers, preparing orientation materials, negotiating arrangements with Timorese partners, fundraising.

As a comparative novice at this particular aspect of ETAN's work, I found John an incredibly easy and helpful co-worker – and I emphasize *co-worker*, because that was our relationship. John's day was filled with a wide variety of responsibilities, mine was focused on fulfilling a specific mission; but he never failed to have time and energy to answer questions, offer information or suggestions, point me toward resources, offer insights I'd never have gleaned otherwise. He complained not a word when I interrupted him — as I often did! — even when my need was for computer advice, at which he was skilled, fortunately for techno-shy me.

Looking back, I see that what was most important to me and my own growth in solidarity work, was that John engaged me in whatever else was going on in ETAN's realm. If there was an event or a meeting that wasn't confidential, he invited me along. If someone from another organization, or an international visitor, was coming by the office, I got into the conversation. My knowledge, and my sense of the breadth and depth of ETAN's work and connections were enhanced immeasurably. This was only one of many experiences with John over years as a part of ETAN, but it was the most intensive and had the most profound effect.

Thank you, John, for everything you were, and everything you have given to the cause of peace and justice, in a free and independent Timor-Leste, and to the world.

Erik Gustafson (with Lynn Fredriksson)

As mutual friends will know, John lived a life of purpose. Alice Walker has said, resistance is the secret of joy. John lived that truth, finding meaning and fulfillment in the

With José Luis de Oliveira at the UN, 2003. (Photo by Pam Sexton)

steady work of standing with others in their struggle for justice. As a co-founder of the East Timor and Indonesia *Action* Network (ETAN), John was a humble, steadfast anchor of East Timor's solidarity movement in the United States. At ETAN's New York office and at the United Nations, he was a quiet but relentless force—helping to shift U.S. policy in support of Timor-Leste's right to self-determination.

John never sought the spotlight. But he understood, better than most, how change actually happens: through sustained, collective effort. He was part of a remarkable ecosystem of advocacy… working the phones, organizing at the UN, and building coalitions, while also doing the unglamorous work that sustains movements: keeping the organization running through steady fundraising and clear, thoughtful communications. Above all, he helped ensure

that the truth broke through. The results were historic. Under sustained U.S. and international pressure, Indonesia relented, leading to the1999 UN-supervised referendum in which the people of Timor-Leste chose independence. It was a reminder — one John believed in deeply — that even entrenched injustice can be challenged when ordinary people organize with persistence and clarity of purpose. As John once reflected, ETAN's early work was grounded in a simple but powerful idea: those of us with the freedom to speak have a responsibility to act. For me, that lesson was transformative.

… [John was] never prescriptive, always enabling. He combined moral clarity with humility. Urgency with patience. Conviction with kindness. And perhaps most importantly, he reminded all of us that movements are not built by individuals alone, but by communities of people willing to do the work—day after day, often without recognition. John Miller was one of those people.

Eric S. Piotrowski

I'm really sad that John is no longer with us, but I am beyond honored to have known the man and had the opportunity to work with him. He — and all the remarkable people who built ETAN/US — changed my life when they showed me what it meant to conquer the ego and do the work. I will be forever grateful to John for the ways he walked the walk and fought with every breath for the world he wanted to see. May we all put in a fraction of the work he devoted to peace, justice, and freedom.

Right: John with Octo Mote outside the Indonesian embassy.

Remembering John M. Miller, International Solidarity, and the Struggles Continue!

Statement from La'o Hamutuk, the Timor-Leste Institute for Development Monitoring and Analysis.

With deep respect and sorrow, the people of Timor-Leste received the news of the passing of John M. Miller — co-founder and National Coordinator of the East Timor and Indonesia *Action* Network/U.S. — an activist who, for decades, dedicated his life to human rights, justice, and the self-determination of the Timorese people.

ETAN was founded in 1991, following the Santa Cruz Massacre, amid grave human rights violations that required an urgent response from the international community. Through campaigns, civil society mobilization, and political advocacy in the United States and at the United Nations, ETAN helped to amplify Timor-Leste's voice to the world and build international solidarity.

