WASHINGTON -- House Republicans moved Thursday to create a bill that would fund most of the Department of Homeland Security while preventing President Obama from carrying out his recent executive action on immigration, in an effort to appease their more conservative members.

If that approach passes the House, however, it is unlikely to clear the Senate, where Republicans will need at least half a dozen Democratic votes to overcome a filibuster. And even if the Senate approves the measure, Mr. Obama has threatened to veto Republican legislation that would undo his immigration action. Funding for the department is set to run out at the end of February, something both parties hope to avoid.

Many conservatives see the funding bill as their best leverage to undo Mr. Obama's immigration plan, which will allow as many as five million undocumented immigrants to live and work in the country.

"The House will soon take action aimed at stopping the president's unilateral action when it comes to immigration," Speaker John A. Boehner of Ohio said. "I said we'd fight it tooth and nail when we had new majorities in the House and Senate, and I meant it."

The House leadership held several private meetings with lawmakers on Wednesday and Thursday, talking through a range of proposals.

At the end of the last Congress, Representative Harold Rogers, Republican of Kentucky and chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, said that his committee did not have the authority to withhold money from Citizenship and Immigration Services, which is tasked with carrying out most of the president's executive action, because the agency is funded by the fees it collects from immigration applications.

But now, House Republicans are likely to align behind a plan, similar to one offered by Representative Mick Mulvaney, Republican of South Carolina, that would prevent the president from using any money, including those fees, to move ahead with his immigration measure.

"I'd look to see an amendment that would change the basic law in order to give the Congress jurisdiction of the fees," Mr. Rogers said Thursday. "But how the details of that are put together are still under discussion."

Another proposal, spearheaded by Representative Robert B. Aderholt, Republican of Alabama and a member of the
Appropriations Committee, would nullify Mr. Obama's executive action on immigration from last year and prevent him from taking any new unilateral steps. Senator Jeff Sessions, Republican of Alabama and an outspoken opponent of an immigration overhaul, has signaled that he supports Mr. Aderholt's legislation, and Senator Ron Johnson, Republican of Wisconsin and chairman of the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, is offering similar legislation in the Senate.

But even with their new majority, Senate Republicans are unlikely to have the muscle to pass the House version. "I will say there is a good possibility that the Senate could do something different, but at the same time, we don't want to negotiate against ourselves because, as I say, there are some Senate seats that are going to be up next time," Mr. Aderholt said. "There are a lot of people who support immigration reform but don't want the way the president did it."

Mr. Boehner said similarly that after the House passes its own bill, "we'll see what the Senate can do with it, and then we'll act."

In last year's broad spending bill, Republicans pushed successfully for the shorter-term funding for Homeland Security based on the belief that they would have more leverage with the president once they controlled both chambers.

But finding a way to keep the agency operating and strip funding selectively to block Mr. Obama's directive may prove tricky.

Stephanie Faile, a spokeswoman for Mr. Mulvaney, said he would work "hard to defeat any 'show votes' or other empty gestures that do not accomplish the goal that so many Republicans, and so many citizens, support."

Representative Nancy Pelosi of California, the Democratic leader, was quick to criticize Republicans who would "play politics" with the funding bill. "How do we honor our oath to protect and defend passing a Homeland Security bill without getting involved in the issue of the president's authority to have an executive order to protect immigrants in our country?" she asked.

Republican leaders in the House and Senate have dismissed concerns about a fight that could lead to defunding the entire Homeland Security agency. "At the end of the day, we're going to fund the department, obviously," Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the majority leader, said Wednesday.

House Republicans are hoping to vote on their legislation as early as next week, before they and their Senate colleagues depart for a retreat in Hershey, Pa.


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