John M. Miller was not an activist who wanted fame. His quiet yet impactful work — organizing solidarity networks, sharing reliable information, and connecting people at various levels — contributed to a shift in international awareness and strengthened networks supporting Timor-Leste.

José Ramos-Horta, Jill Sternberg, Charlie Scheiner and John, in Timor-Leste

Moana Nui Conference, with Rosa Moiwend and others, 2014. (Photo by Matt Meyer)

Timor-Leste's independence was the result of a long and complex struggle: FRETILIN leadership, FALINTIL armed resistance, clandestine networks, international diplomacy, global solidarity — including the East Timor *Action* Network — and geopolitical changes in the region, Indonesia, and the world. International solidarity strengthened the struggle, making Timor-Leste a success story of collective struggle in the world.

At the strategic level, John Miller's contributions to ETAN involved political advocacy, community-level campaigns, and engagement with political institutions to help influence discussions and decisions within the U.S. government and the international arena. His work demonstrates that international solidarity can be a transformative force when organized with evidence, strategy, discipline, and persistence.

The people of Timor-Leste's right to self-determination stems from the universal principles of the United Nations, and John Miller, along with other international solidarity activists, helped to turn this principle into political reality on the global stage.

After independence, ETAN continues to support Timor-Leste on issues such as justice, accountability, human rights, and democratic development, including the struggle over the maritime border between Australia and Timor-Leste, which the people of Timor-Leste have been fighting for years — showing that solidarity is not just a temporary gesture, but a long process. John and ETAN continue to advocate for the self-determination of West Papua.

John's contributions have been recognized by the State of Timor-Leste through a national honor. But his legacy extends beyond the medal to the network of solidarity he helped create, to the people he inspired, and to the global struggle for human rights.

In a world that still faces injustice, the memory of John M. Miller offers a moral compass:

Those who have the freedom to speak out have a responsibility to act, especially when their own government acts against people's rights.

For the people of Timor-Leste, John is not only a friend but a part of the history of the victorious struggle.

Solidarity does not die. Memory does not fade. We must all continue on the path of justice.

The Struggles Continue.

Antiwar Activist John Miller, Who Co-founded East Timor *Action* Network, Dies at 70

Democracy Now!
May 01, 2026

The antiwar and solidarity activist John Miller has died at the age of 70 from heart failure. In 1991, he co-founded the East Timor *Action* Network, which worked to support self-determination for East Timor and an end to U.S. support for Indonesia's occupation. On Thursday, the government of Timor-Leste released a statement calling John "a long-time friend of the Timorese people" and stating that "his voice in defense of the Timorese people, as well as his warm friendship and continued support in their struggle, will never be forgotten."

John with Amy Goodman, 1999

JOHN M. MILLER
PO Box 150753
Brooklyn, NY 11215
(718)788-6071

EDUCATION: State University of New York at Purchase (9/73-6/75)
Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio (9/72-5/73)
Glen Cove (New York) High School (9/69-8/72)

POSITIONS/EXPERIENCES:

Present:

Editorial Committee, Peace News (UK) (5/90-)

Arms Control Research Center Technical Advisory Board (1/90-)

Founder, Executive Director, Foreign Bases Project (6/88-)

North America Coordinator (9/88-); Member, Working Group (8/84-), North Atlantic Network

Co-Coordinator, Campaign Against U.S. Military Bases in the Philippines (CAB) (1/87-); Co-Coordinator, Philippine Bases Network, (6/89-)

Consultant on Foreign Military Presence, International Peace Bureau (9/86-)

Editor/Publisher, *Mobilizer*, magazine of the National Mobilization for Survival (6/85-)

Co-founder, Member Steering Committee, Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor (7/84-)

Member, Publications Committee, Nonviolent Activist (6/84-)

Member, Executive Committee, International Task Force, Disarmament Task Force, War Resisters League, (2/83-)

Past:

Administrator, Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy, New York, NY (12/89-5/90)

Program Staff, National Mobilization for Survival (7/84-12/87, 3/89-1/90) program work has included campaigns nuclear weapons facilities, foreign military bases, international, naval arms race, homeporting, Deadly Connections between nuclear weapons and military intervention, and nuclear power.

Coordinator, No Safe Harbor Project, Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor (11/87-5/88)

--more--

Undated resume, but likely from late 1990, found in John's files. (Photo by Craig Hughes)

Coordinator, National Campaign on Strategic Homeporting, (2/86-12/88)

Editor/Circulation Director, *WIN Magazine* (1/81-7/84)

Member, Board of Directors, Computer Mailworks for Non-Profits/Community Mailing Service (1/81-12/83)

Steering Committee Member, National Mobilization for Survival, (9/80-7/81, 9/82-7/84)

Clerk, Shipping and Receiving, Book Annex (6/80-12/80)

Office Manager, Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World (12/79-6/80)

Coordinator, Local Outreach, May 6 Coalition (4-5/79)

Staff, Potomac Alliance (3/79-12/79)

Coordinator, *Potomac Alliance Power Plant*, newsletter (11/78-81)

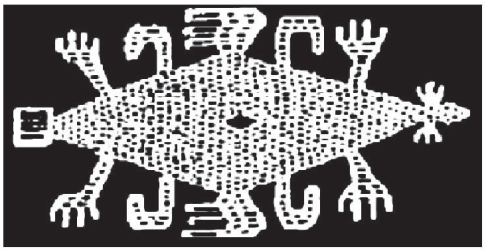
Coordinating Committee Member, Potomac Alliance (4/78-12/80)

Assistant Buyer, Globe Book Shops (1/76-6/79)

John M. Miller's writings have appeared in *The Mobilizer, The Nonviolent Activist, Guardian, Disarmament Campaigns, the New York Mobilizer, Washington Peace Center Newsletter, Peace News* (Britain), the *Pacifist, The War Resister (WRI), Philippine Research Bulletin, Critical Mass Energy Journal, Disarmament Campaigns, Ports Watch*, and others. He is the chief author and editor of *No Safe Harbor: The Consequences of a Nuclear Weapon Accident in New York Harbor*, published by the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor, and author of *Bases and Battleships*, published by the International Peace Bureau and the Foreign Bases Project.

War Resisters League

One Hundred Years of Nonviolent Resistance



East Timor and Indonesia
***Action* Network**
http://www.etan.org

The ang

uary, the New York usually large cartoon -ed page. Titled "The owed a man in suit- apanzee, a venomous dam Hussein. alist Charles Osgood

U.S. RESCUE ISN'T FOR AQUINO'S SAKE ALONE

By STEPHEN R. SHALOM and JOHN M. MILLER

As loyalist and rebel factions of the Philippine military continue to battle each other in the streets of Manila, the full extent of who is behind the latest coup attempt against President Corazon Aquino is not clear. What is clear is that Gregorio Honasan, a renegade army colonel involved in previous coups, was among those at the

JOSEPH CAPELLAN, AP

Aquino loyalists near the presidential palace: Will coup provide a new justification for the U.S. bases?

U.N. acts on environmental impact of war

with oil.

HOMEPORT UNDER FIRE FROM DINKINS

By JOHN M. MILLER

New York City Mayor David Dinkins, at an April 24 hearing before the House Armed Services Committee in Washington, called the proposed Staten Island naval base a "port without a purpose." Dinkins said that while he may be "breaking some unwritten rule on defense budgeting by speaking out against federal spending in my own city," both the city and the nation would be better off without the homeport.

JARDIAN PHOTO BY DAVID VITA

GUARDIAN PHOTO BY RICK GERHART

LEIF SKOOGFERS, WOODFIN CAMP

With East-West tensions dropping, will the Pentagon be cut

Will peace pay 'dividends

OHN M. MILLER

s are reacting with hope and o the massive changes taking

Soviet Union seen as less threatening, a major ideological underpinning of U.S. militarism has been removed and public expectations for nuclear

reduction of only a few spending. But the media's portrayal of the coming cuts

E. Hedemann